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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

February, 1962 Volume 27, Number 1

TOWARD A THEORY OF REVOLUTION *

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Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal. People then subjectively fear that ground gained with great effort will be quite lost; their mood becomes revolutionary. The evidence from Dorr's Rebellion, the Russian Revolution, and the Egyptian Revolution supports this notion; tentatively, so do data on other civil disturbances. Various statistics—as on rural uprisings, industrial strikes, unemployment, and cost of living—may serve as crude indexes of popular mood. More useful, though less easy to obtain, are direct questions in cross-sectional interviews. The goal of predicting revolution is conceived but not yet born or matured.

In exhorting proletarians of all nations to unite in revolution, because they had nothing to lose but their chains, Marx and Engels most succinctly presented that theory of revolution which is recognized as their brain child. But this most famed thesis, that progressive degradation of the industrial working class would finally reach the point of despair and inevitable revolt, is not the only one that Marx fathered. In at least one essay he gave life to a quite antithetical idea. He described, as a precondition of widespread unrest, not progressive degradation of the proletariat but rather an improvement in workers' economic condition which did not keep pace with the growing welfare of capitalists and therefore produced social tension.

> A noticeable increase in wages presupposes a rapid growth of productive capital. The rapid growth of productive capital brings about an equally rapid growth of wealth, luxury, social wants, social enjoyments. Thus, although the enjoyments of the workers have risen, the social satisfaction that they give has fallen in comparison with the increased enjoyments of the capitalist, which are inaccessible to the worker, in comparison with the state of development of society in general. Our desires and pleasures spring from society; we measure them, therefore, by society and not by the objects which serve for their satisfaction. Because they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature.[1]

Marx's qualification here of his more frequent belief that degradation produces revolution is expressed as the main thesis by de Tocqueville in his study of the French Revolution. After a long review of economic and social decline in the seventeenth century and dynamic growth in the eighteenth, de Tocqueville concludes:

> So it would appear that the French found their condition the more unsupportable in proportion to its improvement. . . . Revolutions are not always brought about by a gradual decline from bad to worse. Nations that have endured patiently and almost uncon-

* Several people have made perceptive suggestions and generous comments on an earlier version of this paper. I wish particularly to thank Seymour Martin Lipset, Lucian W. Pye, John H. Schaar, Paul Seabury, and Dwight Waldo.

[1] The *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 evidently antedates the opposing idea by about a year. See Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station* (Anchor Books edition), New York: Doubleday & Co. (n.d.), p. 157; Lewis S. Feuer, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959, p. 1. The above quotation is from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Wage Labour and Capital," *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955, vol. 1, p. 94.

sciously the most overwhelming oppression often burst into rebellion against the yoke the moment it begins to grow lighter. The regime which is destroyed by a revolution is almost always an improvement on its immediate predecessor. . . . Evils which are patiently endured when they seem inevitable become intolerable when once the idea of escape from them is suggested.[2]

On the basis of de Tocqueville and Marx, we can choose one of these ideas or the other, which makes it hard to decide just when revolutions are more likely to occur—when there has been social and economic progress or when there has been regress. It appears that both ideas have explanatory and possibly predictive value, if they are juxtaposed and put in the proper time sequence.

Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal.[3] The all-important effect on the minds of people in a parti society is to produce, during the forme riod, an expectation of continued abilit satisfy needs—which continue to rise—during the latter, a mental state of anx and frustration when manifest reality bre away from anticipated reality. The act state of socio-economic development is l significant than the expectation that p progress, now blocked, can and must co tinue in the future.

Political stability and instability are ul mately dependent on a state of mind, a moo in a society. Satisfied or apathetic peop who are poor in goods, status, and power ca remain politically quiet and their opposite can revolt, just as, correlatively and mor probably, dissatisfied poor can revolt an satisfied rich oppose revolution. It is the dis satisfied state of mind rather than the tangible provision of "adequate" or "inadequate" supplies of food, equality, or liberty which produces the revolution. In actuality, there must be a joining of forces between dissatisfied, frustrated people who differ in their degree of objective, tangible welfare and status. Well-fed, well-educated, high-status individuals who rebel in the face of apathy among the objectively deprived can accomplish at most a coup d'état. The objectively deprived, when faced with solid opposition

[2] A. de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (trans. by John Bonner), N. Y.: Harper & Bros., 1856, p. 214. The Stuart Gilbert translation, Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955, pp. 176–177, gives a somewhat less pungent version of the same comment. *L'Ancien régime* was first published in 1856.

[3] Revolutions are here defined as violent civil disturbances that cause the displacement of one ruling group by another that has a broader popular basis for support.

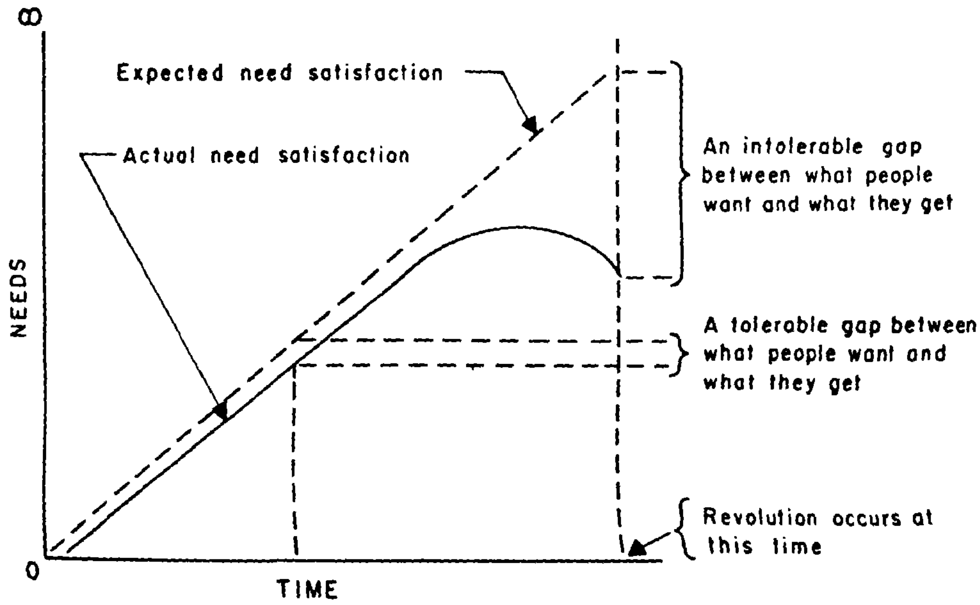


FIGURE 1. NEED SATISFACTION AND REVOLUTION

of people of wealth, status, and power, will be smashed in their rebellion as were peasants and Anabaptists by German noblemen in 1525 and East Germans by the Communist élite in 1953.

Before appraising this general notion in light of a series of revolutions, a word is in order as to why revolutions ordinarily do not occur when a society is generally impoverished—when, as de Tocqueville put it, evils that seem inevitable are patiently endured. They are endured in the extreme case because the physical and mental energies of people are totally employed in the process of merely staying alive. The Minnesota starvation studies conducted during World War II [4] indicate clearly the constant pre-occupation of very hungry individuals with fantasies and thoughts of food. In extremis, as the Minnesota research poignantly demonstrates, the individual withdraws into a life of his own, withdraws from society, withdraws from any significant kind of activity unrelated to staying alive. Reports of behavior in Nazi concentration camps indicate the same preoccupation.[5] In less extreme and barbarous circumstances, where minimal survival is possible but little more, the preoccupation of individuals with staying alive is only mitigated. Social action takes place for the most part on a local, face-to-face basis. In such circumstances the family is a—perhaps the major—solidary unit [6] and even the local community exists primarily to the extent families need to act together to secure their separate survival. Such was life on the American frontier in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. In very much attenuated form, but with a substantial degree of social isolation persisting, such evidently is rural life even today. This is clearly related to a relatively low level of political participation in elections.[7] As Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld have indicated,[8] preoccupation with physical survival, even in industrial areas, is a force strongly militating against the establishment of the community-sense and consensus on joint political action which are necessary to induce a revolutionary state of mind. Far from making people into revolutionaries, enduring poverty makes for concern with one's solitary self or solitary family at best and resignation or mute despair at worst. When it is a choice between losing their chains or their lives, people will mostly choose to keep their chains, a fact which Marx seems to have overlooked.[9]

It is when the chains have been loosened somewhat, so that they can be cast off without a high probability of losing life, that people are put in a condition of proto-rebelliousness. I use the term proto-rebelliousness because the mood of discontent may be dissipated before a violent outbreak occurs. The causes for such dissipation may be natural or social (including economic and political). A bad crop year that threatens a return to chronic hunger may be succeeded by a year of natural abundance. Recovery from sharp economic dislocation may take the steam from the boiler of rebellion.[10] The slow, grudging grant of reforms, which has been the political history of England since at least the Industrial Revolution, may effectively and continuously prevent the degree of frustration that produces revolt.

[4] The full report is Ancel Keys *et al.*, *The Biology of Human Starvation*, Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 1950 See J Brozek, "Semi-starvation and Nutritional Rehabilitation," *Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 1, (January, 1953), pp. 107–118 for a brief analysis.

[5] E A. Cohen, *Human Behavior in the Concentration Camp*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953, pp. 123–125, 131–140.

[6] For community life in such poverty, in Mezzogiorno Italy, see E. C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1958. The author emphasizes that the nuclear family is a solidary, consensual, moral unit (see p. 85) but even within it, consensus appears to break down, in outbreaks of pure, individual amorality—notably between parents and children (see p. 117).

[7] See Angus Campbell *et al*, *The American Voter*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960, Chap. 15, "Agrarian Political Behavior."

[8] B. Zawadzki and P. F. Lazarsfeld, "The Psychological Consequences of Unemployment," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6 (May, 1935), pp. 224–251.

[9] A remarkable and awesome exception to this phenomenon occurred occasionally in some Nazi concentration camps, e.g., in a Buchenwald revolt against capricious rule by criminal prisoners. During this revolt, one hundred criminal prisoners were killed by political prisoners. See Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[10] See W. W. Rostow, "Business Cycles, Harvests, and Politics: 1790–1850," *Journal of Economic History*, 1 (November, 1941), pp. 206–221 for the relation between economic fluctuation and the activities of the Chartists in the 1830s and 1840s.

A revolutionary state of mind requires the continued, even habitual but dynamic expectation of greater opportunity to satisfy basic needs, which may range from merely physical (food, clothing, shelter, health, and safety from bodily harm) to social (the affectional ties of family and friends) to the need for equal dignity and justice. But the necessary additional ingredient is a persistent, unrelenting threat to the satisfaction of these needs: not a threat which actually returns people to a state of sheer survival but which puts them in the mental state where they believe they will not be able to satisfy one or more basic needs. Although physical deprivation in some degree may be threatened on the eve of all revolutions, it need not be the prime factor, as it surely was not in the American Revolution of 1775. The crucial factor is the vague or specific fear that ground gained over a long period of time will be quickly lost. This fear does not generate if there is continued opportunity to satisfy continually emerging needs; it generates when the existing government suppresses or is blamed for suppressing such opportunity.

Three rebellions or revolutions are given considerable attention in the sections that follow: Dorr's Rebellion of 1842, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. Brief mention is then made of several other major civil disturbances, all of which appear to fit the J-curve pattern.[11] After considering these specific disturbances, some general theoretical and research problems are discussed.

No claim is made that all rebellions follow the pattern, but just that the ones here presented do. All of these are "progressive" revolutions in behalf of greater equality and liberty. The question is open whether the pattern occurs in such markedly retrogressive revolutions as Nazism in Germany or the 1861 Southern rebellion in the United States. It will surely be necessary to examine other progressive revolutions before one can judge how universal the J-curve is. And it will be necessary, in the interests of scientific validation, to examine cases of serious civil disturbance that fell short of producing profound revolution—such as the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 in India, the Pullman Strike of 1894 in America, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 in China, and the Great Depression of the 1920s and 1930s as it was experienced in Austria, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The explanation for such still-born rebellions —for revolutions that might have occurred— is inevitably more complicated than for those that come to term in the "normal" course of political gestation.

DORR'S REBELLION OF 1842

Dorr's Rebellion[12] in nineteenth-century America was perhaps the first of many civil disturbances to occur in America as a consequence, in part, of the Industrial Revolution. It followed by three years an outbreak in England that had similar roots and a similar program—the Chartist agitation. A machine-operated textile industry was first established in Rhode Island in 1790 and grew rapidly as a consequence of domestic and international demand, notably during the Napoleonic Wars. Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, the War of 1812, and a high tariff in 1816 further stimulated American industry.

Rapid industrial growth meant the movement of people from farms to cities. In Massachusetts the practice developed of hiring mainly the wives and daughters of farmers, whose income was thereby supplemented but not displaced by wages. In Rhode Island whole families moved to the cities and became committed to the factory system. When times were good, industrialized families earned two or three times what they got from the soil; when the mills were idle, there was not enough money for bread.[13] From 1807 to 1815 textiles enjoyed great prosperity; from 1834 to 1842 they suffered depression, most severely from 1835 to 1840. Prosperity raised expectations and depression frustrated them,

[11] This curve is of course not to be confused with its prior and altogether different use by Floyd Allport in his study of social conformity. See F. H. Allport, "The J-Curve Hypothesis of Conforming Behavior," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 5 (May, 1934), pp. 141–183, reprinted in T. H. Newcomb & E. L. Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology*, N. Y.: Henry Holt & Co., 1947, pp. 55–67.

[12] I am indebted to Beryl L. Crowe for his extensive research on Dorr's Rebellion while he was a participant in my political behavior seminar at the University of California, Berkeley, Spring 1960.

[13] Joseph Brennan, *Social Conditions in Industrial Rhode Island: 1820–1860*, Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1940, p. 33.

particularly when accompanied by stubborn resistance to suffrage demands that first stirred in 1790 and recurred in a wave-like pattern in 1811 and then in 1818 and 1820 following suffrage extension in Connecticut and Massachusetts. The final crest was reached in 1841, when suffrage associations met and called for a constitutional convention.[14]

Against the will of the government, the suffragists held an election in which all adult males were eligible to vote, held a constitutional convention composed of delegates so elected and in December 1841 submitted the People's Constitution to the same electorate, which approved it and the call for an election of state officers the following April, to form a new government under this unconstitutional constitution.[15]

These actions joined the conflict with the established government. When asked—by the dissidents—the state supreme court rendered its private judgment in March 1842 that the new constitution was "of no binding force whatever" and any act "to carry it into effect by force will be treason against the state." The legislature passed what became known as the Algerian law, making it an offense punishable by a year in jail to vote in the April election, and by life imprisonment to hold office under the People's Constitution.

The rebels went stoutly ahead with the election, and on May 3, 1842 inaugurated the new government. The next day the People's legislature met and respectfully requested the sheriff to take possession of state buildings, which he failed to do. Violence broke out on the 17th of May in an attempt to take over a state arsenal with two British cannon left over from the Revolutionary War. When the cannon misfired, the People's government resigned. Sporadic violence continued for another month, resulting in the arrest of over 500 men, mostly textile workers, mechanics, and laborers. The official legislature called for a new constitutional convention, chosen by universal manhood suffrage, and a new constitution went into effect in January, 1843. Altogether only one person was killed in this little revolution, which experienced violence, failure, and then success within the space of nine months.

It is impossible altogether to separate the experience of rising expectations among people in Rhode Island from that among Americans generally. They all shared historically the struggle against a stubborn but ultimately rewarding frontier where their self-confidence gained strength not only in the daily process of tilling the soil and harvesting

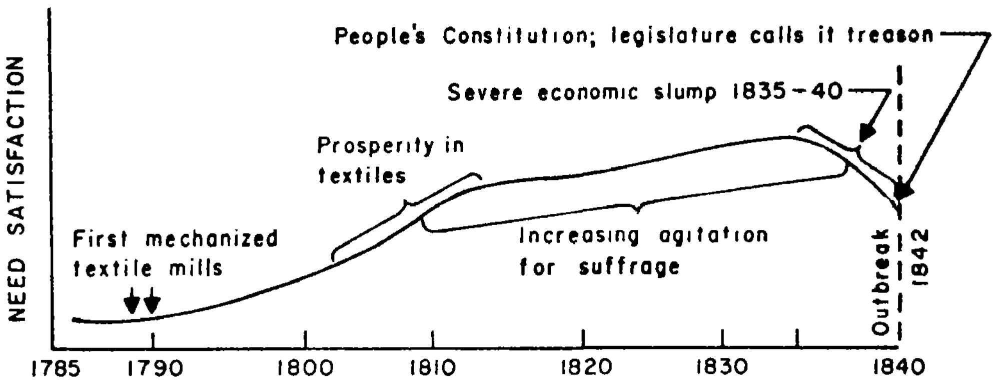


FIGURE 2

[14] The persistent demand for suffrage may be understood in light of election data for 1828 and 1840. In the former year, only 3600 votes were cast in Rhode Island, whose total population was about 94,000. (Of these votes, 23 per cent were cast for Jackson and 77 per cent for Adams, in contrast to a total national division of 56 per cent for Jackson and 44 per cent for Adams.) All votes cast in the 1828 election amount to 4 per cent of the total Rhode Island population and 11 per cent of the total U. S. population excluding slaves. In 1840, with a total population of 100,000 only 8300 votes—8 per cent—were cast in Rhode Island, in contrast to 17 per cent of the national population excluding slaves.

[15] A. M. Mowry, *The Dorr War*, Providence, R. I.: Preston & Rounds Co., 1901, p. 114.

the crops but also by improving their skill at self-government. Winning their war of independence, Americans continued to press for more goods and more democracy. The pursuit of economic expectations was greatly facilitated by the growth of domestic and foreign trade and the gradual establishment of industry. Equalitarian expectations in politics were satisfied and without severe struggle—in most Northern states—by suffrage reforms.

In Rhode Island, these rising expectations —more goods, more equality, more self-rule —were countered by a series of containing forces which built up such a head of steam that the boiler cracked a little in 1842. The textile depression hit hard in 1835 and its consequences were aggravated by the Panic of 1837. In addition to the frustration of seeing their peers get the right to vote in other states, poor people in Rhode Island were now beset by industrial dislocation in which the machines that brought them prosperity they had never before enjoyed now were bringing economic disaster. The machines could not be converted to produce food and in Rhode Island the machine tenders could not go back to the farm.

When they had recovered from the preoccupation with staying alive, they turned in earnest to their demands for constitutional reform. But these were met first with indifference and then by a growing intransigence on the part of the government representing the propertied class. Hostile action by the state supreme court and then the legislature with its Algerian law proved just enough to break briefly the constitutional structure which in stable societies has the measure of power and resilience necessary to absorb social tension.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

In Russia's tangled history it is hard to decide when began the final upsurge of expectations that, when frustrated, produced the cataclysmic events of 1917. One can truly say that the real beginning was the slow modernization process begun by Peter the Great over two hundred years before the revolution. And surely the rationalist currents from France that slowly penetrated Russian intellectual life during the reign of Catherine the Great a hundred years before the revolution were necessary, lineal antecedents of the 1917 revolution.

Without denying that there was an accumulation of forces over at least a 200-year period,[16] we may nonetheless date the final upsurge as beginning with the 1861 emancipation of serfs and reaching a crest in the 1905 revolution.

The chronic and growing unrest of serfs before their emancipation in 1861 is an ironic commentary on the Marxian notion that human beings are what social institutions make them. Although serfdom had been shaping their personality since 1647, peasants became increasingly restive in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[17] The continued discontent of peasants after emancipation is an equally ironic commentary on the belief that relieving one profound frustration produces enduring contentment. Peasants rather quickly got over their joy at being untied from the soil after two hundred years. Instead of declining, rural violence increased.[18] Having gained freedom but not much free land, peasants now had to rent or buy land to survive: virtual personal slavery was exchanged for financial servitude. Land pressure grew, reflected in a doubling of land prices between 1868 and 1897.

It is hard thus to tell whether the economic plight of peasants was much lessened after emancipation. A 1903 government study indicated that even with a normal harvest, average food intake per peasant was 30 per cent below the minimum for health. The only sure contrary item of evidence is that the peasant population grew, indicating at least increased ability of the land to support life, as the following table shows.

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16 There is an excellent summary in B. Brutzkus, "The Historical Peculiarities of the Social and Economic Development of Russia," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, *Class, Status, and Power*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 517–540.

17 Jacqueries rose from an average of 8 per year in 1826–30 to 34 per year in 1845–49. T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1919, Vol. 1, p. 130. This long, careful, and rather neglected analysis was first published in German in 1913 under the title *Zur Russischen Geschichts- und Religionsphilosophie*.

18 Jacqueries averaged 350 per year for the first three years after emancipation. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–141.

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA (1480–1895)

	Population in Millions	Increase in Millions	Average Annual Rate of Increase*
1480	2.1	—	—
1580	4.3	2.2	1.05%
1680	12 6	8.3	1.93%
1780	26.8	14.2	1.13%
1880	84.5	57.7	2.15%
1895	110 0	25.5	2 02%

* Computed as follows dividing the increase by the number of years and then dividing this hypothetical annual increase by the population at the end of the preceding 100-year period.

Source for gross population data: *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar*, St Petersburg, 1897, vol 40, p 631. Russia's population was about 97% rural in 1784, 91% in 1878, and 87% in 1897. See Masaryk, *op cit.*, p. 162n.

The land-population pressure pushed people into towns and cities, where the rapid growth of industry truly afforded the chance for economic betterment. One estimate of net annual income for a peasant family of five in the rich blackearth area in the late nineteenth century was 82 rubles. In contrast, a "good" wage for a male factory worker was about 168 rubles per year. It was this difference in the degree of poverty that produced almost a doubling of the urban population between 1878 and 1897. The number of industrial workers increased almost as rapidly. The city and the factory gave new hope. Strikes in the 1880s were met with brutal suppression but also with the beginning of factory legislation, including the requirement that wages be paid regularly and the abolition of child labor. The burgeoning proletariat remained comparatively contented until the eve of the 1905 revolution.[19]

There is additional, non-economic evidence to support the view that 1861 to 1905 was the period of rising expectations that preceded the 1917 revolution. The administration of justice before the emancipation had largely been carried out by noblemen and landowners who embodied the law for their peasants. In 1864 justice was in principle no longer delegated to such private individuals. Trials became public, the jury system was introduced, and judges got tenure. Corporal punishment was alleviated by the elimination of running the gauntlet, lashing, and branding; caning persisted until 1904. Public joy at these reforms was widespread. For the intelligentsia, there was increased opportunity to think and write and to criticize established institutions, even sacrosanct absolutism itself.

But Tsarist autocracy had not quite abandoned the scene. Having inclined but not bowed, in granting the inevitable emancipation as an act not of justice but grace, it sought to maintain its absolutist principle by conceding reform without accepting anything like democratic authority. Radical political and economic criticism surged higher. Some strong efforts to raise the somewhat lowered floodgates began as early as 1866, after an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of Alexander II, in whose name serfs had just gained emancipation. When the attempt succeeded fifteen years later, there was increasing state action under Alexander III to limit constantly rising expectations. By suppression and concession, the last Alexander succeeded in dying naturally in 1894.

When it became apparent that Nicholas II shared his father's ideas but not his forcefulness, opposition of the intelligentsia to absolutism joined with the demands of peasants and workers, who remained loyal to the Tsar but demanded economic reforms. Starting in 1904, there developed a "League of Deliverance" that coordinated efforts of at least seventeen other revolutionary, proletarian, or nationalist groups within the empire. Consensus on the need for drastic reform, both political and economic, established a many-ringed circus of groups sharing the same tent. These groups were geographically distributed from Finland to Armenia and ideologically from liberal constitutionalists to revolutionaries made prudent by the contrast between their own small forces and the power of Tsardom.

Events of 1904–5 mark the general downward turning point of expectations, which

[19] The proportion of workers who struck from 1895 through 1902 varied between 1.7 per cent and 4.0 per cent per year. In 1903 the proportion rose to 5.1 per cent but dropped a year later to 1.5 per cent. In 1905 the proportion rose to 163 8 per cent, indicating that the total working force struck, on the average, closer to twice than to once during that portentous year. In 1906 the proportion dropped to 65.8 per cent; in 1907 to 41.9 per cent; and by 1909 was down to a "normal" 3.5 per cent. *Ibid.*, p. 175n.

people increasingly saw as frustrated by the continuation of Tsardom. Two major and related occurrences made 1905 the point of no return. The first took place on the Bloody Sunday of January 22, 1905, when peaceful proletarian petitioners marched on the St. Petersburg palace and were killed by the hundreds. The myth that the Tsar was the gracious protector of his subjects, however surrounded he might be by malicious advisers, was quite shattered. The reaction was immediate, bitter, and prolonged and was not at all confined to the working class. Employers, merchants, and white-collar officials joined in the burgeoning of strikes which brought the economy to a virtual standstill in October. Some employers even continued to pay wages to strikers. University students and faculties joined the revolution. After the great October strike, the peasants ominously sided with the workers and engaged in riots and assaults on landowners. Until peasants became involved, even some landowners had sided with the revolution.

The other major occurrence was the disastrous defeat of the Russian army and navy in the 1904–5 war with Japan. Fundamentally an imperialist venture aspiring to hegemony over the people of Asia, the war was not regarded as a people's but as a Tsar's war, to save and spread absolutism. The military defeat itself probably had less portent than the return of shattered soldiers from a fight that was not for them. Hundreds of thousands, wounded or not, returned from the war as a visible, vocal, and ugly reminder to the entire populace of the weakness and selfishness of Tsarist absolutism.

The years from 1905 to 1917 formed an almost relentless procession of increasing misery and despair. Promising at last a constitutional government, the Tsar, in October, 1905, issued from on high a proclamation renouncing absolutism, granting law-making power to a duma, and guaranteeing freedom of speech, assembly, and association. The first two dumas, of 1906 and 1907, were dissolved for recalcitrance. The third was made pliant by reduced representation of workers and peasants and by the prosecution and conviction of protestants in the first two. The brief period of a free press was succeeded in 1907 by a reinstatement of censorship and confiscation of prohibited publications. Trial of offenders against the Tsar was now conducted by courts martial. Whereas there had been only 26 executions of the death sentence, in the 13 years of Alexander II's firm rule (1881–94), there were 4,449 in the years 1905–10, in six years of Nicholas II's soft regimen.[20]

But this "white terror," which caused despair among the workers and intelligentsia in the cities, was not the only face of misery. For the peasants, there was a bad harvest in 1906 followed by continued crop failures in several areas in 1907. To forestall action by the dumas, Stolypin decreed a series of agrarian reforms designed to break up the power of the rural communes by individualizing land ownership. Between these acts of God and government, peasants were so preoccupied with hunger or self-aggrandizement as to be dulled in their sensitivity to the revolutionary appeals of radical organizers.

After more than five years of degrading terror and misery, in 1910 the country appeared to have reached a condition of exhaustion. Political strikes had fallen off to a new low. As the economy recovered, the insouciance of hopelessness set in. Amongst the intelligentsia the mood was hedonism, or despair that often ended in suicide. Industrialists aligned themselves with the government. Workers worked. But an upturn of expectations, inadequately quashed by the police, was evidenced by a recrudescence of political strikes which, in the first half of 1914—on the eve of war—approached the peak of 1905. They sharply diminished during 1915 but grew again in 1916 and became a general strike in February 1917.[21]

Figure 3 indicates the lesser waves in the tidal wave whose first trough is at the end of serfdom in 1861 and whose second is at the end of Tsardom in 1917. This fifty-six year period appears to constitute a single long phase in which popular gratification at the

[20] *Ibid*, p. 189n.

[21] In his *History of the Russian Revolution*, Leon Trotsky presents data on political strikes from 1903 to 1917. In his *Spirit of Russia*, Masaryk presents comparable data from 1905 through 1912. The figures are not identical but the reported yearly trends are consistent. Masaryk's figures are somewhat lower, except for 1912. Cf. Trotsky, *op. cit.*, Doubleday Anchor Books ed., 1959, p. 32 and Masaryk, *op. cit. supra*, p. 197n.

termination of one institution (serfdom) rather quickly was replaced with rising expectations which resulted from intensified industrialization and which were incompatible with the continuation of the inequitable and capricious power structure of Tsarist society. The small trough of frustration during the repression that followed the assassination of Alexander II seems to have only briefly interrupted the rise in popular demand for more goods and more power. The trough in 1904 indicates the consequences of war with Japan. The 1905–6 trough reflects the repression of January 22, and after, and is followed by economic recovery. The final downturn after the first year of war, was a consequence of the dislocations of the German attack on all kinds of concerted activities other than production for the prosecution of the war. Patriotism and governmental repression for a time smothered discontent. The inflation that developed in 1916 when goods, including food, became severely scarce began to make workers self-consciously discontented. The conduct of the war, including the growing brutality against reluctant, ill-provisioned troops, and the enormous loss of life, produced the same bitter frustration in the army.[22] When civilian discontent reached the breaking point in February, 1917, it did not take long for it to spread rapidly into the armed forces. Thus began the second phase of the revolution that really started in 1905 and ended in death to the Tsar and Tsardom —but not to absolutism—when the Bolsheviks gained ascendancy over the moderates in October. A centuries-long history of absolutism appears to have made this post-Tsarist phase of it tragically inevitable.

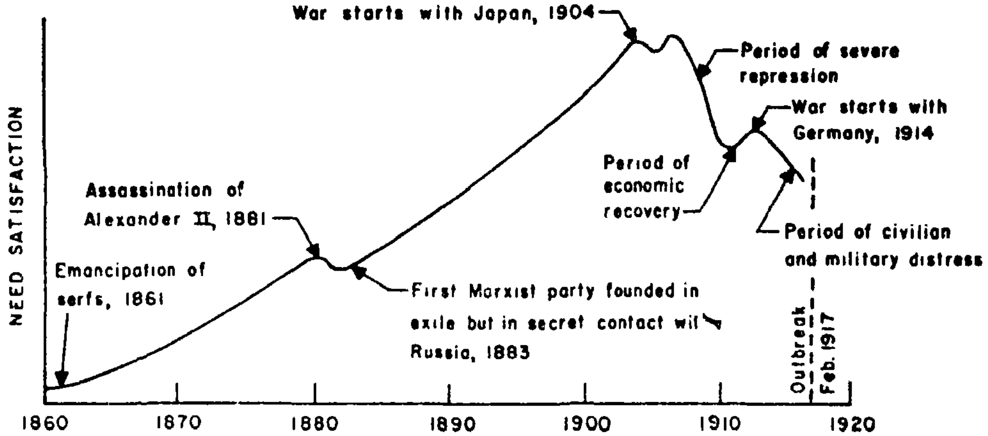


FIGURE 3

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The final slow upsurge of expectations in Egypt that culminated in the revolution began when that society became a nation in 1922, with the British grant of limited independence. British troops remained in Egypt to protect not only the Suez Canal but also, ostensibly, to prevent foreign aggression. The presence of foreign troops served only to heighten nationalist expectations, which were excited by the Wafd, the political organization that formed public opinion on national rather than religious grounds and helped establish a fairly unified community—in striking contrast to late-nineteenth century Russia.

But nationalist aspirations were not the only rising expectations in Egypt of the 1920s and 1930s. World War I had spurred industrialization, which opened opportunities for peasants to improve, somewhat, their way of life by working for wages in the cities and also opened great opportunities for entrepreneurs to get rich. The moderately wealthy got immoderately so in commodity market speculation, finance, and manufacture, and the uprooted peasants who were now employed, or at any rate living, in cities were

[22] See Trotsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–21 for a vivid picture of rising discontent in the army.

relieved of at least the notion that poverty and boredom must be the will of Allah. But the incongruity of a money-based modern semi-feudality that was like a chariot with a gasoline engine evidently escaped the attention of ordinary people. The generation of the 1930s could see more rapid progress, even for themselves, than their parents had even envisioned. If conditions remained poor, they could always be blamed on the British, whose economic and military power remained visible and strong.

Economic progress continued, though unevenly, during World War II. Conventional exports, mostly cotton, actually declined, not even reaching depression levels until 1945, but direct employment by Allied military forces reached a peak of over 200,000 during the most intense part of the African war. Exports after the war rose steadily until 1948, dipped, and then rose sharply to a peak in 1951 as a consequence of the Korean war. But in 1945 over 250,000 wage earners [23]—probably over a third of the working force—became jobless. The cost of living by 1945 had risen to three times the index of 1937.[24] Manual laborers were hit by unemployment; white collar workers and professionals probably more by inflation than unemployment. Meanwhile the number of millionaires in pounds sterling had increased eight times during the war.[25]

Frustrations, exacerbated during the war by German and thereafter by Soviet propaganda, were at first deflected against the British [26] but gradually shifted closer to home. Egyptian agitators began quoting the Koran in favor of a just, equalitarian society and against great differences in individual wealth. There was an ominous series of strikes, mostly in the textile mills, from 1946–8.

At least two factors stand out in the postponement of revolution. The first was the insatiable postwar world demand for cotton and textiles and the second was the surge of solidarity with king and country that followed the 1948 invasion of the new state of Israel. Israel now supplemented England as an object of deflected frustration. The disastrous defeat a year later, by a new nation with but a fifteenth of Egypt's population, was the beginning of the end. This little war had struck the peasant at his hearth, when a shortage of wheat and of oil for stoves provided a daily reminder of a weak and corrupt government. The defeat frustrated popular hopes for national glory and—with even more portent—humiliated the army and solidified it against the bureaucracy and the palace which had profiteered at the expense of national honor. In 1950 began for the first time a direct and open propaganda attack against the king himself. A series of peasant uprisings, even on the lands of the king, took place in 1951 along with some 49 strikes in the cities. The skyrocketing demand for cotton after the start of the Korean War in June, 1950 was followed by a collapse in March, 1952. The uncontrollable or uncontrolled riots in Cairo, on January 26, 1952, marked the fiery start of the revolution. The officers' coup in the early morning of July 23 only made it official.

OTHER CIVIL DISTURBANCES

The J-curve of rising expectations followed by their effective frustration is applicable to other revolutions and rebellions than just the three already considered. Leisler's Rebellion in the royal colony of New York in 1689 was a brief dress-rehearsal for the American Revolution eighty-six years later. In an effort to make the colony serve the crown better, duties had been raised and were being vigorously collected. The tanning of hides in the

[23] C. Issawi, *Egypt at Mid-Century: An Economic Survey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 262. J. & S. Lacouture in their *Egypt in Transition*, New York: Criterion Books, 1958, p. 100, give a figure of over 300,000. Sir R. Bullard, editor, *The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 221 estimates total employment in industry, transport, and commerce in 1957 to have been about 750,000.

[24] International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*, Washington, D. C. See monthly issues of this report, 1950–53.

[25] J. and S. Lacouture, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[26] England threatened to depose Farouk in February 1942, by force if necessary, if Egypt did not support the Allies. Capitulation by the government and the Wafd caused widespread popular disaffection. When Egypt finally declared war on the Axis in 1945, the prime minister was assassinated. See J. & S. Lacouture, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–98 and Issawi, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

colony was forbidden, as was the distillation of liquor. An embargo was placed on unmilled grain, which hurt the farmers. After a long period of economic growth and substantial political autonomy, these new and burdensome regulations produced a popular rebellion that for a year displaced British sovereignty.[27]

The American Revolution itself fits the J-curve and deserves more than the brief mention here given. Again prolonged economic growth and political autonomy produced continually rising expectations. They became acutely frustrated when, following the French and Indian War (which had cost England so much and the colonies so little), England began a series of largely economic regulations having the same purpose as those directed against New York in the preceding century. From the 1763 Proclamation (closing to settlement land west of the Appalachians) to the Coercive Acts of April, 1774 (which among other things, in response to the December, 1773 Boston Tea Party, closed tight the port of Boston), Americans were beset with unaccustomed manifestations of British power and began to resist forcibly in 1775, on the Lexington-Concord road. A significant decline in trade with England in 1772 [28] may have hastened the maturation of colonial rebelliousness.

The curve also fits the French Revolution, which again merits more mention than space here permits. Growing rural prosperity, marked by steadily rising land values in the eighteenth century, had progressed to the point where a third of French land was owned by peasant-proprietors. There were the beginnings of large-scale manufacture in the factory system. Constant pressure by the bourgeoisie against the state for reforms was met with considerable hospitality by a government already shifting from its old landed-aristocratic and clerical base to the growing middle class. Counter to these trends, which would *per se* avoid revolution, was the feudal reaction of the mid-eighteenth century, in which the dying nobility sought in numerous nagging ways to retain and reactivate its perquisites against a resentful peasantry and importunate bourgeoisie.

But expectations apparently continued rising until the growing opportunities and prosperity rather abruptly halted, about 1787. The fiscal crisis of the government is well known, much of it a consequence of a 1.5 billion livre deficit following interven-

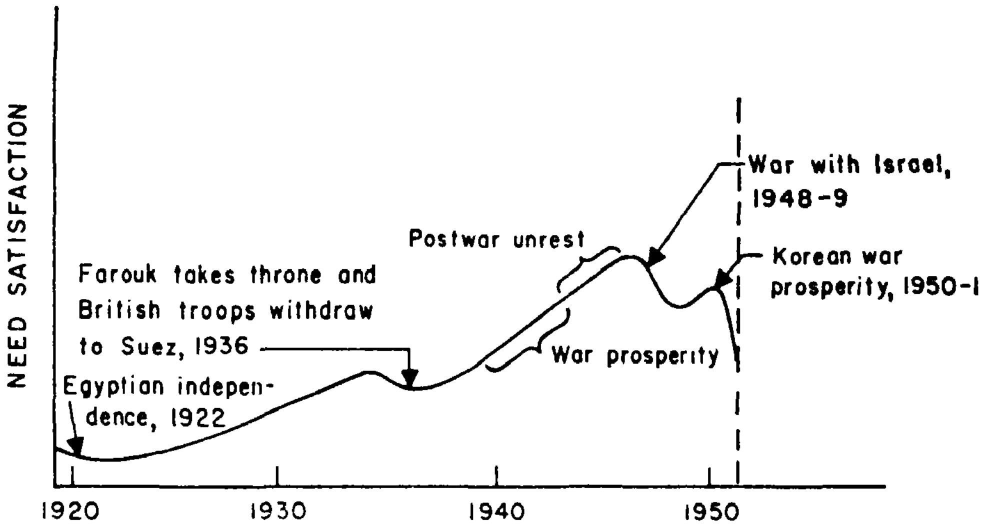


FIGURE 4

[27] See J. R. Reich, *Leisler's Rebellion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

[28] See U. S Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, D. C., 1960, p. 757.

tion against Britain in the American war of independence. The threat to tax the nobility severely—after its virtual tax immunity—and the bourgeoisie more severely may indeed be said to have precipitated the revolution. But less well-known is the fact that 1787 was a bad harvest year and 1788 even worse; that by July, 1789 bread prices were higher than they had been in over 70 years; that an ill-timed trade treaty with England depressed the prices of French textiles; that a concurrent bumper grape crop depressed wine prices—all with the result of making desperate the plight of the large segment of the population now dependent on other producers for food. They had little money to buy even less bread. Nobles and bourgeoisie were alienated from the government by the threat of taxation; workers and some peasants by the threat of starvation. A long period of halting but real progress for virtually all segments of the population was now abruptly ended in consequence of the government's efforts to meet its deficit and of economic crisis resulting from poor crops and poor tariff policy.[29]

The draft riots that turned the city of New York upside down for five days in July, 1863 also follow the J-curve. This severe local disturbance began when conscription threatened the lives and fortunes of workingmen whose enjoyment of wartime prosperity was now frustrated not only by military service (which could be avoided by paying $300 or furnishing a substitute—neither means being available to poor people) but also by inflation.[30]

Even the riots in Nyasaland, in February and March, 1959, appear to follow the pattern of a period of frustration after expectations and satisfactions have risen. Nyasaland workers who had enjoyed the high wages they were paid during the construction of the Kariba dam in Rhodesia returned to their homes and to unemployment, or to jobs paying $5 per month at a time when $15 was considered a bare minimum wage.[31]

One negative case—of a revolution that did not occur—is the depression of the 1930s in the United States. It was severe enough, at least on economic grounds, to have produced a revolution. Total national private production income in 1932 reverted to what it had been in 1916. Farm income in the same year was as low as in 1900; manufacturing as low as in 1913. Construction had not been as low since 1908. Mining and quarrying was back at the 1909 level.[32] For much of the population, two decades of economic progress had been wiped out. There were more than sporadic demonstrations of unemployed, hunger marchers, and veterans. In New York City, at least 29 people died of starvation. Poor people could vividly contrast their own past condition with the present—and their own present condition with that of those who were not seriously suffering. There were clearly audible rumbles of revolt. Why, then, no revolution?

Several forces worked strongly against it. Among the most depressed, the mood was one of apathy and despair, like that observed in Austria by Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld. It was not until the 1936 election that there was an increased turnout in the national election. The great majority of the public shared a set of values which since 1776 had been official dogma—not the dissident program of an alienated intelligentsia. People by and large were in agreement, whether or not they had succeeded economically, in a belief in individual hard work, self-reliance, and the promise of success. (Among workers, this non-class orientation had greatly impeded the establishment of trade unions, for example.) Those least hit by the depression—the upper-middle class businessmen, clergymen, lawyers, and intellectuals—remained rather solidly committed not only to equalitarian values and to the established economic system but also to constitutional processes. There was no such widespread or profound alienation as that which had cracked the

[29] See G. Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947, pp. 101–109, 145–148, 196. G. Le Bon, *The Psychology of Revolution*, New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1913, p. 143.

[30] The account by Irving Werstein, *July 1863*, New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1957, is journalistic but to my knowledge the fullest yet available.

[31] E. S. Munger, "The Tragedy of Nyasaland," American Universities Field Staff Reports Service, vol. 7, no. 4 (August 1, 1959), p. 9.

[32] See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: 1789–1945*, Washington, D. C.: 1949, p. 14.

loyalty of the nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie, armed forces, and intelligentsia in Russia. And the national political leadership that emerged had constitutionalism almost bred in its bones. The major threat to constitutionalism came in Louisiana; this leadership was unable to capture a national party organization, in part because Huey Long's arbitrariness and demagogy were mistrusted.

The major reason that revolution did not nonetheless develop probably remains the vigor with which the national government attacked the depression in 1933, when it became no longer possible to blame the government. The ambivalent popular hostility to the business community was contained by both the action of government against the depression and the government's practice of publicly and successfully eliciting the cooperation of businessmen during the crucial months of 1933. A failure then of cooperation could have intensified rather than lessened popular hostility to business. There was no longer an economic or a political class that could be the object of widespread intense hatred because of its indifference or hostility to the downtrodden. Had Roosevelt adopted a demagogic stance in the 1932 campaign and gained the loyalty to himself personally of the Army and the F.B.I., there might have been a Nazi-type "revolution," with a potpourri of equalitarian reform, nationalism, imperialism, and domestic scapegoats. Because of a conservatism in America stemming from strong and long attachment to a value system shared by all classes, an anti-capitalist, leftist revolution in the 1930s is very difficult to imagine.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The notion that revolutions need both a period of rising expectations and a succeeding period in which they are frustrated qualifies substantially the main Marxian notion that revolutions occur after progressive degradation and the de Tocqueville notion that they occur when conditions are improving. By putting de Tocqueville before Marx but without abandoning either theory, we are better able to plot the antecedents of at least the disturbances here described.

Half of the general, if not common, sense of this revised notion lies in the utter improbability of a revolution occurring in a society where there is the continued, unimpeded opportunity to satisfy new needs, new hopes, new expectations. Would Dorr's rebellion have become such if the established electorate and government had readily acceded to the suffrage demands of the unpropertied? Would the Russian Revolution have taken place if the Tsarist autocracy had, quite out of character, truly granted the popular demands for constitutional democracy in 1905? Would the Cairo riots of January, 1952 and the subsequent coup actually have occurred if Britain had departed from Egypt and if the Egyptian monarchy had established an equitable tax system and in other ways alleviated the poverty of urban masses and the shame of the military?

The other half of the sense of the notion has to do with the improbability of revolution taking place where there has been no hope, no period in which expectations have risen. Such a stability of expectations presupposes a static state of human aspirations that sometimes exists but is rare. Stability of expectations is not a stable social condition. Such was the case of American Indians (at least from our perspective) and perhaps Africans before white men with Bibles, guns, and other goods interrupted the stability of African society. Egypt was in such a condition, vis-à-vis modern aspirations, before Europe became interested in building a canal. Such stasis was the case in Nazi concentration camps, where conformism reached the point of inmates cooperating with guards even when the inmates were told to lie down so that they could be shot.[38] But in the latter case there was a society with externally induced complete despair, and even in these camps there were occasional rebellions of sheer desperation. It is of course true that in a society less regimented than concentration camps, the rise of expectations can be frustrated successfully, thereby defeating rebellion just as the satisfaction of expectations does. This, however, requires the uninhibited exercise of brute force as it was used in suppressing the Hungarian rebellion of 1956. Failing the continued ability

[38] Eugen Kogon, ***The Theory and Practice of Hell***, New York: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1950, pp. 284–286.

and persistent will of a ruling power to use such force, there appears to be no sure way to avoid revolution short of an effective, affirmative, and continuous response on the part of established governments to the almost continuously emerging needs of the governed.

To be predictive, my notion requires the assessment of the state of mind—or more precisely, the mood—of a people. This is always difficult, even by techniques of systematic public opinion analysis. Respondents interviewed in a country with a repressive government are not likely to be responsive. But there has been considerable progress in gathering first-hand data about the state of mind of peoples in politically unstable circumstances. One instance of this involved interviewing in West Berlin, during and after the 1948 blockade, as reported by Buchanan and Cantril. They were able to ascertain, however crudely, the sense of security that people in Berlin felt. There was a significant increase in security after the blockade.[34]

Another instance comes out of the Middle Eastern study conducted by the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research and reported by Lerner.[35] By directly asking respondents whether they were happy or unhappy with the way things had turned out in their life, the interviewers turned up data indicating marked differences in the frequency of a sense of unhappiness between countries and between "traditional," "transitional," and "modern" individuals in these countries.[36] There is no technical reason why such comparisons could not be made chronologically as well as they have been geographically.

Other than interview data are available with which we can, from past experience, make reasonable inferences about the mood of a people. It was surely the sense for the relevance of such data that led Thomas Masaryk before the first World War to gather facts about peasant uprisings and industrial strikes and about the writings and actions of the intelligentsia in nineteenth-century Russia. In the present report, I have used not only such data—in the collection of which other social scientists have been less assiduous than Masaryk—but also such indexes as comparative size of vote as between Rhode Island and the United States, employment, exports, and cost of living. Some such indexes, like strikes and cost of living, may be rather closely related to the mood of a people; others, like value of exports, are much cruder indications. Lest we shy away from the gathering of crude data, we should bear in mind that Durkheim developed his remarkable insights into modern society in large part by his analysis of suicide rates. He was unable to rely on the interviewing technique. We need not always ask people whether they are grievously frustrated by their government; their actions can tell us as well and sometimes better.

In his *Anatomy of Revolution,* Crane Brinton describes "some tentative uniformities" that he discovered in the Puritan, American, French, and Russian revolutions.[37] The uniformities were: an economically advancing society, class antagonism, desertion of intellectuals, inefficient government, a ruling class that has lost self-confidence, financial failure of government, and the inept use of force against rebels. All but the last two of these are long-range phenomena that lend themselves to studies over extended time periods. The first two lend themselves to statistical analysis. If they serve the purpose, techniques of content analysis could be used to ascertain trends in alienation of intellectuals. Less rigorous methods would perhaps serve better to ascertain the effectiveness of government and the self-confidence of rulers. Because tensions and frustrations are present at all times in every society, what is most seriously needed are data that cover an extended time period in a particular society, so that one can say there is evidence that

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[34] W. Buchanan, "Mass Communication in Reverse," *International Social Science Bulletin,* 5 (1953), pp. 577–583, at p. 578. The full study is W. Buchanan and H. Cantril, *How Nations See Each Other,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953, esp. pp. 85–90.

[35] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958.

[36] *Ibid.,* pp. 101–103. See also F. P. Kilpatrick & H. Cantril, "Self-Anchoring Scaling, A Measure of Individuals' Unique Reality Words," *Journal of Individual Psychology,* 16 (November, 1960), pp. 158–173.

[37] See the revised edition of 1952 as reprinted by Vintage Books, Inc., 1957, pp. 264–275.

[illegible] is greater or less than it was N [illegible] or months previously.

We need also to know how long is a long cycle of rising expectations and how long is a brief cycle of frustration. We noted a brief period of frustration in Russia after the 1881 assassination of Alexander II and a longer period after the 1904 beginning of the Russo-Japanese War. Why did not the revolution occur at either of these times rather than in 1917? Had expectations before these two times not risen high enough? Had the subsequent decline not been sufficiently sharp and deep? Measuring techniques have not yet been devised to answer these questions. But their unavailability now does not forecast their eternal inaccessibility. Physicists devised useful temperature scales long before they came as close to absolute zero as they have recently in laboratory conditions. The far more complex problems of scaling in social science inescapably are harder to solve.

We therefore are still not at the point of being able to predict revolution, but the closer we can get to data indicating by inference the prevailing mood in a society, the closer we will be to understanding the change from gratification to frustration in people's minds. That is the part of the anatomy, we are forever being told with truth and futility, in which wars and revolutions always start. We should eventually be able to escape the embarrassment that may have come to Lenin six weeks after he made the statement in Switzerland, in January, 1917, that he doubted whether "we, the old [will] live to see the decisive battles of the coming revolution."[38]

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[38] Quoted in E. H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia*, vol. 1, *The Bolshevik Revolution: 1917–23*, London Macmillan, 1950, p. 69.

MASS SOCIETY AND EXTREMIST POLITICS

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Theories of mass politics attempt to explain the sources of political extremism by characteristics of mass societies. Such theories are criticized on the grounds that they assume adherence to democratic norms under pluralist conditions even when such norms frustrate intensely held values. Mass politics theories ignore the cultural cohesion necessary to sustain democratic politics. Conditions of mass societies also provide support to democratic political norms through the consequences of mass communications, equalitarianism, and bureaucratization for national societies. Isolation from mass culture accentuates local sources of extremist response.

A dominant stream of thought in current political sociology explains many contemporary anti-democratic movements as products of a distinctive social organization—Mass Society. Writers who utilize this approach have maintained that modern, Western societies increasingly show characteristics of mass organization which sharply differ from the features of such societies in the nineteenth and earlier centuries. Mass societies, in this view, demonstrate a form of politics in which traditional sociological concepts, such as class or culture, are not relevant to an understanding of the sources, genesis, or careers of extremist, anti-democratic political movements. Mass politics is the form of political action unique to mass societies. As modern democratic societies become mass societies, we may then anticipate that political crises are likely to generate extremist, anti-democratic responses. Leading advocates of this theory of "mass politics," in whole or part, are Hannah Arendt, Erich Fromm, Karl Mannheim, William Kornhauser, Robert Nisbet, and Philip Selznick.[1] This paper is a critical

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[1] The following relevant writings embody the theory of mass politics: Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954; Erich Fromm, *Escape From*

analysis of this approach and a reformulation of some of the relations between mass societies and political action.

There are two major contentions in this paper. The first is a criticism of the assumptions about democratic politics underlying the theory of mass politics. The second is a reformulated theory of the relation between mass society and political extremism in contemporary, democratic societies.

It is our first contention that implicit in the theory of mass politics is an idealized conception of the pluralistic social and political system held necessary for the maintenance of democratic institutions. This conception is idealized in that it fails to give adequate weight to barriers which conflicts of interest offer to political harmony and compromise under any political structure.

Our second contention is that the elements of mass societies viewed with alarm by mass politics theorists in actuality contain positive connotations for the maintenance of democratic political institutions. Mass communications, bureaucratic institutions, and equalitarianism have implications which strengthen pluralistic political structures. Extremist politics may be expected in modern societies as a response of those adversely affected by the changes towards a mass society and most insulated from mass institutions. Contrary to the theory of mass politics traditional concepts of political sociology *are* adequate to the analysis of extremism.

It must be made clear that our major interest in this paper is in the explanation of anti-democratic movements as they develop within historically democratic societies. This excludes consideration of authoritarian regimes in traditional societies or the development of anti-democratic movements in developing economies under the impact of intensive social and economic change.[2] Our interest is confined to those writers who explain such modern extremist movements as Fascism, Communism, or McCarthyism by reference to characteristics of mass society. These represent one variant of mass society theory, but an influential one.[3]

MASS SOCIETY AND THE THEORY OF MASS POLITICS

Mass Society analysts view modern social systems as significantly different from nonindustrial and earlier societies. Whatever the differences among individual writers, there is a common core of description in the term "mass society" which suggests the attenuation of primary and local associations and groups. Impersonal, bureaucratized relationships in large-scale organizations have replaced the informal systems of loyalty in small groups and local affiliations. Equalitarian conditions and ideologies have weakened systems of political and social authority characteristic of stratified communities. Technological innovations have made possible a high degree of standardization, both of products and ideas. The elongation of the chain of organizational command has enhanced the possibilities of oligarchic control as local groups are less viable, hence less resistant to control. The emphasis is upon the breakdown of immediate relationships and differentiations so that the population is now more homogeneous but also less sharply identified and affiliated with distinctive social groups. It is in this sense that the theorist

Freedom, New York: Rinehart, 1945; Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1940; William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959; Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1953; Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952.

[2] See the discussion of the political effects of social and economic change in Western and non-Western societies in Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 7, 8.

[3] We have confined our analysis here to theorists who find mass societies an explanatory tool in analyzing the rise of contemporary anti-democratic movements. Other writers have also described modern society as mass-like and have evaluated it in negative terms. This latter group, however, has not viewed political extremism as a likely consequence of mass conditions. Writers such as David Riesman, in *The Lonely Crowd*, and C. Wright Mills, in *The Power Elite*, have emphasized developing trends toward conformity and passivity rather than toward militance and activism. Still another stream in mass society writings is represented by E. A. Shils. He agrees that modern society is, by reason of mass conditions, best described as qualitatively different from earlier Western societies. This stream of writings, however, denies the disorganizing and overconforming consequences stressed by the other views. See the positive acceptance of mass society in Edward A. Shils, "Mass Society and Its Culture," *Daedalus*, 89 (Spring, 1960), pp. 288–314.

of mass society views the traditional categories of sociological analysis—family, class, community, ethnic identity, etc.—as having lost significance in mass societies. The mass is masslike: shapeless, structureless, undifferentiated. Mass politics trace the implications of this loss of differentiation for the bonds of loyalty to democratic political institutions.

Exponents of mass politics viewpoints have described modern Western, industrial societies as ones in which persons lack attachment to primary and secondary associations. "The chief characteristic of the mass-man," Hannah Arendt has written, "is not brutality and backwardness, but his isolation and lack of normal social relationships." [4] Political extremism, manifested in anti-democratic movements, is seen as a result of the *structural* and *psychological* consequences for political loyalty or disattachment to democratic procedures and aims.

Supporters of this view hold that structural characteristics of bureaucratization and equality undermine the functions of secondary and primary associations in inculcating values and in transmitting political norms. In mass society, such theories maintain, secondary associations of school, church, community or union, operate in a large-scale fashion. Rank-and-file identification with the organizational elite is diminished as the member's associational life is peripheral and tangential. The high mobility rates and standardized life styles destroy economic class as an important source of motivation and interest in political events. Institutions functioning under conditions of mass society do not touch the character and the personal values of those exposed to them. Being solely instrumental means, the major associations and institutions of the society cannot act as agencies through which values are inculcated. Because of this, the political elites of the society cannot mediate political decisions to the acceptance of the rank-and-file. Such political "untouchables" are described by Selznick when he writes, "He has lost the meaning provided by the articulated social structure to which he belonged." [5]

In previous centuries the lack of integration of rank-and-file members of the society into political institutions was a matter of little political consequence. Mass societies, however, are politically equalitarian. The development of large aggregates of persons unattached to democratic political structures and norms is significant because such groups are capable of spontaneous development unguided by the norms of democratic society. The diminished role of intermediate structures—both institutions and specific political associations—leaves the person unattached and capable of being reunited into a new group. "A strong intermediate structure consists of stable and independent groups which represent diverse and frequently conflicting interests." [6] In mass society, however, the representative nature of these groups (classes, ethnic groups, regions, etc.) is undermined. Both because participation is peripheral and because political elites are limited in authority, mass societies are less able to control the values and political aspirations of citizens.

To the structural disintegration of society there is added the personal disorganization of the individual. The psychological consequences of mass society are described in terms of the feeling of detachment. The key word here is alienation, "a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself as an alien." [7] Whether the emphasis of the writer is on estrangement from work, the normlessness of contemporary culture or the powerless feeling of the individual in large-scale organizations, mass conditions are described as producing feelings of *malaise* and insecurity.

The alienation of the individual in modern societies is the psychological statement of detachment. It describes a condition in which the person is not involved in or committed to primary or secondary groups. It adds to this the description of the person as someone with positive, unfulfilled needs for identity, affection, and assurance.

In both its structural and psychological elements the theory of mass politics states that political alienation—the disattachment of the person from political institutions—is a

[4] Hannah Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[5] Philip Selznick, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[6] William Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[7] Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*, New York: Rinehart, 1955, p. 120.

function of the disintegrating influences of mass society on the ties of sentiment and loyalty to specific groups which characterized the social structure of democracies in an earlier historical period. Without attachment to primary or to intermediate structures, the individual has no bond to national political institutions which commands his loyalty to its political norms.

PLURALISTIC AND EXTREMIST POLITICS

In the emphasis on a transition from an earlier historical period to a modern, mass society the theories here considered have suggested that political democracy functioned relatively unimpeded under non-mass conditions. It is imperative then that we examine the type of political structure from which mass politics is seen as differing. Political extremism is so defined in contradistinction to pluralistic politics. The mass theorist sees pluralistic politics as impaired under current social conditions. As a corollary pluralistic structure is implicitly posited as an essential condition for democratic politics.

The theory of a balance of power among a plurality of groups has been the dominant analytical tool of American political scientists.[8] Its classic defense has been presented in Hamilton and Madison's *The Federalist Papers*. The theory presupposes a society of many and diverse social groups. The political institutions force each group to moderate and compromise their interests in the interplay of party, secondary association, and locality. In the pluralist conception of the citizen, each person is integrated into politics in his capacity as member of some segment of the society—worker or manager, city or country dweller, Southerner or Northerner, immigrant or native, white or black. The units of politics are thus organized groups built upon the sentiments and interests of persons in their affiliations with specific primary associations which occupy positions and perform specific functions within the major institutions.

Pluralistic politics involves certain "rules of the game" by which political conflict carried on. These "rules of the game," pa of the definition of politics as an institutio are adhered to by the participants. Chi among tenets of democratic politics is a ceptance of opposing forces into the politic process on the same terms as those bindir on one's own group. This acceptance suppli the necessity for political compromise an conciliation. If all groups possess some poli ical power and are admitted into the p litical process, bargaining and negotiatio are the chief modes of political conflict. Vic lence is ruled out as a possible way of solvin social or economic conflicts.

It is essential to this process that eac group be willing to accept the total or par tial defeat of its aims and accept the tota or partial achievement of the aims of it opponents. Compromise includes the abilit to settle for less than full victory. This "real istic" orientation is achieved in an atmos phere governed by rational calculation of in terests. It is most negated when objective have become correlated with consideration of honor and when compromise, negotiation and defeat are suffused with connotations of dishonor.

Political extremism occurs when movements advocate violation of the democratic, pluralist "rules of the game." Shils suggests a distinction between pluralistic and ideological politics which emphasizes the disattachment of the extremist from self-limiting and rationally calculative aspects of pluralism:

> Extremism consists in going to an extreme in zealous attachment to a particular value, e.g., private property, ethnic homogeneity, or status equality. . . . The extremist must be deeply alienated from the complex of rules which keep the strivings for various values in restraint and balance. An extremist group is an alienated group. . . . Its hostility is incompatible with that freedom from intense emotion which pluralistic politics needs for its prosperity. . . . The focus of the extremists attention on one or a few completely fulfilled values and his impatience with compromise when a plurality of values, never internally consistent, have to be reconciled with each other makes the extremist feel that he is worlds apart from the compromising moderates.[9]

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[8] The best descriptions of this process in contemporary political science are probably David Truman, *The Governmental Process*, New York: A. A Knopf, 1951, and V. O. Key, *Parties, Politics and Pressure Groups*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowley, 1947.

[9] Edward A. Shils, *The Torment of Secrecy*, Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1955, p. 231. In

This distinction between pluralist and extremist politics differs, as others have pointed out,[10] from traditional distinctions between Right and Left, Conservative, Liberal and Radical, and reform and revolution. It is a distinction between styles and not between contents. It is in this sense that extremism is alienated from the institutions of democratic politics. It denies the legitimacy of democratic political institutions as devices for mediating conflict. Extremist style refuses to accept the possible or probable outcomes of whole or partial defeat. Total victory is too important in the hierarchy of values to permit of compromise.

In several ways, then, the extremist breaks with the normative patterns of pluralist political behavior: (1) *He attempts to close the political process to opposing forces:* Politics is held to be the legitimate area of conflict for some, but not for all groups. Both Fascism and Communism have made this a cornerstone of the political structure as well as a tenet of their movements.

(2) *He attempts to carry on social and economic conflicts outside of political institutions:* The confinement of conflict to politics marks a cardinal principle of democratic politics. Violence, intimidation and fraud are excluded as means of achieving group ends.

(3) *He impairs the culture of democratic discussion:* An emphasis is placed on the value of uniform opinions and behavior. The criteria of rational calculation of interests is replaced by intensive appeals to sentiment and symbolism. This strain in McCarthyism captured the attention of those concerned with extremism in politics. It is only in this sense that membership and participation in extremist movements seems authoritarian. The extremist style has little appreciation of dissent and schism in the total society.

The extremist movement is marked by the low degree of commitment to the values of procedure in democratic institutions. Pluralist norms enforce tolerance, barter, and the inclusion of opponents as joint members of the same social system. Extremist resentment against democratic politics is not that of indifference but that of intensive conviction. It is the thoroughly moralistic attitude which marks the extremist and distinguishes him from the slightly cynical pluralist.

As we have sketched it so far, political extremism is found in one or both forms: an increased attachment to a single, over-riding value or a weakened attachment to the norms of pluralist politics. In either case, the extremist is alienated from the *existing* democratic order.[11]

The theorists of mass politics visualize extremist movements as consequences of weakened attachments to political institutions and persons resulting from the breakdown in functioning of primary and secondary associations in mass societies. Without a sense of affiliation to specific interest groups, the citizen has no way to develop a frame of reference for political events. Intermediate secondary associations cannot touch him sufficiently to act as forces limiting intensity of opposition and resentment of rival political claims. Political figures become distrusted and democratic institutions no longer legiti-

similar vein, Nathan Leites introduces his study of French politics by a statement exempting the Communists and the "extreme right" from his discussion He reasons that their style in politics is distinctly different from the "national" groups of the Center. In the period of post-war politics which he studied, "the extremes entered but little in 'the game' so that the patterns of political calculation used in parliament had little reference to their behavior " Nathan Leites, *On the Game of Politics in France,* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959, p 1.

[10] Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind,* New York: Basic Books, 1960, Ch. 3; Edward A. Shils, "Authoritarianism—Right and Left," in R. Christie and M. Jahoda, editors, *Studies in the Scope and Method of 'The Authoritarian Personality,'* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.

[11] It should be emphasized that the degree of commitment of democratic populations to its political institutions is a relative matter. Many studies of attitudes toward civil liberties show a great gap between the acceptance of civil liberties among a minority of educated and participating citizens and the rank and file, especially among the lower-income and lesser educated. In this case, political extremism represents less an alienation *from* political institutions than it does the advent of increased political democracy. For studies of civil liberties see Samuel Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties,* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1955; Seymour Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," in *Political Man,* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960, pp. 97–130, and Raymond Mack, "Do We Really Believe in the Bill of Rights?", *Social Problems,* 3 (April, 1956), pp. 264–269.

mate sources of social control. In Kornhauser's words:

> . . . intermediate groups help to protect elites by functioning as channels through which popular participation in the larger society (especially in the national elites) may be directed and restrained.[12]

The mass theorist goes a step further and suggests that such detachment from democratic political institutions leaves the individual susceptible to political participation in extremist channels. The socially alienated individual is not only politically alienated; he is also more likely to become the extremist activist than is the member of a structured interest group. He is no longer limited in his attack on rivals by the controls of a structured pluralistic society. His resentments against opposing groups and against the existing institutions themselves need not be confined to the calculative, instrumental style of democratic politics. The mass man is a passionate supporter of ideology.

Lack of control mechanisms regulating the political attitudes and behavior of mass citizenry furthers the extremist character of participation in politics. It enables the person to project destructive impulses into the political arena. Mannheim, for example, maintained that in traditional societies collective impulses and wishes are absorbed by smaller groups and directed toward group aims. The social disintegration of modern society, he felt, set such impulses free to seek integration around some new object, often a symbol or a leader.[13]

The attenuation of local and primary associations and mediating secondary interest groups and associations, is, in the theory of mass politics, the source of the extremism frequent in contemporary mass societies. As a system of analysis this view finds that traditional concepts of class and status aims are limited ways of characterizing political movements. As a philosophy of politics, the theory adds up to a defense of the virtues of a pluralistic political system. The transition from a pluralistic society to a mass society is implicitly and explicitly bemoaned. For this reason, the analysis of pluralist assumptions is central to our discussion.

[12] Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[13] Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

PLURALISTIC SOURCES OF POLITICAL EXTREMISM

The theory of mass politics assumes tl a pluralistic social structure diminishes t possibilities that political action will ta extremist directions. Conflicts and deman for change will occur but will be moderat by adherence to the style of democratic i stitutions. An analysis of this assumptio however, shows that extremism both *can* aı often *does* occur within pluralistic structure There are at least four situations in whi(pluralism either invites or fails to foresta behavior outside the range of democrat norms for the mediation of conflicts:

(1) *Disenfranchised classes:* Change o ten brings new groups into formation (increases the demands of old ones. In an case, at any given time, some groups ar excluded from the political process. Often i is not in the interest of some or most of th included groups to accept new politica forces. Excluded groups must either functioı outside of the political "game" or force thei way into it. The militancy of the Americaı Negro in the South today is of this nature Compromise and legality are not relevan political alternatives unless a group is withir the political structures in the first place.

(2) *Doomed and defeated classes:* The theory of democratic politics has never developed a satisfactory answer to the problem: When is compromise to be rejected? When is political defeat not an acceptable alternative to violence and other breaks with pluralist procedure? The facts of the American Civil War and of the Algerian crisis in contemporary France illustrate the thesis that well-structured groups, with channels of representation in parliamentary bodies, are far from willing to accept defeat of important aims through parliamentary procedures. Robert Dahl sees this as a serious impediment in democratic theory. Referring to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Dahl writes:

> Thus any election interpreted as a clear-cut victory for one side was almost certain to be so intolerable to the other that it would refuse to accept the outcome. . . . Where each side is large and regards the victory of the other as a fundamental threat to some very highly ranked values, it is reasonable to ex-

pect serious difficulties in the continued operation of a (pluralistic) system.[14]

This is apt to be the case under conditions of social or economic change which gravely threaten a previous position of power and supremacy. To such "doomed classes,"[15] the future looks far less inviting than the past. A radical reorganization of society, might be a solution to their problem but such a reorganization against politically ascendent forces is precisely what the moderating elements in the structure of political balance operate against. Recent discussions of the plight of the "old middle classes" in American life have stressed the indignation of these groups at their loss of power and status.[16] It is not a failure to "belong" that lies at the source of their alienation and possible "right-wing radicalism." Their response is touched off by the contents of the social changes to which they react.

(3) *Public opinion and the imbalance of competing interests:* The theory of democratic politics as a balance between competing interests often ignores the important role played by the neutral, non-competing elements in the political process. A great many groups without specific interests in a particular issue nevertheless have power to effect governmental decisions. Such decisions are made with a concern for the general climate of opinion toward an issue. Whether the "public" is friendly or hostile is an important element in an interest group's decision to pursue its aims within or without the political process. As Murray Edelman has pointed out, labor will pursue its goals through economic processes (strikes, bargaining, etc.) when the political climate is hostile.[17] Recourse to non-political means is not ruled out by the existence of pluralistic machinery.

(4) *Development of periodic crisis:* Mass politics theory generally recognizes economic and military crisis as an essential "trigger" to extremist movements. Because pluralistic politics is oriented toward compromises between groups, it is less open to long run considerations. This is especially the case in issues of foreign policy. Unless there is some consensual basis other than group interest, elites must "sell" policy in terms communicable to specific classes and interests. Even assuming a diffusion of power in the form of what Riesman calls "veto groups,"[18] a hiatus develops between long-run perspectives of governmental leaders and the short-run perspectives of intermediate associations and their constituencies. The result is often a stalemate and an immobilism which enables problems to develop into major crises. One instance of this is contained in LaPalombara's analysis of French and Italian politics in the post-war years.[19] He explains greater cohesion and agreement within the Italian moderate parties than among the French as a consequence of differences in the power of the Communist Party in each of the countries. Italian moderates were forced into agreement by fear.

> While there has not been any serious fear in France that PCF could come peacefully to power, this reassuring assessment has been denied the democratic party leaders in Italy. . . . They have not been able to permit themselves the capricious inaction in which the French Center Party Leaders have indulged over the last decade.[20]

Inability of political elites to deal with crisis is itself one strong source of mass alienation from a political institution. Third parties have fared better at the polls in the United States during periods of economic depression than during periods of prosper-

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[14] Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 97–98.

[15] The term is used by Franz Neumann in "Notes on the Theory of Dictatorship," in *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, p. 251.

[16] See the articles by Richard Hofstadter and by Seymour Lipset in Daniel Bell, editor, *The New American Right,* New York: Criterion Books, 1955. For a fuller treatment of this theme see Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Stratification and Right-Wing Extremism," *British Journal of Sociology,* 10 (December, 1959), pp. 1–32.

[17] Murray Edelman, "Government's Balance of Power in Labor-Management Relations," *Labor Law Journal,* 2 (January, 1951), pp. 31–35. This point is also discussed in C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 246–248.

[18] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, pp. 242–255.

[19] Joseph LaPalombara, "Political Party Systems and Crisis Government: French and Italian Contrasts," *Midwest Journal of Political Science,* 11 (May, 1958), pp. 117–139.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

ity.[21] As Lipset has pointed out, there is a direct correlation between levels of economic well-being and the existence of democratic political systems.[22] Prosperous countries may avoid problems which threaten political stability in less affluent nations.

In each of these four situations, extremist politics is developed and conducted by well-structured groups, representing discrete and organized parts of the social structure, acting to secure goals related to group needs. While such groups are alienated from the existing political institutions they are not socially disintegrated or unrelated to the society and its political system. They function within a pluralist framework in which their values receive short shrift. Failure to recognize that pluralist assumptions cannot alone sustain political institutions is at the root of the implicit ideology of the theorist of mass politics.

THE PLURALIST IDEOLOGY

The sanguine view of political balance at the base of mass politics theory reveals a repetition of the ideological bias of nineteenth century liberalism—the assumption that there is a natural harmony of interests which sustains the social and political system. Occurrences of sharp conflict are therefore indicative of disruptions in the *form* of social arrangements. There is nothing in the *content* of interests and beliefs which makes compromise improbable. Mannheim reflects this ideology in a passage in *Man and Society* in which he suggests that experience in trade unions and in other associations trains participants for planning on a societal basis: "He is gradually realizing that by resigning partial advantages he helps to save the social and economic system and thereby also his own interests." [23]

The belief that participation in the mary and secondary associations of the ety will moderate conflict arises from ideological commitment to pluralist poli It leads the mass politics theorist to iden political defeat with social alienation, to v extremist movements as actions of di tached persons, unrelated to specific so bases or pursuing interests of a discrete cial base. Because of this tendency, the m politics approach has felt traditional politi analysis to be deficient.

It is *not* true that attachment to inte mediate structures insures attachment to t larger national institutions and structures. a society undergoes change, it is likely th specific groups will be adversely affected b economic or social change. Similarly, som groups may develop new aspirations and ob jectives. In both cases they may come t feel that the existent political order is in sufficient to command their allegiance. shifting balance of forces is, however, not th same phenomenon as the breakup of an asso ciational structure, the shattering of a class or the decline of primary group support. I is even reasonable to maintain that an ex ternal threat to a group promotes its sense o solidarity and aids in the development o group identity and organization.[24] Attachment to intermediate structures may indeed promote a shared sense of alienation of the group from the total political order. The more informal organization the group possesses the more likely is it that politically extremist sentiments can be communicated and legitimated. In playing the game of politics, it is not only important whether or not one is permitted to play, but also whether one is winning or not. This problem is not solved by the degree of access which the group has to political association.

The point can be made through an analysis of a frequently used study of McCarthyist attitudes, which mass politics theorists have used as support for their position. Trow's study of Bennington, Vermont found

[21] Murray and Susan Stedman, *Discontent at the Polls*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, Ch. 8.

[22] Seymour M. Lipset, "Economic Development and Democracy," in *Political Man, op. cit.*, pp. 45–76.

[23] Mannheim, *op. cit.*, p. 70. For discussions of the assumption of a natural harmony of interests see the analysis of sociological thought in C. Wright Mills, *op. cit*, Chap 11; Werner Stark, "Christian Thought in Social Theory" in *Social Theory and Christian Thought*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959. Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958.

[24] See the discussions of this factor in the history of labor movements in Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920, Chap. 1, and in Selig Perlman, *Theory of the Labor Movement*, New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1928, Chap. 5.

a disproportionate amount of support for Senator McCarthy among small businessmen, especially those holding the nineteenth century liberal hostility to both big business and labor unions.[25] In explaining his findings, Trow maintains that not only are small businessmen "resentful of a world that continually offends their deepest values" but equally important is the fact that they have little voice or representation in political institutions, such as the major parties. Granting the rather dubious assumption that small business has little place in the current constellation of political and ideological forces in the United States, the picture of disaffection portrayed in Trow's study is a classic picture of a well-organized economic group losing out in the process of social and economic change. This type of disaffection is readily analyzed in terms of class and status conflict. If mass movements are not to be understood in traditional forms of political analysis, they must be shown to be unrelated to analysis in terms of group interests and discrete social bases. This would involve more than the traditional view that social change produces disaffection among groups adversely exposed to it.

The assumption of a natural harmony of interests gives rise to another failing of the mass politics approach. This is the lack of concern for the development of consensus around the norms of democratic politics. If it is assumed that representation of interests assures harmony, then the problem of achieving moral sentiments supportive of the political institution becomes meaningless. However, such moral sentiments *are* essential; otherwise, the source of moderate politics, of commitment to the political process *per se* is missing. When the values at stake are intensely held and the constellation of political forces is adverse to a group, there is nothing in pluralistic theory which suggests a source of loyalty to moderateness. Oscar Gass has expressed this in excellent fashion:

> I know that Democracy is a technique for reaching agreement, but it in turn rests upon a measure of agreement It is, of course, formally true that, if only you agree on the technique of getting decisions, you don't have to agree on the outcome. But that is merely like saying that people can ride on the same bus even if they wish to get off at different places. The places must not be *too* different—or else they have to set a value on riding beyond that of getting to their destinations.[26]

A pluralistic system can be maintained only if the conflict of interest groups is balanced to some extent by cohesive elements in the cultural and social system which moderate the intensity of conflicts and which provide loyalties to maintenance of a defined area in which politics is conducted under pluralistic rules.[27] The ideology of pluralism has become a defense of moderateness, and an attack on political activism. Yet pluralist structure enhances activist sentiments.

MASS CULTURE AND POLITICAL COHESION

Contrary to mass politics theory, conditions of mass societies are not necessarily detrimental to sentiments supporting pluralistic politics. In fact the opposite appears to be the case. Certain conditions of modern, mass societies function to increase cohesion and consensus around norms of pluralist politics.

Mass politics approaches have emphasized bureaucratization, equalitarianism, and technological integration as forces weakening past mediating structures. It must also be pointed out that the same forces operate to incorporate persons into a larger national culture and social system. While mediating structures and local units may be weakened, direct attachment to the total society is enhanced. In Shils' phrase, "The new society is a mass society precisely in the sense that the mass of the population has become incorporated into *society*." [28]

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[25] Martin Trow, "Small Business, Political Tolerance, and Support For McCarthy," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (November, 1958), pp. 270–281.

[26] Oscar Gass, "Socialism and Democracy," *Commentary*, 29 (June, 1960), p. 574.

[27] For an especially illuminating statement of this view, see Adolf Lowe, *The Price of Liberty*, Day-to-Day Pamphlets, No. 36, London: Hogarth Press, 1937. Also see Edward A. Shils and M. Young, "The Meaning of the Coronation," *Sociological Review*, series 1, 1953, pp. 63–81. Political consensus as a focus of sociological study is a central theme in Seymour M. Lipset, "Political Sociology" in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959.

[28] Edward A. Shils, "Mass Society and Its Culture," *op. cit.*, p. 288.

Conditions of mass society develop a homogeneous set of cultural experiences for members. Technological forces have led to an economy and a means of communication which can absorb all the citizens in common. As this has occurred, the autonomy of the local community has given way to a national politics, a national economy and a national culture. In an era of high mass consumption, the equalization of incomes and the style-setting influence of a national market have promoted a more homogeneous standard of living. In the use of commodities and of leisure, as well as in high rates of social mobility, class lines are becoming blurred. In this society, major social institutions operate in similar fashion upon all communities and within most classes. School, church, medicine, family and politics are increasingly open to the influence and control of centrally-trained professionals and their organizations. The consequences of such homogenizing forces are the development of a national mass culture and a national society. In this society, common sentiments increasingly cut across the social segments ot class, region, and other sub-cultural units. In this sense mass society is a new social system.

These features of mass society, of course, are recognized in the theories considered above. Where we differ, however, is in stressing these as positive agencies of social integration, rather than only as devices which weaken earlier units of social life. The theories of mass politics suggest only one possible relationship between mass societies and political extremism. In the remainder of this paper we wish to suggest another relationship, one in which the trend toward mass society provides opportunities for strengthening the attachments of the individuals to institutions which accept diversity and support political balance. The conditions of mass society, we suggest, mitigate against political extremism because they operate against the isolation of differentiated sub-cultures from which strong ideological attachments can develop. At the same time, they provide conditions which promote acceptance of innovations.

(1) *They provide sources of direct attachment to supra-local institutions.* It has become something of an axiom in electoral behavior studies that interest and participation is at its highest in national rather than local elections. In a mass society, the individual is oriented toward a national culture and stratification system. Mass culture is carried through national systems of communications and education which may be, and often are, in conflict with local groups. Lack of attachment to local agencies, kinship units and secondary associations by no means implies a lack of attachment to standards, tastes and values of the mass culture. The same is true in respect to political participation. As the range of areas affected by local decisions grows smaller, the orientation of the individual to national political units grows more significant. Studies of cosmopolitan and local types indicate that the individual may be marginal within his local environment but very much committed to structures of occupational, educational and political organization at levels above that of the local community.[29]

(2) *Mass culture enhances the possibilities of substantive consensus.* We have argued above that although cultural and class diversity provides a resistant force against oligarchic controls, it may also develop intensive attachments to particular aims which prevent the compromise and toleration presupposed by political pluralism. Indeed, pluralistic politics is hard to reconcile with intensity of conviction and a moralistic approach to politics. Insofar as mass societies create homogeneous experience for a population, there is an increased possibility of consensus on substantive issues. Will Herberg's[30] thesis of a growing uniformity in American religions is a case in point. Similarity of education, consumer products, income and communications is also associated with similarity in morals and, to some extent, interests. The issues open to political conflict are then limited and less apt to arouse intense opposition. While this may mean a diminution in ideological commitments and contro-

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[29] Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence" in Paul Lazersfeld and Frank Stanton, editors, *Communications Research*, 1948–49, New York: Harper and Bros., 1949, pp. 180–219; Alvin W Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2 (December, 1957 and March, 1958), pp. 281–306, 444–480.

[30] Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955.

versy, it is hardly the same thing as production of extremist activism. Indeed, those who are critical of contemporary American society for its presumed conformist tendencies are often dismayed at the disappearance of activism, utopian thought and radical attitudes, all of which are also forms of extremism, alienation and discontent.

(3) *Mass culture can, and often does, shore up the support for consensus on procedural norms of pluralistic politics.* Because they include multiple sub-cultures, mass institutions are open to the influence of numerous social segments in ways in which local and class institutions are not. Further, mass culture is more apt to be influenced by norms of cosmopolitan and nationalized groups than local and sub-cultural units. Within American society today, the norms of pluralist styles in politics find more response at the national than at the local levels. Efforts to censor artistic and educational experiments and dissent are more frequent at the local than at the national levels of education and communications. The development of a mass educational system, with a high degree of equalitarian recruitment, has been a distinctive aid to the acceptance of civil liberties sentiment.[31]

(4) *Mass culture diminishes the intensity of social conflicts by evening out the impact of major social and cultural changes.* Major social changes are frequently disruptive and focus on dimensions which involve clashes between attackers and defenders of tradition. This is particularly true in areas of cultural conflict—religion, morality or race relations are examples. The appearance of mass communications and educational agencies diminishes the degree to which the population is differentially exposed to a new set of norms. This is seen in the current desegregation crisis in the South. Opposition to a national culture of race relations is found most intensively among those most localistic, least educated, least urban, least exposed to mass media, and least integrated into the national economy.[32] Mass media, the extension of education and professionalization tend to equate the rates at which different classes and regions are exposed to changing standards.

(5) *Mass society increases the linkages between groups and minimizes the possibilities of "superimposition."* The concept of a pluralistic social system often fails to differentiate between two types of segmentation.[33] In one, which we will call "linked pluralism," there are multiple groups but membership in one often cuts across membership in others. A situation of linked pluralism, for example, would be one in which many Catholics are lower-class and many are middle-class while Protestants are similarly represented in each class. Both Catholics and Protestants are 'linked' as members of the same social class. "Superimposed" segmentation occurs when membership in one group also implies membership in another. If most Catholics were lower-class and most Protestants were middle-class, then class and religion would be superimposed. It is fairly evident that intense social conflicts are maximized under conditions of superimposition and minimized under conditions of linked pluralism. In the example used, superimposition would mean that religious conflicts tended to be class conflicts as well.

The conditions of mass society tend to increase linked forms of pluralism and to minimize superimposed forms of pluralism. Perhaps the most salient aspect of this is a result of equalitarianism and mobility. When groups are not frozen by rigid stratification into a specific occupational and class position, such social categories as religion, race, residence, and community play less of a role as devices isolating one part of society from another.

It follows from this analysis that there are two major ways in which extremist movements may develop within the framework of contemporary mass societies. In one case, we are dealing with the general problem of reactions to social and economic change already discussed above in reference to "doomed classes" and to groups previously excluded from the political process. The transition from pluralistic structure to mass

[31] Studies of tolerance and authoritarianism have repeatedly shown a direct relation between amount of education and tolerance for political diversity. See Martin Trow, *op cit.*, and the summarization of many studies in Seymour Lipset, "Working-Class Authoritarianism," *Political Man, op. cit.*

[32] Melvin Tumin, *Desegregation*, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958.

[33] This distinction and the terms "pluralistic" and "superimposed" are used in Ralf Dahrendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–218.

society is most keenly felt as loss and deprivation by those whose social and economic position is threatened by the development of bureaucratic organization, equalitarian social structure and mass culture. The attention given to the status loss and economic hardship of the "old middle classes" as the society becomes more consumption-oriented, more organizationally structured and more technically professionalized provides one strand of evidence in what Lipset has called the "extremism of the Center."[34] Riesman has expressed the same idea of reaction to change in characterological terms in saying:

> . . . his own life experience is often disappointing; he is deprived of a feeling of competence and place. Even this would not be so bad if the world made sense, if he could apply to what goes on his internalized standards of judgment, but as it is, neither his character nor his work is rewarded. In that situation he tends to turn both on himself . . . and on the world.[35]

The other case exists when groups are isolated from the major institutions and cultural streams of mass society. Localized groups are less open to the impact of the mass agencies. The less educated, the lowest income levels, the least protected minorities, the most fundamentalist in religion are least oriented to the rhythm of modernity with which so much of mass influence is carried. In this case, it is those least "caught up" in the historical currents of transition that are most likely to be immune from the moderating fluences of mass culture. To cite such grou as products of mass society is misleading.

Carried to a logical extreme, the mass society becomes a political community i which bland tolerance and uniform idea are the rule. Carried to its logical extreme pluralistic societies are likely to generate either disintegrating conflict or stalemate. It is fruitless, however, to push typologies to their logical extremes. An empirical sociology must be concerned with the interaction between mass and pluralistic conditions. Elements of one model interact with elements of the other, sometimes as figure, sometimes as ground. de Tocqueville pointed out that one of the characteristics of American political institutions was the moderation of popular government by a leaven of aristocratic rule. He viewed the Supreme Court power of review as one such instance of balance.[36]

Mass conditions are thus likely to present many features which are not only consistent with a pluralistic theory of politics but even enhance such features. Rather than providing a source of extremist movements they are just as likely to mitigate the development of opposition and to increase the degree of toleration for dissent. Whether variety and controversy are likely to develop under the dominance of mass conditions is another question. However, those who seek to understand the conditions of stable, democratic institutions are mistaken in dispensing with traditional concepts and in emphasizing mass society as a demonic villain.

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[34] Seymour M. Lipset, *Political Man, op. cit.*, pp. 131–134, 173–176.

[35] David Riesman, *op. cit.*, also see Joseph Gusfield, "Social Structure and Moral Reform," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (November, 1955), pp. 221–232.

[36] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 493–499.

POWER-DEPENDENCE RELATIONS

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A simple theory of power relations is developed in an effort to resolve some of the ambiguities surrounding "power," "authority," "legitimacy," and power "structures," through bringing them together in a coherent scheme. After defining a reciprocal power-dependence *relation, attention is focused upon properties of balance and "balancing operations" in such relations. The theory dictates exactly four generic types of balancing process, and discussion of these leads directly into processes of group formation, including the emergence of group norms, role structure and status hierarchy, all presented as the outcome of balancing tendencies in power relations. Within the framework of this theory, authority appears quite naturally to be legitimized power, vested in roles, and "legitimation" is seen as a special case of the coalition process through which norms and role-prescriptions are formed. Finally, through treating both persons and groups as actors in a* power-network *(two or more connected power-dependence relations) the door is opened for meaningful analysis of complex power structures. Brief reference is made to findings from two experiments pertaining to hypotheses advanced in this theory.*

JUDGING from the frequent occurrence of such words as *power, influence, dominance* and *submission, status* and *authority*, the importance of power is widely recognized, yet considerable confusion exists concerning these concepts.[1] There is an extensive literature pertaining to power, on both theoretical and empirical levels, and in small group [2] as well as large community contexts.[3] Unfortunately, this already large and rapidly growing body of research has not achieved the cumulative character desired. Our *integrated* knowledge of power does not significantly surpass the conceptions left by Max Weber.[4]

This suggests that there is a place at this moment for a systematic treatment of social power. The underdeveloped state of this area is further suggested by what appears, to this author, to be a recurrent flaw in common conceptions of social power; a flaw which helps to block adequate theoretical development as well as meaningful research. That flaw is the implicit treatment of power as though it were an attribute of a person or group ("X is an influential person." "Y is a powerful group," etc.). Given this conception, the natural research question becomes "Who in community X are the power *holders?*". The project then proceeds to rank-order persons by some criterion of power, and this ordering is called the *power-structure*. This is a highly questionable representation of a "structure," based upon a questionable assumption of *generalized power*.[5]

It is commonly observed that some person X dominates Y, while being subservient in relations with Z. Furthermore, these power relations are frequently intransitive! Hence,

[1] See the Communications by Jay Butler and Paul Harrison on "On Power and Authority: An Exchange on Concepts," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 731–732. That both men can be essentially correct in the points they make yet fail to reconcile these points, strongly suggests the need for conceptual development in the domain of power relations.

[2] Among many studies, see Ronald Lippitt, Norman Polansky, Fritz Redl and Sidney Rosen, "The Dynamics of Power," *Human Relations*, 5 (February, 1952), pp. 37–64.

[3] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

[4] Max Weber, in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, presents what is still a classic formulation of power, authority and legitimacy. However, it is characteristic of Weber that he constructs a typology rather than an organized theory of power.

[5] See Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power'," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 636–644, for a well taken critical review of Floyd Hunter's work on these very points. The notion of "generalized power" which is not restricted to specific social relations, if taken literally, is probably meaningless. Power may indeed be generalized across a finite set of relations in a power network, but this notion, too, requires very careful analysis. Are you dealing with some kind of halo effect (reputations if you wish), or are the range and boundary of generalized power anchored in the power structure itself? These are questions which must be asked and answered.

to say that "X has power" is vacant, unless we specify "over whom." In making these necessary qualifications we force ourselves to face up to the obvious: power is a property of the social relation; it is not an attribute of the actor.[6]

In this paper an attempt is made to construct a simple theory of the power aspects of social relations. Attention is focused upon characteristics of the relationship as such, with little or no regard for particular features of the persons or groups engaged in such relations. Personal traits, skills or possessions (such as wealth) which might be relevant to power in one relation are infinitely variable across the set of possible relations, and hence have no place in a general theory.

THE POWER-DEPENDENCE RELATION

While the theory presented here is anchored most intimately in small group research, it is meant to apply to more complex community relations as well. In an effort to make these conceptions potentially as broadly applicable as possible, we shall speak of relations among *actors,* where an actor can be either a person or a group. Unless otherwise indicated, any relation discussed might be a person-person, group-person or group-group relation.

Social relations commonly entail *ties of mutual dependence* between the parties. A *depends* upon B if he aspires to goals or gratifications whose achievement is facilitated by appropriate actions on B's part. By virtue of mutual dependency, it is more or less imperative to each party that he be able to control or influence the other's conduct. At the same time, these ties of mutual dependence imply that each party is in a position, to some degree, to grant or deny, facilitate or hinder, the other's gratification. Thus, it would appear that the power to control or influence the other resides in control over the things he values, which may range all the way from oil resources to ego-sup depending upon the relation in ques In short, *power resides implicitly in other's dependency.* When this is recogn the analysis will of necessity revolve lar around the concept of dependence.[7]

Two variables appear to function joi in fixing the dependence of one actor u another. Since the precise nature of this j function is an empirical question, our prc sition can do no more than specify the rectional relationships involved:

> *Dependence (Dab).* The dependence of a A upon actor B is (1) directly proporti to A's *motivational investment* in goals m ated by B, and (2) inversely proportional the *availability* of those goals to A outs of the A-B relation.

In this proposition "goal" is used in broadest possible sense to refer to gratifi tions consciously sought as well as rewa unconsciously obtained through the relatic ship. The "availability" of such goals ou side of the relation refers to alternative av nues of goal-achievement, most notably oth social relations. The costs associated wi such alternatives must be included in ar assessment of dependency.[8]

If the dependence of one party provid the basis for the power of the other, th power must be defined as a potential ir fluence:

> *Power (Pab).* The power of actor A ove actor B is the amount of resistance on th part of B which can be potentially overcom by A.

Two points must be made clear about thi definition. First, the power defined here wi not be, of necessity, observable in every in teractive episode between A and B, yet w suggest that it exists nonetheless as a poten tial, to be explored, tested, and occasionall employed by the participants. Pab will b

[6] Just as power is often treated as though it were a property of the person, so leadership, conformity, etc., are frequently referred to the personal traits of "leaders," "conformers" and so on, as if they were distinguishable types of people. In a sociological perspective such behavior should be explicitly treated as an attribute of a relation rather than a person.

[7] The relation between power and dependence i given similar emphasis in the systematic treatmen by J. Thibaut and H. H. Kelley, *The Socia Psychology of Groups,* New York: John Wile and Sons, 1959.

[8] The notion of "opportunity costs" in economic is a similar idea. If an employee has alternativ employment opportunities, and if these opportunitie have low associated cost (travel, etc.), the em ployee's dependence upon his current employer i reduced.

empirically manifest only *if* A makes some demand, and only *if* this demand runs counter to B's desires (resistance to be overcome). Any operational definition must make reference to *change* in the conduct of B attributable to demands made by A.

Second, we define power as the "resistance" which can be overcome, without restricting it to any one domain of action. Thus, if A is dependent upon B for love and respect, B might then draw A into criminal activity which he would normally resist. The reader might object to this formulation, arguing that social power is in fact restricted to certain channels. If so, the reader is apparently concerned with "legitimized power" embedded in a social structure. Rather than begin at this more evolved level, we hope to derive legitimized power in the theory itself.

The premise we began with can now be stated as Pab=Dba; the power of A over B is equal to, and based upon, the dependence of B upon A.[9] Recognizing the reciprocity of social relations, we can represent a power-dependence relation as a pair of equations:

$$Pab = Dba$$
$$Pba = Dab.$$

Before proceeding further we should emphasize that these formulations have been so worded in the hope that they will apply across a wide range of social life. At a glance our conception of dependence contains two variables remarkably like supply and demand ("availability" and "motivational investment," respectively).[10] We prefer the term *dependency* over these economic terms because it facilitates broader application, for all we need to do to shift these ideas from one area of application to another is change the motivational basis of dependency. We can speak of the economic dependence of a home builder upon a loan agency as varying directly with his desire for the home, and hence capital, and inversely with the "availability" of capital from other agencies. Similarly, a child may be dependent upon another child based upon motivation toward the pleasures of collective play, the availability of alternative playmates, etc. The same generic power-dependence relation is involved in each case. The dependency side of the equation may show itself in "friendship" among playmates, in "filial love" between parent and child, in "respect for treaties" among nations. On the other side of the equation, I am sure no one doubts that mothers, lovers, children, and nations enjoy the power to influence their respective partners, within the limit set by the partner's dependence upon them.

Finally, because these concepts are meant to apply across a wide variety of social situations, operational definitions cannot be appropriately presented here. Operational definitions provide the necessary bridge between generalizing concepts on the one hand, and the concrete features of a specific research situation on the other hand. Hence, there is no *one* proper operational definition for a theoretical concept.[11]

BALANCE AND IMBALANCE

The notion of reciprocity in power-dependency relations raises the question of equality or inequality of power in the relation. If the power of A over B (Pab) is confronted by equal opposing power of B over A, is power then neutralized or cancelled out? We suggest that in such a balanced con-

[9] In asserting that power is based upon the dependency of the other, it might appear that we are dealing with *one* of the bases of power ("reward power") listed by John R. P French, Jr. and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," *Studies in Social Power*, D Cartwright, editor, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1959. However, careful attention to our highly generalized conception of dependence will show that it covers most if not all of the forms of power listed in that study.

[10] Professor Alfred Kuhn, Department of Economics, University of Cincinnati, has been working on a theory for power analysis soon to be published. The scheme he develops, though very similar to the one presented here, is put together in a different way. It is anchored more tightly to economic concepts, and hence its implications lead off in different directions from those presented below.

[11] Many different operational definitions can serve one theoretical concept, and there is no reason to require that they produce intercorrelated results when applied in the same research situation While the controversies surrounding "operationalism" have now been largely resolved, there remains some confusion on this point. See, for example, Bernice Eisman, "Some Operational Measures of Cohesiveness and Their Interrelations," *Human Relations*, 12 (May, 1959), pp. 183-189.

tion, power is in no way removed from the lationship. A pattern of "dominance" might ıt emerge in the interaction among these tors, but that does not imply that power is operative in either or both directions. A *ılanced* relation and an *unbalanced* relation 'e represented respectively as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} Pab = Dba & \qquad & Pab = Dba \\ \parallel \quad\;\; \parallel & & \vee \quad\;\; \vee \\ Pba = Dab & & Pba = Dab \end{array}$$

:onsider two social relations, both of which re balanced, but at *different levels* of de- endence (say Loeb and Leopold, as com- ared with two casual friends). A moment's hought will reveal the utility of the argu- ıent that balance does not neutralize power, ɔr each party may continue to exert pro- ɔund control over the other. It might even e meaningful to talk about the parties being ontrolled by the relation itself.

Rather than cancelling out considerations f power, reciprocal power provides the basis ɔr studying three more features of power- elations: first, a power advantage can be efined as Pab minus Pba, which can be ither positive or negative (a power disad- 'antage); [12] second, the *cohesion* of a rela- ionship can be defined as the average of)ab and Dba, though this definition can be efined; [13] and finally, it opens the door to he study of *balancing operations* as struc- ural changes in power-dependence relations vhich tend to reduce power advantage.

Discussion of balancing tendencies should ɪegin with a concrete illustration. In the ınbalanced relation represented symbolically ıbove, A is the more powerful party because 3 is the more dependent of the two. Let ıctor B be a rather "unpopular" girl, with ɔuritanical upbringing, who wants desper- ıtely to date; and let A be a young man who ɔccasionally takes her out, while dating other ;irls as well. (The reader can satisfy himself ıbout A's power advantage in this illustra- tion by referring to the formulations above.) Assume further that A "discovers" this power advantage, and, in exploring for the limits of his power, makes sexual advances. In this simplified illustration, these advances should encounter resistance in B's puritanical values. Thus, when a power advantage is *used,* the weaker member will achieve one value at the expense of other values.

In this illustration the tensions involved in an unbalanced relation need not be long endured. They can be reduced in either of two ways: (1) the girl might reduce the psychic costs involved in continuing the rela- tion by redefining her moral values, with appropriate rationalizations and shifts in reference group attachments; or (2) she might renounce the value of dating, develop career aspirations, etc., thus reducing A's power. Notice that the first solution does *not* of necessity alter the unbalanced rela- tion. The weaker member has sidestepped one painful demand but she is still vulnerable to new demands. By contrast, the second solution alters the power relation itself. In general, it appears that an unbalanced rela- tion is unstable for it encourages the use of power which in turn sets in motion processes which we will call (a) cost reduction and (b) balancing operations.[14]

COST REDUCTION

The "cost" referred to here amounts to the "resistance" to be overcome in our defini- tion of power—the cost involved for one party in meeting the demands made by the other. The process of cost reduction in power- dependence relations shows itself in many varied forms. In the courting relation above it took the form of alteration in moral atti- tudes on the part of a girl who wanted to be popular; in industry it is commonly seen as the impetus for improved plant efficiency and technology in reducing the cost of pro- duction. What we call the "mark of oppres- sion" in the character structure of members

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[12] J. Thibaut and H. H. Kelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108.

[13] This definition of cohesion, based upon depend- :ncy, seems to have one advantage over the defini- .ion offered by Leon Festinger, *et al., Theory and Experiment in Social Communication,* Ann Arbor: Research Center for Group Dynamics, University ɔf Michigan Press, 1950. The Festinger definition :akes into account only one of the two variables involved in dependency.

[14] The "tensions of imbalance," which are as- sumed to make an unbalanced relation unstable, are closely related to the idea of "distributive justice" discussed by George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms,* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961. All of what Homans has to say around this idea could be fruitfully drawn into the present formulation.

of low social castes (the submissive and "painless" loss of freedom) might well involve the same power processes, as does the "internalization of parental codes" in the socialization process. In fact, the oedipal conflict might be interpreted as a special case of the tensions of imbalance in a power-dependence relation, and cost reduction takes the form of identification and internalization as classically described. "Identification with the aggressor" in any context would appear to be explainable in terms of cost reduction.

In general, *cost reduction* is a process involving change in values (personal, social, economic) which reduces the pains incurred in meeting the demands of a powerful other. It must be emphasized, however, that these adjustments do not necessarily alter the balance or imbalance of the relation, and, as a result, they must be distinguished from the more fundamental *balancing operations* described below. It must be recognized that cost reducing tendencies will take place even under conditions of balance, and while this is obvious in economic transactions, it is equally true of other social relations, where the "costs" involved are anchored in modifiable attitudes and values. The intense cohesion of a lasting social relation like the Loeb-Leopold relation mentioned above can be attributed in part to the cost reduction processes involved in the progressive formation of their respective personalities, taking place in the interest of preserving the valued relation. We suggest that cost reducing tendencies generally will function to deepen and stabilize social relations over and above the condition of balance.

BALANCING OPERATIONS

The remainder of this paper will deal with balancing processes which operate through changes in the variables which define the structure of the power-dependence relation as such. The formal notation adopted here suggests *exactly four generic types* of balancing operation. In the unbalanced relation

$$\begin{array}{c} Pab = Dba \\ \vee \qquad \vee \\ Pba = Dab \end{array}$$

, balance can be restored either by an increase in Dab or by a decrease in Dba. If we recall that *dependence* is a joint function of two variables, the following alterations will move the relation toward a state of balance:

1. If B reduces motivational investment in goals mediated by A;
2. If B cultivates alternative sources for gratification of those goals;
3. If A increases motivational investment in goals mediated by B;
4. If A is denied alternative sources for achieving those goals.

While these four types of balancing operation are dictated by the logic of the scheme, we suggest that each corresponds to well known social processes. The first operation yields balance through motivational withdrawal by B, the weaker member. The second involves the cultivation of alternative social relations by B. The third is based upon "giving status" to A, and the fourth involves coalition and group formation.

In some of these processes the role of power is well known, while in others it seems to have escaped notice. In discussing any one of these balancing operations it must be remembered that a prediction of which one (or what combination) of the four will take place must rest upon analysis of conditions involved in the concrete case at hand.

In the interest of simplicity and clarity, we will illustrate each of the four generic types of balancing operation in relations among children in the context of play. Consider two children equally motivated toward the pleasures of collective play and equally capable of contributing to such play. These children, A and B, form a balanced relation if we assume further that each has the other as his only playmate, and the give-and-take of their interactions might well be imagined, involving the emergence of such equalitarian rules as "taking turns," etc. Suppose now that a third child, C, moves into the neighborhood and makes the acquaintance of A, but *not* B. The A-B relation will be thrown out of balance by virtue of A's decreased dependence upon B. The reader should convince himself of this fact by referring back to the proposition on dependence. Without any of these parties necessarily "understanding" what is going on, we would predict that A would slowly come to dominate B in the pattern of their interactions. On more frequent occasions B will find himself deprived of the pleasures A can offer, thus slowly

coming to sense his own dependency more acutely. By the same token A will more frequently find B saying "yes" instead of "no" to his proposals, and he will gain increased awareness of his power over B. The growing self-images of these children will surely reflect and perpetuate this pattern.

OPERATION NUMBER ONE: WITHDRAWAL

We now have the powerful A making demands of the dependent B. One of the processes through which the tensions in the unbalanced A-B relation can be reduced is *motivational withdrawal* on the part of B, for this will reduce Dba and Pab. In this illustration, child B might lose some of his interest in collective play under the impact of frustrations and demands imposed by A. Such a withdrawal from the play relation would presumably come about if the other three balancing operations were blocked by the circumstances peculiar to the situation. The same operation was illustrated above in the case of the girl who might renounce the value of dating. It would seem to be involved in the dampened level of aspiration associated with the "mark of oppression" referred to above.

In general, the denial of dependency involved in this balancing operation will have the effect of moving actors away from relations which are unbalanced to their disadvantage. The actor's motivational orientations and commitments toward different areas of activity will intimately reflect this process.

OPERATION NUMBER TWO: EXTENSION OF POWER NETWORK

Withdrawal as a balancing operation entails subjective alterations in the weaker actor. The second operation takes place through alterations in a structure we shall call a *power network*, defined as two or more *connected* power-dependence relations. As we have seen in our illustration, when the C-A relation is connected through A with the A-B relation, forming a simple linear network C-A-B, the properties of A-B are altered. In this example, a previously balanced A-B relation is thrown out of balance, giving A a power advantage. This points up the general fact that while each relation in a network will involve interactions which appear to be independent of other relations in the network (e.g., A and B are seen to play together in the absence of C; C and A in the absence of B), the internal features of one relation are nonetheless a function of the entire network. Any adequate conception of a "power structure" must be based upon this fact.

In this illustration the form of the network throws both relations within it out of balance, thus stimulating one or several of the balancing operations under discussion. If balancing operation number two takes place, *the network* will be extended by the formation of new relationships. The tensions of imbalance in the A-B and A-C relations will make B and C "ready" to form new friendships (1) with additional children D and E, thus lengthening a linear network, or (2) with each other, thus "closing" the network. It is important to notice that the lengthened network balances some relations, but not the network as a whole, while the closed network is completely balanced under the limiting assumptions of this illustration. Thus, we might offer as a corollary to operation number two: Power networks tend to achieve closure.[15]

If the reader is dissatisfied with this illustration in children's play relations, let A be the loan agent mentioned earlier, and B, C, . . . N be home builders or others dependent upon A for capital. This is the familiar monopoly situation with the imbalance commonly attributed to it. As a network, it is a set of relations connected only at A. Just as the children were "ready" to accept new friends, so the community of actors B, C, . . . N is ready to receive new loan agencies.

[15] The notion of closed versus open networks as discussed here can be directly related to research dealing with communication networks, such as that reported by Harold J. Leavitt, "Some Effects of Communication Patterns on Group Performance," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (January, 1951), pp. 38–50, in which the limiting assumptions involved in this discussion are fully met by experimental controls. In discussing those experiments in terms of the concepts in this theory we would consider each actor's dependence upon other actors for *information*. A formal treatment of such networks is suggested by A. Bavelas, "A Mathematical Model For Group Structure," *Applied Anthropology*, 7 (Summer, 1948), pp. 16–30.

Balancing operation number 2 involves in all cases the *diffusion* of dependency into new relations in a network. A final illustration of this principle can be found in institutionalized form in some kinship systems involving the extended family. In the case of the Hopi, for example, Dorothy Eggan has described at length the diffusion of child dependency among many "mothers," thus draining off much of the force of oedipal conflicts in that society.[16] We have already suggested that oedipal conflict may be taken as a special case of the tension of imbalance, which in this case appears to be institutionally handled in a manner resembling operation number two. This is not to be taken, however, as an assertion that the institution evolved as a balancing process, though this is clearly open for consideration.

It is convenient at this juncture to take up balancing operation number 4, leaving number 3 to the last.

OPERATION NUMBER FOUR: COALITION FORMATION

Let us continue with the same illustration. When the B-C relation forms, closing the C-A-B network in the process of balancing, we have what appears to be a coalition of the two weaker against the one stronger. This, however, is not technically the case, for A is not involved in the B-C interactions; he simply exists as an alternative playmate for both B and C.

The proper representation of coalitions in a triad would be (AB)-C, (AC)-B, or (BC)-A. That is, a triadic network reduces to a coalition only if two members unite as a single actor in the process of dealing directly with the third. The difference involved here may be very small in behavioral terms, and the distinction may seem overly refined, but it goes to the heart of an important conceptual problem (the difference between a closed "network" and a "group"), and it rests upon the fact that two very different balancing operations are involved. The C-A-B network is balanced through the addition of a third relation (C-B) in operation number two, but it is still just a power network. In operation number 4 it achieves balance through collapsing the two-relational network into one group-person relation with the emergence of a "collective actor." Operation number two reduces the power of the stronger actor, while number 4 increases the power of weaker actors through collectivization. If the rewards mediated by A are such that they can be jointly enjoyed by B and C, then the tensions of imbalance in the A-B and A-C relations can be resolved in the (BC)-A coalition.

In a general way, Marx was asking for balancing operation number 4 in his call to "Workers of the world," and the collectivization of labor can be taken as an illustration of this balancing tendency as an historic process. Among the balancing operations described here, coalition formation is the one most commonly recognized as a power process. However, the more general significance of this balancing operation seems to have escaped notice, for the typical coalition is only one of the many forms this same operation takes. For this reason the next section will explore coalition processes further.

THE ORGANIZED GROUP

We wish to suggest that the coalition process is basically involved in all organized group functioning, whether the group be called a coalition or not. We believe this illuminates the role which power processes play in the emergence and maintenance of group structure in general.

In the typical coalition pattern, (AB)-C, A and B constitute a collective actor in the sense that they act as one, presenting themselves to their common environment as a single unit. A coalition, as one *type* of group, is characterized by the fact that (a) the common environment is an actor to be controlled, and (b) its unity is historically based upon efforts to achieve that control. Now, all we need do to blend this type of group with groups in general is to *dehumanize* the environmental problem which the group collectively encounters. Thus, instead of having the control of actor C as its end the group attempts to control C in the interest of achieving X, some "group goal." Now, if C also aspires toward X, and if C is dependent upon the group for achieving X C might well be one of the group members—any member. Thus, in a three-member group

[16] Dorothy Eggan, "The General Problem of Hopi Adjustment," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (July-September, 1943), pp. 357–373.

we have three coalition structures as *intra*-group relations, each representable as ([AB]-C)-X, with A, B and C interchangeable.

The situation involved here is reminiscent of the rapidly forming and reforming coalitions in unconsolidated children's play groups. As the group consolidates, these coalitions do not drop out of the picture; they become stabilized features of group structure, and the stabilization process is identical with "norm formation." In fact, the demands made by (AB) of C in the power process within ([AB]-C) are exactly what we normally call *group norms* and *role-prescriptions*. Such norms are properly viewed as the "voice" of a collective actor, standing in coalition against the object of its demands. This reasoning suggests an idealized conception of group structure, based upon two types of collective demands:

(1) *Role-Prescriptions.* Specifications of behavior which all group members expect (demand) of one or more but not all members.
(2) *Group Norms* Specifications of behavior which all group members expect of all group members.

Certain actions, when performed by some member or members, need not be performed by all other members to properly facilitate group functioning. These will tend to be incorporated in role-prescriptions, which, taken together, provide a division of labor in a role structure. Roles are defined and enforced through a consolidation of power in coalition formation. Likewise with group norms. Thus, the structure of a group (its norms and prescriptions) will specify the makeup of the coalition a member would face for any group-relevant act he might perform.

This conception of group structure is idealized in the sense that it describes complete consensus among members, even to the point of group identification and internalization of collective demands (members expect things of themselves in the above definitions). Balancing operations, along with cost reduction, should move group structure toward this ideal.

AUTHORITY

It should be clear that in introducing conceptions of group *structure* we have in no way digressed from our discussion of power *processes*, for the emergence of these structural forms is attributed directly to operation number four, closely resembling coalition formation. Even the most formalized role-prescription is properly viewed as the "voice" of all members standing as a coalition in making its demand of the occupant of the role. Whenever a specific member finds occasion to remind another member of his "proper" job in terms of such prescriptions, he speaks with the *authority* of the group behind him; he is "authorized" to speak for them. In this sense, every member has authority of a kind (as in civil arrest), but authority is usually used to refer to power vested in an office or role. The situation is basically the same, however, in either case. The occupant of such a role has simply been singled out and commissioned more explicitly to speak for the group in the group's dealings with its members. That authority is *limited* power follows from logical necessity when role-prescriptions are treated as they are here. A dean, for example, can force faculty member A to turn in his grades on time because the demand is "legitimate," that is, supported by a coalition of all other faculty members joining with the dean in making the demand. If that dean, however, were to employ sanctions in an effort to induce that member to polish the dean's private car, the "coalition" would immediately re-form around the faculty member, as expressed in role-prescriptions defining the boundary of "legitimate power" or authority. The dean's authority is power contained and restricted through balancing operation number four, coalition formation.

The notion of legitimacy is important, for authority is more than balanced power; it is *directed* power which can be employed (legitimately) only in channels defined by the norms of the group. A person holding such authority is commissioned; he does not simply have the right to rule or govern—he is obliged to. Thus, authority emerges as a transformation of power in a process called "legitimation," and that process is one special case of balancing operation number four.[17]

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[17] The process of legitimation has sometimes been described as a tactic employed by a person aspiring

Earlier in this section we referred to the common phenomenon of rapidly forming and re-forming coalitions in children's play groups. Our reasoning suggests that it is precisely through these coalition processes that unifying norms emerge. These fluctuating coalitions can be taken as the prototype of organized group life wherein the tempo of coalition realignment is accelerated to the point of being a blur before our eyes. Stated more accurately, the norms and prescriptions define implicitly the membership of the coalition which would either support or oppose any member if he were to perform any action relevant to those norms.

OPERATION NUMBER THREE: EMERGENCE OF STATUS

One important feature of group structure remains to be discussed: status and status hierarchies. It is interesting that the one remaining balancing operation provided in this theory takes us naturally to the emergence of status ordering. Operation number three increases the weaker member's power to control the formerly more powerful member through increasing the latter's motivational investment in the relation. This is normally accomplished through giving him status recognition in one or more of its many forms, from ego-gratifications to monetary differentials. The ego-rewards, such as prestige, loom large in this process because they are highly valued by many recipients while given at low cost to the giver.

to power or trying to hold his power, rather than a process through which persons are granted restricted power. For example, C. Wright Mills states: "Those in authority attempt to justify their rule over institutions by linking it, as if it were a necessary consequence, with widely believed in moral symbols, sacred emblems, legal formulae. These central conceptions may refer to god or gods, the 'vote of the majority,' 'the will of the people,' 'the aristocracy of talent or wealth,' to the 'divine right of kings,' or to the allegedly extraordinary endowments of the ruler himself. Social scientists, following Weber, call such conceptions 'legitimations,' or sometimes 'symbols of justification.'" (*The Sociological Imagination*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 36). Whether we view the process of legitimation in the context of the *formation* of such collective conceptions, or in the context of calling upon them to justify action, the process is fundamentally that of mobilizing collective support to oppose those who challenge power. Power so supported is authority, and the process fits the general model of coalition formation.

The discussion of status hierarchies forces us to consider *intra*-group relations, and how this can be done in a theory which treats the group in the singular as *an* actor. The answer is contained in the idealized conception of group structure outlined above. That conception implies that every intra-group relation involves at once every member of the group. Thus, in a group with members A, B, C, and D, the relations A-B, A-C, etc. do not exist. Any interactions between A and B, for example, lie outside of the social system in question unless one or both of these persons "represents" the group in his actions, as in the coalition pattern discussed at length above. The relations which do exist are (ABCD)-A, (ABCD)-B, (ABCD)-C and (ABCD)-D as a minimum, plus whatever relations of the (ABCD)-(AB) type may be involved in the peculiar structure of the group in question. Thus, in a group of N members we have theoretical reason for dealing with N *group-member* relations rather than considering all of the $\frac{N(N-1)}{2}$ possible member-member relations. Each of these group-member relations can now be expressed in the familiar equations for a power-dependence relation:

$$Pgm_i = Dm_ig$$
$$Pm_ig = Dgm_i.$$

To account for the emergence of a status hierarchy within a group of N members, we start with a set of N group-member relations of this type and consider balancing operations in these relations.

Let us imagine a five member group and proceed on three assumptions: (1) *status* involves differential valuation of members (or roles) by the group, and this valuation is equivalent to, or an expression of, Dgm_i; (2) a member who is highly valued by the group is highly valued in other *similar* groups he belongs to or might freely join; and (3) all five members have the same motivational investment in the group at the outset. Assumptions 2 and 3 are empirical, and when they are true they imply that Dgm and Dmg are inversely related across the N group-member relations. This in turn implies a state of imbalance of a very precarious nature so far as group stability is concerned.

The least dependent member of a group will be the first to break from the group, and these members are precisely the most valued members. It is this situation which balancing operation number three alleviates through "giving status" to the highly valued members, thus gaining the power to keep and control those members.

These ideas are illustrated with hypothetical values in Table 1, with imbalance represented as power advantage (PA). Balancing operations will tend to move PA toward zero, as shown in column 6 after the highly valued members A and B have come to depend upon the group for the special rewards of status, and in column 9 after the least valued members D and E have withdrawn some of their original motivational investment in the group. The table presents three stages in status crystallization, and the process of crystallization is seen as a balancing process. The final stage (columns 7, 8, and 9) should be achieved only in groups with very low membership turnover. The middle stage might well be perpetual in groups with new members continually coming in at the lower levels. In such "open" groups, status striving should be a characteristic feature and can be taken as a direct manifestation of the tensions of imbalance. In the final stage, such strivers have either succeeded or withdrawn from the struggle.

Among the factors involved in status ordering, this theory focuses attention upon the extreme importance of the *availability* factor in dependency as a determinant of status position and the values employed in status ordering. In considering Dgm (the relative value or importance the group attaches to member roles), it is notably difficult to rely upon a functional explanation. Is the pitcher more highly valued than the center fielder because he is functionally more important or because good pitchers are harder to find? Is the physicist valued over the plumber because of a "more important" functional contribution to the social system, or because physicists are more difficult to replace, more costly to obtain, etc.? The latter considerations involve the availability factor. We suggest here that the *values* people use in ordering roles or persons express the dependence of the system upon those roles, and that the *availability* factor in dependency plays the decisive part in historically shaping those values.[18]

TABLE 1. HYPOTHETICAL VALUES SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN DGM AND DMG IN A GROUP WITH FIVE MEMBERS

	Before Balancing			After Operation #3			After Operation #1		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Member	Dgm	Dmg*	PAgm**	Dgm	Dmg	PAgm**	Dgm	Dmg	PAgm**
A	5	1	−4	5	5	0	5	5	0
B	4	2	−2	4	4	0	4	4	0
C	3	3	0	3	3	0	3	3	0
D	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	2	0
E	1	5	4	1	5	4	1	1	0

* Assuming that all members have the same motivational investment in the group at the outset, and that highly valued members (A and B) are valued in other groups as well.

** Power Advantage PAgm=Dmg−Dgm.

CONCLUSION

The theory put forth in this paper is in large part contained implicitly in the ties of mutual dependence which bind actors together in social systems. Its principal value seems to be its ability to pull together a wide variety of social events, ranging from the internalization of parental codes to society-wide movements, like the collectivization of labor, in terms of a few very simple principles. Most important, the concepts involved are subject to operational formulation. Two

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[18] "Motivational investment" and "availability," which jointly determine dependency at any point in time, are functionally related through time. This is implied in our balancing operations. While these two variables can be readily distinguished in the case of Dmg, they are too intimately fused in Dgm to be clearly separated. The values by which a group sees a given role as "important" at time 2, evolve from felt scarcity in that role and similar roles at time 1.

experiments testing certain propositions discussed above led to the following results:

1. Conformity (Pgm) varies directly with motivational investment in the group;
2. Conformity varies inversely with acceptance in alternative groups;
3. Conformity is high at both status extremes in groups with membership turnover (see column 5, Table 1);
4. Highly valued members of a group are strong conformers *only if* they are valued by other groups as well. (This supports the notion that special status rewards are used to hold the highly valued member who does not depend heavily upon the group, and that in granting him such rewards power is obtained over him.);
5. Coalitions form among the weak to control the strong (balancing operation number three);
6. The greatest rewards within a coalition are given to the less dependent member of the coalition (balancing operation number three, analogous to "status giving").

Once the basic ideas in this theory have been adequately validated and refined, both theoretical and empirical work must be extended in two main directions. First, the in teraction process should be studied to locat carefully the factors leading to *perceive* power and dependency in self and others and the conditions under which power, as potential, will be employed in action. Sec ondly, and, in the long run, more important will be study of *power networks* more com plex than those referred to here, leading t more adequate understanding of comple power structures. The theory presented her does no more than provide the basic under pinning to the study of complex networks There is every reason to believe that moderr mathematics, graph theory in particular,[19] can be fruitfully employed in the analysis o complex networks and predicting the out come of power plays within such networks.

[19] F. Harary and R. Norman, *Graph Theory a a Mathematical Model in the Social Sciences.* Anr Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1953. A effort to apply such a model to power relations ca be found in John R. P. French, Jr., "A Forma Theory of Social Power," *The Psychological Review,* 63 (May, 1956) pp. 181–194.

PATTERNS OF CHOICE IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS *

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How do people's attributes influence the interpersonal choices among them? Data on work groups are used to examine the regularities revealed by 17 items on four types of interpersonal choice—respect, consultation, sociable attraction, and informal acceptance. Four main patterns could be discerned: (1) Items that had a differentiating effect on respect also had differentiating effects on consultation and attraction but usually not on informal acceptance; (2) Orientations toward work had a segregating effect on respect, but only orientations with pronounced significance for respect also had segregating effects on other interpersonal choices; (3) Attributes that differentiated consultants from others without producing a corresponding differentiation of respect to legitimate the status of consultant created segregating barriers to sociability; (4) Measures of approach to people had a segregating effect on consultation, like others salient orientations, but they had a differentiating effect on attraction, probably because an informal approach made a worker a more attractive companion. The four groups of independent variables in this analysis are shown to represent orthogonal dimensions.

RELATIONSHIPS between persons acting in social roles constitute the matrix of social structures. The systematic investigation of interpersonal relations, therefore, promises to contribute much to a better understanding of social structure. Th data to be explained in this schema are dis

* I am greatly indebted for many suggestions and for assistance with technical problems of analysis to my colleagues Otis Dudley Duncan, Elihu Katz, Jack Sawyer, Fred L. Strodtbeck, and Harrison C White. I also want to acknowledge financial sup port from the Ford Foundation and the help o Robert A. Gordon, who did the factor analysis, an of Robert W. Hodge and Philip M. Marcus, wh worked on the computations.

tributions of interpersonal relationships in a population, and various attributes of the population are drawn upon to account for these patterns of social relationships.

Entering and maintaining interpersonal relations involves decision making and choosing between alternatives. To focus upon interpersonal relations rather than individuals does not mean to ignore that these social relationships are manifestations of human behavior, specifically, choice behavior. When people meet, each one classifies the other, evaluates him and his significance for himself, and decides whether to associate with him further. These decisions involve choices between alternative interpersonal relationships, at least implicitly, and so do the decisions people make about one another once they are acquainted. Every member of a collectivity looks up to some of his fellows more than to others, decides to ask some rather than others for help, bestows his affections upon a select few, and singles out some but not all as social companions. Even involuntary relations based on ascribed status involve such preferences. The brother does not choose his sister, but he does choose to spend more or less time with her. The overt expression of such interpersonal choices, whether individuals are fully aware of their preferences or not, is a complex network of social relationships in a collectivity.

Most social research, particularly quantitative research, treats social relationships, if at all, as attributes of individuals or groups. Individuals may be described on the basis of their relationships with others as more or less integrated, and groups may be described on the basis of the social bonds within them as more or less cohesive. An alternative approach, which has not yet been sufficiently explored, is to treat not the individual but the interpersonal relationship as the unit of analysis.[1] The basic question is how various similarities and differences between people influence their interpersonal choices and thus the distribution of social relationships among them.

[1] See James S. Coleman, "Relational Analysis: The Study of Social Organizations with Survey Methods," *Human Organization*, 17 (Winter, 1958–59), pp. 28–36.

CONCEPTUAL DISTINCTIONS

Dimensions of Interpersonal Choice. The choices people make of other people may be distinguished along two general dimensions. First, social *evaluation* can be distinguished from social *interaction.* If a person admires some of his acquaintances more than others, he expresses evaluative choices. If he engages some in conversation rather than others, he manifests interaction choices. The distinction is similar to the one Homans makes between sentiment and interaction.[2] An important difference between these two types is that a person's ability to realize his interaction choices is directly contingent on certain responses from the chosen persons, whereas this is not the case for his evaluations. To be sure, your characteristics, behavior, and reactions to me will influence my evaluation of you. But if I choose to like you or to dislike you, to think much of you or little, you cannot prevent me from doing so; you can only try to induce me to change my decision. But if I choose to associate with you, you can prevent me from doing so, because my ability to associate with you depends on your willingness to associate with me. Since the chooser must elicit a response to realize an interaction choice, he may have to provide incentives to the chosen for this purpose. Hence, interaction choices often involve a cost to the chooser that evaluations do not involve.

Second, *instrumental* choices can be distinguished from *sociable* ones. If we think highly of a person's professional competence, or if we seek to work with him, we express an instrumental choice. If we fall in love, or if we invite someone to a party, we express a sociable choice. The distinction is roughly that between work and play, if all aspects of sociability are included under the latter. The specific criterion is whether the utilitarian services another can provide or the satisfactions resulting from associating with him are evaluated. Instrumental choices are ori-

[2] George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950, pp. 35–43; and Henry W. Riecken and George C. Homans, "Psychological Aspects of Group Structure," in Gardner Lindzey, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, pp. 736–832, especially pp. 788, 794.

ented to objectives that are not intrinsic to the interpersonal relationship, whereas sociable choices are motivated by gratifications expected from the process of associating itself.

These two dichotomies, which are logically independent, define four types of interpersonal choice. First, instrumental evaluations are indicated by respect for people and their abilities. Second, instrumental interaction is exemplified by seeking to cooperate with a person on a task or to obtain a service from him. Third, sociable evaluations are manifest in liking and feeling attracted to others. Fourth, sociable interaction is illustrated by fostering an informal relationship and socializing with an individual.

Differentiating and Segregating Effects. An attribute in terms of which the members of a collectivity are classified can influence the distribution of interpersonal choices among them in several ways. An illustration will show that the possible relationships between one attribute and one type of choice in a population differ somewhat from the familiar relationships between two attributes. Let us assume that we have asked the graduate students in a large department which other students they go to when they want to clarify a problem, and we want to ascertain the influence of amount of graduate work on these choices. We might find that both pre-M.A. and post-M.A. students give a disproportionate number of their choices to others who already have their M.A. This would show that amount of training has a *differentiating effect* on consultation; it tends to differentiate the consultants, whose advice is generally esteemed, from students who do not occupy such a prestigeful position. (If, for some reason, both categories of choosers would overselect pre-M.A. students as consultants, this also would constitute a differentiating effect.) But we might find that only the post-M.A. students go with their problems disproportionately often to post-M.A. students, while the pre-M.A. students most often name other pre-M.A. students as consultants. This would indicate that standing in graduate school has a segregating effect on consultation; it tends to segregate students into cliques with relatively little communication between them. The third possibility is, of course, that amount of training exerts no influence on these choices.

There are other possible effects. Mixed types might occur; for instance, post-M.A. students might overchoose other post-M.A. students, but pre-M.A. students hardly discriminate in their choices. Finally, both categories of choosers might overselect people with characteristics opposite of their own. The effect of sex on dating would reveal this pattern, that is, boys would choose girls, and girls, boys. This paper, however, is confined to the analysis of the three main types mentioned first: differentiating, segregating, and no effects.[3]

Objectives of Study. We want to explore in this paper the effects of various attributes of the members of a collectivity on different types of interpersonal choice and the regularities revealed by these patterns. It is expected that attributes that have a certain effect on instrumental evaluations have the same effect on instrumental interaction, for example, that those attributes that have a differentiating effect on respect also have a differentiating effect on consulting. If this is the case, do these attributes also have the same effect on sociable choices? And if it is not the case for some attributes, what are the implications of such a discrepancy between an attribute's significance for instrumental evaluations and corresponding interactions? Are there any factors that have opposite consequences for different types of choice, say, a differentiating effect on instrumental but a segregating effect on sociable choices, and, if so, how can this pattern be explained?

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

A study of a public welfare agency furnishes empirical data for the analysis of interpersonal choice. The duties of the caseworkers in this agency were to determine whether new applicants were eligible for public assistance, to check whether old clients

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[3] The terms "differentiation and segregating *effects*" imply that the observed relationships between attributes and interpersonal choices are due to the influence of the former on the latter. Some relationships, however, may be due to the influence of the choices on the attributes, which makes the terms inappropriate. Where this seems to be the case, it is pointed out in the text.

continued to be eligible, to help them cope with various problems, and to encourage them to become self-supporting again. Lack of training (most workers only had a college degree) and heavy work loads (the average number of cases per worker was over 120) restricted casework service to clients to a minimum. Workers were organized into units of five or six under a supervisor.

Two observers spent about three months in one division of this large agency. After they became oriented to the organization, they collected a variety of quantitative as well as qualitative observational data. Records of agency operations were also analyzed, and a number of indices were derived from them. After the period of observation, the caseworkers in twelve units and their supervisors were interviewed. The analysis presented here deals with the caseworkers only, a total of sixty respondents.

Measures of Interpersonal Choice. Sociometric questions were used to define four types of interpersonal choice. Respondents were asked to name (1) the three best caseworkers in their own unit, which provides an index of respect; (2) the workers to whom they go if they have a problem, which supplies an index of consultation; (3) the five workers in the agency with whom they are most friendly, which serves as an index of attraction; and (4) the members of their own unit whom they call by their first names, which furnishes an index of informal acceptance. Reciprocated choices are not differentiated from unreciprocated ones in the analysis presented.[4] Although choices on the first and last question were restricted to the respondent's own work group, whereas he was free to choose any persons in the organization on the other two questions, all four types are analyzed for the twelve groups as a whole.[5] Only choices made of persons that were interviewed are included in the analysis. The total of such choices made by the 60 respondents was 133 for respect, 100 for consultation, 116 for attraction, and 56 for informal acceptance.

The first two measures are indicative of instrumental choices, the other two, of sociable choices. Respect reveals an instrumental evaluation, and consultation is an instrumental interaction, the index used being a verbal report of this interaction. The two kinds of sociable choices, however, cannot be as clearly classified into the appropriate conceptual categories—evaluation and interaction. The fact that two thirds of the "friendship" choices were not reciprocated suggests that they are not so much expressions of firmly established bonds of friendship as of feelings of attraction to a colleague, but they undoubtedly also imply relatively intensive social intercourse. Addressing a colleague informally by his first name rather than formally is an aspect of a person's sociable interaction with him, but it also reflects the former's acceptance of the latter. Hence, both attraction and informal acceptance are admixtures of sociable evaluation and sociable interaction, with the former being perhaps somewhat more indicative of an evaluation, and the latter, of interaction.

Method of Analysis. The influence of seniority on choice of consultant serves to illustrate the method of analysis employed (Table 1; ignore for the moment the columns headed "H"). There were 21 newcomers with less than one year seniority, 21 workers with one to three years seniority, and 18 oldtimers with over three years seniority. By chance, therefore, choices should be distributed among the three categories in the proportion of 35:35:30. Actually, all three categories of choosers gave much less than 35 per cent of their choices to newcomers (an average of 12 per cent); all three

[4] Reciprocated choices introduce some bias against observing a differentiating effect. But this "bias" is in the nature of the choices made. Moreover, the number of reciprocated choices exceeded chance expectations by about the same amount (between 24 and 33 per cent) in three of the four types of choices; it was somewhat higher, as one would expect, in respect to first-naming (47 per cent). (If choices are unrestricted, the excess over chance expectations is virtually identical with the proportion of reciprocated choices, but if they are restricted to the unit, the excess is smaller than the actual proportion.)

[5] Restricting choices to the unit lowers the variance and increases the probability of reciprocated choices Combining such restricted choices in the analysis assumes that the attributes examined in relation to these choices are randomly distributed in the twelve units. Inspection did not reveal any conspicuous bias in the distribution of the items selected for analysis among the twelve groups.

TABLE 1. INFLUENCE OF SENIORITY ON CONSULTATION

Chooser Seniority	Chosen Seniority: Newcomer N	H	1–3 Years N	H	Oldtimer N	H	Total Choices	Number o Persons
Newcomer	6	−.65	22	+.15	21	+.18	49	21
1–3 years	4	−.56	11	+.11	11	+.18	26	21
Oldtimer	2	−.77	12	+.20	11	+.20	25	18
Total choices	12		45		43		100	60

categories gave more than 35 per cent of their choices to colleagues with one to three years of seniority (an average of 45 per cent); and all three also gave more than 30 per cent of their choices to oldtimers (an average of 43 per cent). In brief, seniority had a differentiating effect on consultation; whatever his own seniority, a worker was more likely to consult a colleague with more than one year of experience than a newcomer.

A segregating effect is exemplified by the influence of skin color on attraction (Table 2). Two thirds of the 60 caseworkers were white, 19 were Negroes, and one was Oriental. Whites gave more than two thirds of their choices to other whites (88 per cent), and non-whites gave less than two thirds of their choices to whites (40 per cent). Both kinds of choosers were attracted in disproportionate numbers to colleagues of their own skin color, which means that skin color had a segregating effect on attraction.[6]

Coleman has developed a procedure fo determining the extent to which each cate- gory of choosers overselects or underselect each category of chosen.[7] Table 2 shows tha whites gave 65 choices to other whites. Th maximum number of choices they could hav given to whites is 74 (all their choices), an the number of choices they would have give to whites had they distributed their choice randomly (that is, in proportion to the pop- ulation's skin-color distribution) is 49.3 (tw thirds of 74). The actual number in thi cell exceeds chance expectation by 15.7 (65– 49.3), whereas the maximum excess possibl would be 24.7 (74–49.3). The extent o overchoosing is, therefore, 64 per cent of th possible maximum (15.7/24.7). The H valu is +.64. Non-whites gave 17 choices t whites. Since chance expectation for thi cell is 28 choices (two thirds of 42), th actual choices fall short of chance expecta- tion by 11. The maximum by which th choices in the cell could have fallen short o

[6] This finding indicates *some* discrimination in the relationships among workers, but there was surprisingly little racial discrimination. Skin color had no effect on any of the other three types of interpersonal choice—respect, consultation, an informality—although other background factors di affect these other types.

[7] Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

TABLE 2. INFLUENCE OF SKIN COLOR ON ATTRACTION

Chooser	Chosen: White N	H	Non-White N	H	Total Choices	Number o Persons
White	65	+.64	9	−.64	74	40
Non-white	17	−.39	25	+.39	42	20
Total choices	82		34		116	60

chance expectation is 28 (no choices would be 28 less than chance expectation). The extent of underchoosing is, therefore, 39 per cent of the maximum possible (11/28). The H value for the cell is —.39. The H values are presented in alternate columns of the two tables.[8]

Criteria for Discriminating Effects. It is necessary to establish firm criteria for deciding whether an observed distribution of choices indicates that the attribute has a differentiating, a segregating, or no effect. To be sure, if the H values are as large and if their distribution is as clear-cut as in Tables 1 and 2, the type of effect can be ascertained by mere inspection. However, in 3 x 3 and larger tables where H values vary in size and where all positive ones do not neatly fall into one or two columns or a diagonal, an independent criterion for determining type of effect is needed. The procedure of the chi-square test, appropriately adapted, is used for this purpose.[9]

The criterion of a differentiating effect is that the difference between actual and expected choices in the *column totals* is greater than one that would occur by chance in one case out of 20. In Table 2, for example, whites actually received 82 choices, and they were expected to receive 77.3 (two thirds of 116, since two thirds of the 60 respondents were whites). Non-whites actually received 34 choices and were expected to receive 38.7 (one third of 116). If these values are introduced into the chi-square formula the chi-square obtained is 0.86, which, with one degree of freedom, could easily be due to chance. Hence, there is no differentiating effect.

The criterion of a segregating effect is that the difference between actual and expected choices *within and outside the major diagonal* is greater than one that would occur by chance in one case out of 20. The actual choices in the major diagonal of Table 2, for instance, are 90 (65 + 25), and the expected choices are 63.3 (two thirds of 74 plus one third of 42). Outside the major diagonal, actual choices are 26 (9 + 17), and expected choices are 52.7 (one third of 74 plus two thirds of 42). The chi-square is 24.8, which would be obtained by chance in less than one case out of 1000. Skin color, therefore, had a segregating effect on attraction.[10]

If neither criterion is met, the attribute is considered to have had no effect on the distribution of choices. Although the finding that both criteria are met is of intrinsic substantive significance, there were too few cases of this kind to analyze them separately, and these cases are classified on the basis of which one of the two tests indicates the stronger relationship. (This turned out to be in all cases the differentiating effect.)

PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL CHOICE

The relationships between 30 attributes and each of the four types of interpersonal choice described were examined.[11] Since the focus of interest is the pattern revealed by an attribute's significance for different aspects of interpersonal relationships, those attributes that had either a differentiating or a segregating effect on two or more of the four types of choice are singled out for attention. Sixteen attributes fulfilled this requirement; 14 did not, that is, they had either no effect on any of the four types of choice or affected only a single one of them.[12] The 30 attributes included verbal statements reflecting attitudes, sociometric measures,

[8] The equations for determining H are *(loc. cit.)*: if A is greater than E, $H=(A-E)/(M-E)$; if A is less than E, $H=(A-E)/E$; where A is the number of actual, E the number of expected, and M the maximum number of choices in a cell. Only in 2 x 2 tables do the H values in each row add to zero.

[9] The procedure used for discriminating effects governs, of course, the pattern of effects ascertained. A different, less rigorous procedure was used in an earlier draft of this paper, and the pattern of effects ascertained there was not identical with, although generally similar to, the one reported here.

[10] The interpersonal choices made can hardly be considered a sample of a universe of such choices, except possibly of the universe of choices that would be obtained if the same respondents were asked the same questions on many different occasions. In any case, the chi-square procedure is used here simply to furnish a rigorous arbitrary criterion for classifying distributions rather than as a genuine test of significance.

[11] For a list of the 30 attributes, see Table 4.

[12] In a few cases, the choices in the major diagonal fell below chance expectation—the opposite of a segregating effect. These were eliminated from the analysis, that is, treated as if no effect had been shown.

indices derived from performance records, and background characteristics. It is noteworthy that only three of the 12 attitude statements affected two or more types of interpersonal choice, whereas 13 of the 18 other kinds of measure did. This suggests that attitude measures based on simple responses to questions did not constitute reliable indications of the forces that influenced interpersonal relationships, notwithstanding the fact that the measures of these relationships used were also verbal responses.

Table 3 summarizes the 68 distributions of choice generated by relating 17 items to four types of choice. There are 17 items because one of the 16 attributes selected for further analysis, seniority, reveals two distinct patterns, dependent on whether respondents are divided into newcomers and those with more than one year seniority, or into those with less than three years seniori and oldtimers. Consequently, this attribute used as two items in the table (5 and 13) A "D" in Table 3 indicates that the ite shown in the stub on the left, had a diff entiating effect on the type of interperson choice, shown in the column heading; an "S indicates a segregating effect; no entry, effect; and a "U," a non-monotonic effe A "(D)" indicates a differentiating effe that is tautological, which means that t item and the type of choice are, fundame tally, the same variable.

The items are ordered in the table on t basis of their relationship to respect, the i dex of instrumental evaluation, because th arrangement seems to reveal the main reg

[13] The problem raised by the interdependence items, which is most glaring in this case but appl also to others, will be dealt with presently.

TABLE 3. EFFECTS OF 17 ITEMS ON FOUR TYPES OF INTERPERSONAL CHOICE

	Instrumental Choices		Sociable Choices	
	Evaluation	Interaction		
	Respect	*Consultation*	*Attraction*	*Informality*
1. Highly competent	D	D	D	....
2. Highly respected*	(D)	D	D	....
3. Often consulted*	D	(D)	D	....
4. Says is often consulted	D	D	D	....
5. Not a newcomer	D	D	D	....
6. Popular*	D	D	(D)	D
7. Expects to leave agency	D	D	D	D
8. Many total visits	S	D	....	S
9. Many visits to recipients	S	D	....	....
10. Many other visits	S	S	....	....
11. Much time in field	S	S	S	S
12. Father's occupation (manual)	S	....	....	S
13. Oldtimer	....	D	....	S
14. Rarely seeks advice*	....	D	U	S
15. Sex (female)	....	D	S	D
16. Called by first name*	....	S	D	(D)
17. Uses first	....	S	D	D
Totals				
D	6	11	8	4
S	5	4	2	5
U	0	0	1	0
O	5	1	5	7
(D)	1	1	1	1

Note: The table summarizes the 68 distributions of choice generated by relating 17 items to f types of choice. A "D" indicates that the attribute, shown in the stub on the left, had a different ing effect on the type of choices, shown in the column heading; an "S" indicates a segregating eff no entry, no effect; and a "U," a non-monotonic effect. A "(D)" indicates a differentiating effect t is tautological, which means that the attribute and the type of choice are, fundamentally, the s variable.

* Sociometric measure.

larities manifest in the table. (It is not surprising that instrumental choices reveal more regularity than sociable ones, since the data are taken from work groups.) Four main patterns can be distinguished. First, items that had differentiating effects on respect also had differentiating effects on consultation and on attraction, but usually not on informal acceptance. Second, items that had segregating effects on respect had no clear-cut pattern of effects on the three other types of choice. Finally, items that had no effect on respect revealed in all cases a reversal of effects on instrumental interaction and sociable choices, that is, if they had a differentiating effect on consultation they had a segregating effect on one of the two types of sociable choices (pattern three), and if they had a segregating effect on consultations they had a differentiating effect on sociable choices (pattern four). Let us examine these four patterns.[14]

The Pattern of Differentiation. The first seven items had a differentiating effect on respect. All these attributes also had differentiating effects on consultation and on attraction, and most (1–5) had no effect on informality, but two (6, 7) had a differentiating effect on informality.

Most of these items are measures of informal status, and a few are correlates of informal status, such as a worker's competence, as rated by his supervisor. Competence as a caseworker was a valuable asset that made a worker generally respected among colleagues, frequently consulted by them, and widely attractive to them. Generally, whatever made workers respected also made them desirable consultants and attractive companions. A differentiating effect shows that there is a correlation between an item and received choices. The term "differentiating *effect*" is really not quite appropriate here, since some of the observed correlations are undoubtedly not due to the influence of the item on received choices but to that of received choices on the item. This, however, has no bearing on the crucial finding. What the pattern essentially demonstrates is that there was a close relationship between the various aspects of informal status in these groups—being highly respected, being regularly consulted, being popular as an attractive companion, and their correlates. In short, there was a high degree of status crystallization.

First-name informality, however, was not related to most of the items indicative of informal status, which suggests that informal acceptance among colleagues refers to a dimension of social structure clearly distinct from the hierarchy of status that becomes differentiated among peers.[15] Respected qualities make a person attractive, but they do not make him easily approachable, and informal acceptance depends on approachability as well as attractiveness.[16] But popularity among colleagues was an exception, being directly associated with informal acceptance as well as with respect and with being often consulted. The reason may well be that being an attractive associate, in contrast to being looked up to as a respected expert and consultant, does not make a person unapproachable. Indeed, popularity appears to be the aspect of informal position that bridges prestige rank among colleagues and informal acceptance as a peer by them, perhaps because prestigeful qualities are needed to attain it and informal approachability is needed to maintain it.

The Pattern of Segregation. Five attributes (8–12) had a segregating effect on respect. The effects of these five characteristics on the other three types of interpersonal choice do not reveal a consistent pattern.

Four of the five items are data taken from

[14] Other regularities were also explored. For instance, the question was raised whether the table, appropriately re-arranged, would reveal a Guttman-type scalogram pattern. This is clearly not the case for segregating effects, but differentiating effects would seem, at first sight, to manifest such a pattern. All four items that had only one differentiating effect (8, 9, 13, 14) had a differentiating effect on consultation. And all five items that had three differentiating effects (1–5) had differentiating effects on respect, consultation, and attraction but not on informal acceptance. However, none of the three items that had two differentiating effects (15–17) had these on consultation and respect or on consultation and attraction, as would be required to obtain a scalogram pattern.

[15] This point is discussed in Peter M. Blau, "Social Integration, Social Rank and Processes of Interaction," *Human Organization,* 18 (Winter, 1959–60), pp. 152–157.

[16] See Peter M. Blau, "A Theory of Social Integration," *American Journal of Sociology,* 65 (May, 1960), pp. 545–556.

performance records. Such objective measures of performance might be expected to be associated with competence and have, as the latter, a differentiating effect on respect, yet they actually had a segregating effect on it. The reason probably is that these performance measures are indicative of differences in value orientations. The total number of visits as well as the number of visits to recipients indicate the worker's inclination to devote much effort to achieving high productivity, possible at the expense of more intensive service. Visits to persons other than recipients usually involved checking up on recipients, and making many of them reveals an orientation toward rigid enforcement of procedures rather than toward casework service.[17] Amount of time spent in field might reflect a worker's orientation toward visiting welfare recipients in their homes in the slums, or possibly his attitude toward not working under the eyes of superiors. Differences in these value orientations found expression not only in a worker's performance but also in his judgment of the abilities of his colleagues. Procedure-oriented workers, for example, disapproved of wasting time and furnishing more extensive service to clients than a strict interpretation of the rules required, and service-oriented workers disapproved of restricting service to clients and merely checking their eligibility. These orientations, therefore, affected the workers' instrumental evaluations of one another. Most workers respected those colleagues whose orientation was similar to their own. Whether a worker had been raised in a middle-class or working-class family undoubtedly influenced his orientation toward public welfare and its recipients in subtle ways, and these differences, too, affected the respondents' judgments of one another's abilities as caseworkers. Workers were more likely to respect others who shared their own class background than those with a different background.[18]

If workers typically respect colleagu whose orientation is similar to their own, o would expect them also usually to consu colleagues with a similar orientation. I other words, attributes that have a segr gating effect on respect would be expected t have a segregating effect on consultatio too. Indeed, the data manifest such tender cies, but primarily for items that directl represent value orientations and that had pronounced segregating effect on respec Differences in social origins (12), which onl indirectly refer to differences in orientation had no effect on consultation. Differences i orientation towards productivity (8, 9) ha a slight segregating effect on consultatio but it was not strong enough to meet the cr terion established, and, moreover, it wa overshadowed by a stronger differentiatin effect on consultation. For some reaso workers who devoted much effort to achie ing high productivity were generally co sulted, although they were not generally re spected. This raises the problem of what le workers to consult colleagues whom they di not particularly respect, a problem to whic we shall return shortly. Whether a worke was oriented toward procedures or servic (10) and the orientation indicated by amoun of time spent in field (11)—two items tha had much more pronounced segregatin effects on respect than the two measures o productivity—both had segregating effects o consultation. Workers tended to consult a well as to respect primarily those colleague whose orientations, as expressed in these tw items, were similar to their own. Furthe more, how much time workers spent in th field seems to reflect differences in value ori entation of especially pervasive significanc since this attribute had segregating effects no only on both types of instrumental choice but also on both types of sociable choice Differences in these values created segregat ing boundaries for all kinds of interpersona relationships. Such differences discourage workers from respecting colleagues, fro seeking their advice, from finding them at

[17] Workers who made many visits to others than recipients were more apt than other workers to manifest a procedure rather than a service orientation in their description of their work in the field. The index of procedure-service orientation based on this description also had a segregating effect on respect, but the relationship was not sufficiently pronounced to meet the criterion established.

[18] Although respect and attraction were related, four of the five attributes that had a segregatin effect on respect had no effect on attraction (an none of the four came close to meeting the criter of effect), which indicates that these two types choice, although not independent, are clearly di tinct.

tractive, and from socializing with them on an informal basis.[19]

Instrumental Differentiation and Sociable Segregation. The five items that had no effect on respect had opposite effects on instrumental interaction and on sociability. The three items (13–15) that had no effect on respect and a differentiating effect on consultation had a segregating effect on either informal acceptance or attractiveness.[20]

Oldtimers who had been with the agency for over three years, workers who rarely consulted others, and women were disproportionately often consulted, although their abilities as caseworkers were not especially respected. This finding calls attention to another regularity revealed in Table 3. All items (1–7) that had a differentiating effect on respect also had a differentiating effect on consultation, but five items (8, 9, 13, 14, 15) had a differentiating effect on consultation without having one on respect. This suggests that respect was a sufficient but not a necessary condition for becoming a consultant. Apparently, caseworkers regularly consulted colleagues even though they did not respect them as experts. Two possible reasons for doing so are that a colleague gives the impression of having the qualifications for furnishing competent advice and that he is particularly approachable. The fact that workers with more than one year seniority were more competent and respected than newcomers might have led workers to infer that colleagues with several years of experience must be particularly well qualified to give advice, although these oldtimers were actually no more expert than workers with less than three years seniority. The tendency of oldtimers to impress newer employees with their experience and knowledge of operations might have reinforced the misleading image of them as experts. Workers who rarely asked for advice probably gave colleagues the impression that their self-sufficiency must rest on superior proficiency. (Concern with productivity might lead to the inference that a person so interested in the job should be well qualified to furnish advice about it.) On the basis of these impressions, colleagues might go to such a worker for advice and, once they have established a consulting relationship with him, continue to discuss their problems with him even if they no longer respect him as an expert. The case of women is somewhat different. The cultural definition of the female sex role does not project an image of a technical expert but of a supportive figure,[21] and their supportiveness might make it easier to approach women rather than men for advice.

Let us turn now to the implication of instrumental interaction for sociability. Repeatedly asking a colleague for advice creates social obligations which constitute barriers to the free give-and-take of informal sociability. But if the person often consulted is also highly respected, his respected qualities are an attractive force that overcomes these barriers. The resulting pattern of differentiation has been exemplified by the first seven items. Being highly respected as well as often consulted made workers of superior informal status generally attractive to colleagues. The barriers to informal socializing with them were neutralized by their attractiveness, so that these measures of informal status and their correlates had no effect on first-name informality. If, on the other hand, persons who are often consulted are not particularly respected, the obligations incurred to them are not accompanied by attractive qualities that induce others to overcome the barriers to socializing with them. The resulting pattern, as exemplified by the three items now under consideration, is instrumental dif-

[19] One might suspect the pervasive effects of time spent in field on interpersonal choices to be simply due to the fact that this attribute discriminates between workers who were more or less available to colleagues as consultants and sociable companions. This difference in availability, however, would have a differentiating effect, with all workers overchoosing those who spend little time in the field. The segregating effect actually observed cannot be due to difference in availability.

[20] Item 14 (rarely seeks advice) and consultation choices are *not* based on the same set of responses. The latter is based on the answers of respondents when asked which colleagues they regularly consult. The former is based on the *frequency* with which a respondent was named by his colleagues when they were asked who regularly consults them.

[21] In social work, where most professional practitioners are women, the stereotype of women as less competent than men may well not prevail, but the conception of woman as being especially adept in providing social support would hold there at least as much as elsewhere.

ferentiation in conjunction with sociable segregation.

Workers with less than three years seniority and those who fairly often asked for advice did not feel entirely free to approach their counterparts, to whom they were obligated for advice, on an informal first-name basis, and neither did they think highly enough of them to set aside their reluctance to socialize with them. Instead, they turned to others like themselves for sociable companionship. Hence, these two items had a differentiating effect on consultation, a segregating effect on informality, and their effect on attraction was intermediate. (Item 13 had no effect on attraction, and Item 14 had a non-monotonic effect, that is, workers who asked advice with medium frequency were more attractive to colleagues than either those who often or those who rarely did.[22]) Sex, however, had a differentiating effect on informality. This finding that women were more apt to be called by their first names than men indicates the greater approachability of women, which made them more accessible as consultants. The obligations incurred to women by consulting them could, consequently, not find expression in a segregating effect on informality, but they did find expression in a segregating effect on attraction. The barriers to sociability created by these obligations probably reinforced the prevailing tendency of adults to seek friendly companionship among persons of the same sex. Hence, men were typically attracted to other men as sociable companions, and women, to other women.

These findings suggest that unless a differentiation of informal status produced by instrumental interaction is accompanied by a parallel differentiation of instrumental evaluations that legitimates the status differences, strains in social relations develop that create segregating barriers to sociability. For attributes that differentiated consultants from non-consultants without giving rise to a corresponding differentiation of respect to legitimate the superior status of consulta had segregating effects on sociable choic

Instrumental Segregation and Social Differentiation. Two of the five items th had no effect on respect reveal the opposi pattern of the one just discussed. They (1 17) had segregating effects on consultatic and differentiating effects on sociable choic

These two related items—whether oth members of his work group reported calli a worker by his first name, and whether reported calling them by their first names are measures of informality. A person wl approaches his colleagues on an inform basis and invites them to be on familiar terr with him makes himself an attractive ai accessible social companion, whereas the o who remains formal and aloof even in his r lations with his immediate colleagues di courages friendly sociability. Hence, the tv measures of informality had differentiati effects on sociable choices. Informal worke were more attractive and popular social cor panions than formal ones.

Since the caseworker's job involves dea ing with clients, his approach to people h important implications for his performan of his duties. Some workers were formal ai distant in their contacts with clients and di approved of easy-going informality, wh others preferred a more informal approa and disapproved of rigid adherence to mi dle-class formality in relation to clients. Hc informal a worker was in his social intera tion with colleagues may well have reflect his approach to people in general. Not th caseworkers who readily became fairly in mate with colleagues were as intimate wi their clients, but these workers were pro ably more informal in their contacts wi clients than those who remained formal ev in their colleague relationships. Like oth differences in orientation toward the wo differences in approach to people had seg gating effects on instrumental choices. The was some tendency for workers to resp primarily those colleagues whose approach people was similar to their own, although was not sufficiently pronounced to meet t criterion of a segregating effect,[23] and th

[22] Since seniority was dichotomized, a non-monotonic effect could not have been observed. If three categories of seniority are used (as in Table 1), seniority, just as frequency of asking for advice, had a non-monotonic effect on attraction; workers with one to three years of seniority were more attractive to colleagues than either newcomers or oldtimers.

[23] The chi-square for segregating effect respect, with one degree of freedom, is 3.3, same for both items, whereas the criterion wo require a chi-square of 3.8.

was a clear-cut tendency for workers to consult others whose approach was similar to their own. Unlike other differences in orientation, then, approach to people had a considerably stronger segregating effect on consultation than on respect. A possible reason for this is that the inclination of informal workers to consult informal colleagues, produced by the similarity of their orientation, was reinforced by the approachability of these informal colleagues. This interpretation is supported by the two actual distributions of consultation choices, which show that both segregating effects were due to a pronounced tendency of informal workers but a very weak tendency of formal workers to consult others whose approach was similar to their own.[24]

FACTOR ANALYSIS

Four main patterns have been derived from the relationships between 17 items, on the one hand, and four types of interpersonal choice, on the other. Many items that revealed a similar pattern were correlated, but some were not (for example, 4 and 5), and some items that were correlated manifested different patterns of effects (for example, 8 and 15). To determine whether the patterns discerned correspond to distinct, independent dimensions, a factor analysis was performed, using all 30 attributes with which the investigation started, those that did not have two effects that met the criteria established as well as those that did.

It should be noted that the factor analysis does not examine the same relationships as the preceding discussion. The analysis that has been the focus of this paper, and which is summarized in Table 3, deals with the relations between attributes, on the one hand, and interpersonal choices, on the other. The factor analysis, in contrast, investigates the interrelations among attributes, that is, among the independent variables in the foregoing analysis. Its purpose is to determine the underlying orthogonal dimensions reflected in the specific attributes that exerted various influences on interpersonal choice.

Procedure.[25] No information on between 8 and 15 respondents is available for the measures based on performance records and one other item (competence rating by supervisor). To omit these from the factor analysis would implicitly assume that they come from the same population as the rest, an assumption known to be false, since most of these were newcomers whose performance records had not yet become available. For this reason, predicted scores were assigned in all these cases. Variables were selected from the original study which had not been included in the factor analysis, to preserve independence, and which were related to each of the variables for which predictions were needed. The scores of respondents on whom no information is available was predicted from their responses on the correlated variable. When no prediction was possible, a score was assigned by random procedure.

Variables were ordered according to their supposed dimensionality. Then individuals were ranked on each variable, with tied individuals being assigned the mean rank of the ranks over which the tie extended. (Since most items were qualitative attributes rather than continuous variables, there were typically many tied individuals.) Correlations were computed for these ranks, yielding rank order correlations. The highest correlation for each variable was used as the estimate of the communal variance for that variable. The matrix of intercorrelations, with communality estimates in the main diagonal, was factored according to the Turanski routine. Rotation was performed by the varimax program for Univac, an analytical criterion for orthogonal simple structure devised by Kaiser.[26] Six factors were extracted, accounting for .89 of the common variance and .39 of the total variance. The factor loadings of the 30 items on these six factors are presented in Table 4.[27]

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[24] For Item 16, the H values in the main diagonal of the 3 x 3 table are + 43 for the most informal, + 18 for the somewhat informal, and +.05 for the most formal workers. For Item 17, the H values in the main diagonal, in the same order, are +.23, +.42, and +.08.

[25] This sub-section was written largely by Robert A. Gordon, who did the factor analysis.

[26] Henry F. Kaiser, "The Varimax Criterion for Analytic Rotation in Factor Analysis," *Psychometrika*, 23 (September, 1958), pp. 187–200.

[27] Seniority has been represented as two items in Table 3 (5 and 13), but is, of course, used as only one item in the factor analysis. Hence, there

TABLE 4. LOADINGS OF 30 ITEMS ON SIX ORTHOGONAL FACTORS

Items	Factors						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Communality
1. Highly competent	+*.60*	−.15	−.21	−.02	+.06	+.00	.42
2. Highly respected	+*.72*	+.01	+.13	+.03	+.08	−.08	.55
3. Often consulted	+*.69*	−.05	+.09	−.03	+.22	+.07	.54
4. Says is often consulted	+*.59*	−.07	+.14	−.07	−.23	+.10	.44
5. High seniority (see Item 13)*							
6. Popular	+*.56*	+.05	−.25	+.27	−.03	−.06	.46
7. Expects to leave agency	+.19	+.28	−.02	+.21	−.14	−.18	.21
8. Many total visits	+.17	−*.78*	+.09	−.13	−.29	+.10	.76
9. Many visits to recipients	+.17	−*.70*	−.10	−.15	−.12	+.29	.65
10. Many other visits	−.05	−*.58*	+.10	+.15	+.17	+.21	.44
11. Much time in field	+.12	−*.71*	−.03	−.17	−.18	+.08	.58
12. Father's occupation (manual)	−.19	+.17	−.34	+.10	+.09	−.01	.20
5, 13. High seniority*	+.48	−.11	−.14	−.13	+*.67*	+.24	.78
14. Rarely seeks advice	+.21	+.25	−.34	+.01	+*.56*	+.39	.68
15. Sex (female)	+.10	+.19	+.28	+.35	+.38	−.08	.40
16. Called by first name	+.25	+.21	+.13	+*.59*	+.11	−.31	.57
17. Uses first names	+.04	+.13	+.02	+*.50*	−.18	+.03	.30
18. Enjoys helping clients	−.09	+.04	−.01	+.02	+.24	−.02	.07
19. Casework oriented	+.22	+.13	−.26	−.16	+.14	−.32	.28
20. Concerned about cases	−.10	+.10	+.10	−.02	−.01	−*.54*	.32
21. Favors delegating to clients	+.05	+.40	+.14	+.17	−.22	+.17	.29
22. Pro-client attitude	+.18	+.11	−.01	+.18	+.42	−.42	.42
23. High self-confidence	+.12	−.17	−.49	+.10	+.12	+.02	.30
24. Loyal to supervisor	−.03	−.37	+.01	+.15	[illegible]	−.13	.20
25. Opposes agency reorganization	+.09	−.14	+.31	−.05	+.10	−.18	.17
26. Attracted to superiors	+.09	−.10	+.30	−.07	+.09	+.25	.18
27. Non-white	+.04	−.01	+.07	−.28	+.32	−.10	.19
28. Non-Protestant	−.02	−.13	−.22	+*.67*	+.12	+.07	.54
29. Low education	−.03	+.12	+.48	+.19	+.06	−.04	.29
30. Promotes client interests	+.49	−.00	+.17	+.33	+.04	−.01	.39
31. Often tardy	+.10	+.15	+.15	−.11	+.25	−.15	.15
Total							11.77
Sum of squares	2.89	2.69	1.38	1.77	1.79	1.25	....
Proportion of Common Variance	.25	.23	.12	.15	.15	.11	....

* Item 5 and Item 13 refer to the same attributes—seniority—and are shown only once in the table.

The Orthogonal Factors. The first factor can be considered the dimension of informal status, and it corresponds to the pattern of differentiation. Using .50 as the cutting point for high factor loadings,[28] five of the seven items that revealed this pattern had high loadings on this factor (1, 2, 3, 4, 6), no other item did, and the sixth item (5) nearly had a high loading—.48. Only Item 7—expectation to leave agency—had a pervasive differentiating effect without having a high loading on Factor I.

The second factor may be thought of as orientation to public assistance as reflected in performance of tasks, and it resembles the pattern of segregation. Four of the five items that had a segregating effect on respect (8–11) had high loadings on this factor, and no other items did. The only attribute with a low loading on Factor II and a segregating effect on respect is social origin (12). The first two factors, which largely account for the items that had either a differentiating or a segregating effect on respect, extracted nearly one half of the common variance—each about one quarter. The other factors were less potent.

The third factor might be called confidence in one's own abilities, and it does not parallel any pattern of choice. No item had as high a loading as .50 on this factor, and the two items with the highest loadings (23, 29)

are no entries for Item 5 in Table 4, and the numbers extend to 31 although there are only 30 items.

[28] Factor loadings of .50 or above (regardless of sign) are indicated by italics in Table 4.

were self-confidence—specifically, a worker's confidence in being able to work without supervision—and education.

The fourth factor may represent informal approachability, and this dimension seems to underlie the last pattern discussed—segregation-differentiation. Both items (16, 17) that had segregating effects on instrumental interaction but differentiating effects on sociable choices had high loadings on this factor. Another attribute, however, also had a high loading on Factor IV, namely, minority religious status (28). It is of interest that this attribute, which had the highest loading on Factor IV, had in common with the other two with high loadings that it had no effect on respect and a differentiating effect on informal acceptance. (Religion was not included in the preceding analysis because it had no effect on three of the four types of choice.)

The fifth factor is, perhaps, a syndrome of experience and self-reliance (not self-confidence but reluctance to admit need for help), and it corresponds to the pattern of instrumental differentiation and sociable segregation. Two of the three items that manifested this pattern had loadings of over .50 on this factor (13, 14), no other item did, and the third item, sex (15), had a loading of .38, the fourth highest loading on Factor V.

The sixth factor represents orientation to clients, and it does not correspond to any pattern of choice. The item with the highest loading on this factor was concern with clients as expressed by worrying about their cases (20). Note that the two factors that did not have a distinctive pattern of effects on interpersonal choices—III and VI—were the ones that accounted for less of the common variance than the other four.

In short, the factor analysis generally supports the inference drawn from the analysis of choice patterns. When 30 attributes were grouped on the basis of the pattern of interpersonal choice they generated, specifically, on the basis of their effect on instrumental evaluations or, if they had no effect on instrumental evaluations, on the basis of their effect on instrumental interaction, the groupings largely reflected four of the six orthogonal dimensions manifested by these attributes.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has presented an analysis of interpersonal relationships, using data on 60 caseworkers in a public welfare agency for illustrative purposes. The basic questions raised were, how do various similarities and differences between people influence their interpersonal choices and the social relationships in which these choices find expression, and what patterns are revealed by the effects of the same attributes on different types of interpersonal choice. Four types of interpersonal choice were examined, which can be conceptually distinguished in terms of whether they refer to instrumental or sociable relationships, and whether they involve evaluation of or interaction with another person: (1) respecting a colleague, an instrumental evaluation; (2) consulting a colleague, an instrumental interaction; (3) being attracted to a colleague as a sociable companion, a sociable choice; and (4) informally addressing a colleague, another sociable choice. (The empirical measures did not permit a clear distinction between sociable evaluation and sociable interaction.) Seventeen items were divided into four classes on the basis of which one of two kinds of effect they had on instrumental evaluations or, if they had neither effect on respect, which one they had on instrumental interaction. These four classes of items represented independent dimensions, as revealed by a factor analysis, and three of them exhibited fairly distinctive patterns of effects on the different types of interpersonal choice.

An attribute may be related to a measure of interpersonal choice in three main ways: (1) the A's (or the non-A's) are chosen in disproportionate numbers by both A's and non-A's; (2) the A's are overchosen by the A's, and the non-A's, by the non-A's; and (3) there is no discrimination in the choices between the A's and the non-A's, which means, of course, that there is no relationship. The first case has been interpreted to indicate a differentiating effect, and the second, a segregating effect. In regard to evaluations, such as respect, however, an alternative interpretation is possible which centers not on the implications of the ob-

served pattern for the social structure but on the standards of evaluation that can be inferred from it. If the persons characterized by A are respected in disproportionate numbers by others unlike themselves as well as by those like themselves, the finding implies that A serves as a universalistic standard of evaluation which is independent of the relationship between chooser and chosen. If, on the other hand, only A's tend to respect A's, whereas non-A's tend to respect non-A's, the finding implies that A is a particularistic standard. For the distinguishing criterion of particularism is precisely that the standard of evaluation is not independent of but contingent on the relationship between the role attributes of the choosing actors and those of the objects of their choice.[29] The major findings of the research can be briefly reinterpreted in terms of these concepts of universalistic and particularistic standards of respect.

The empirical data indicated that the value orientations of caseworkers toward their work furnished particularistic standards for their instrumental evaluations of one another. Workers tended to respect a colleague not, for example, because he was oriented toward service or because he was oriented toward procedures but because he shared their orientation, whatever it was. Such particularistic standards would be expected to have a segregating effect on social interaction. For the most salient orientations toward public assistance—those with the strongest impact on respect—this was, indeed, the case; workers with a similar orientation consulted one another in disproportionate numbers, and a salient orientation might even have such segregating effects on sociable choices. But other particularistic orientations did not have segregating effects on consultation, probably because factors other than a colleague's value orientation in non-salient areas exerted an overriding influence on the tendency to consult him, such as whether he impressed others as an expert and how easily approachable he was. Conversely, when the implications of a weak particularistic standard for instrumental interaction were reinforced by the approachability of workers with a certain orientation, as was the case for informal workers, the segregating effect on consultation was more pronounced than the effect on respect.

All items that served as universalistic standards of instrumental evaluations had differentiating effects on instrumental interaction. In other words, the characteristics that distinguished workers who were generally respected from others also differentiated regular consultants from the rest. Besides, the same characteristics singled out workers whom colleagues found attractive companions. There were, however, a number of attributes that did not represent universalistic standards of respect yet had differentiating effects on consultation. Apparently, workers regularly consulted some colleagues even though they did not have much respect for their abilities as caseworkers, perhaps due to their accessibility or to a consulting relationship with them established on the basis of first impressions. Repeatedly asking a colleague for advice creates social obligations, and the need to repay these obligations, typically, in the form of deference introduces a potential strain into the social relationship.[30] If universalistic standards of instrumental evaluation create a differentiation of respect that parallels the differentiation in consultations, the high respect accorded to consultants legitimates deference to them, thereby relieving this strain which otherwise would discourage free and easy sociability. Hence, when the superior status of consultant, whose advice obligated others to defer to him, was not legitimated by respect for him, and only then, barriers to informal sociability tended to arise between consultants and other workers.

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[29] See Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 82. The relations between this theoretical scheme and the operational procedure used in the present article are further explored in a forthcoming paper.

[30] If the consultations between two persons are reciprocal, no such obligations to repay with deference and no such strain would arise. However, differentiating effects on consultation, as those here under consideration, cannot be due to reciprocal choices (except in cases where the number of persons in different categories varies widely). Actually, the differentiating effects observed were primarily due to non-reciprocated choices.

NURSE-PATIENT SOCIAL DISTANCE AND THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF A MENTAL HOSPITAL

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Status distance refers to the emphasis given the subordination of mental patients to staff, while personal distance pertains to the emotional indifference to patients. From a survey of the nursing force of a large hospital, together with a survey of structural characteristics of ward units, it was shown that different conditions contribute to each of these dimensions of distance. Status distance occurs most frequently among staff of comparatively high position, who are obeisant toward their superiors and whose mobility aspirations are blocked. These characteristics stand in closest relationship to status distance, however, when found on wards where patients are of relatively low social standing. Personal distance is most common among personnel assigned to wards of their own sex and where the prevailing age of patients is different from their own.

STUDENTS of the mental hospital generally agree that the social milieu of the patient has an important influence on the outcome of his treatment. More specifically, it is maintained that the "humanistic" or "democratic" approach of staff members to mental patients is more conducive to recovery than the "custodial" approach.[1] Among the broad range of attitudes which fall under the rubric of the "humanistic" or "democratic" orientation are two that refer to the psychological distance of hospital staff from patients. One is the attitude of egalitarianism, or absence of "status distance" between staff and patients. The other may be called personal feelings, or the absence of "personal distance" between these groups. While status distance and personal distance have long ago been conceptually distinguished,[2] they are still used almost interchangeably in discussion of the therapeutic milieu.

One purpose of this paper is to show that certain factors which contribute to attitudes of "status distance" turn out to bear no relationship to attitudes of "personal distance;" conversely, qualities which are shown to be relevant to "personal distance" are irrelevant to "status distance." The second purpose of this paper is to highlight the way in which the *social context of the mental hospital ward* may influence or modify the factors which contribute to these attitudes.[3]

The scales devised to measure the two attitudes of distance are presented with the data. Conceptually, the term status distance refers to the extent to which nursing personnel are guided by a consciousness of their own status superiority in defining their relations with patients. Status distance is based on the assumption by staff that pa-

[1] For examples of work emphasizing the democratic and humanistic elements of therapeutic milieu, see Maxwell Jones, *The Therapeutic Community*, New York: Basic Books, 1953; Milton Greenblatt, Richard H. York and Esther Lucille Brown, *From Custodial to Therapeutic Patient Care in Mental Hospitals*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955; and Milton Greenblatt, Daniel J Levinson and Richard H. Williams, editors, *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, pp 20-35, 197-230.

[2] Our own thinking of these two concepts is very similar to an early conceptual specification of social distance made by Willard C. Poole, Jr. in "Distance in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (July, 1927), pp. 99-104. Poole delineates social and personal distance. The former is based on the regard one has for another as a representative of a group or collectivity; personal distance refers to the regard one has for another as an individual. It will be noted that our distinction between status and personal distance closely resembles Poole's conceptualization.

[3] Increasing attention is being given to problems of contextual analyses in survey research. See Patricia L. Kendall and Paul Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in Robert K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, editors, *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950, pp. 187-195; also Lazarsfeld's discussion of contextual propositions in "Problems in Methodology," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, pp. 69-73.

tients have a status that is both different and unequal to their own. Essentially, a "status distant" staff member sees his relations with patients in terms of a superordinate-subordinate arrangement; in his eyes proper staff-patient relations are transacted on a vertical axis. Thus, a staff member can set himself apart from patients by setting himself above them.

This is not the only way in which psychological distance between staff and patient can come about, however. It can also occur by virtue of a lack of positive affect for patients. It is this lack of emotional attachment to patients that we mean by personal distance. Basically, personal distance exists where feelings toward patients are neutral, if not negative; where, as far as the staff member is concerned, one patient is interchangeable with any other patient; and where there is no investment in relations with patients beyond that formally prescribed by the institution. In short, the "personally distant" staff member has no particular affinity for the patients with whom he works.[4]

We will proceed by showing first the empirical relationship between status and personal distance. The remainder of the paper will be devoted to an examination of how each of these attitudes arises out of an interplay between characteristics of individual nurses and properties of the contexts in which they are located. It will be noted in the course of the analysis that the differences between status distance and personal distance are more than conceptual. They will also be shown to stem from markedly different contextual conditions. Before presenting the data, the place and method of the study will be described.

SETTING OF THE STUDY

The subjects of the study are all members of the nursing service below the supervisor level at Saint Elizabeths Hospital.[5] This is a large Federal mental hospital which, for the most part, draws its patients from the District of Columbia. There are approximately 7500 inpatients on the hospital's rolls; approximately half are white and half Negro. The hospital itself is organized into 12 services and 156 wards. Two data collection instruments were used: one was a self-administered questionnaire that was given to all nursing personnel below supervisory level. The other was a form, filled out by the persons in charge of each of the 156 wards, that dealt with the demographic characteristics of patient ward populations, the distribution of certain psychiatric characteristics, and the employment of various ward programs and policies. Of the 1315 nursing personnel who received questionnaires, 1138, or 86 per cent, returned completed and usable questionnaires. Of the 156 ward forms distributed, 152 were filled out.[6]

Three ranks are represented among the personnel included in the study, each differing in responsibilities, authority, and rewards. The lowest rank is called nursing assistants; next to them are charge attendants who have been given the charge of wards on the basis of experience and demonstrated ability. The third group, smallest in number, is composed of registered nurses. This group has authority over the preceding ranks and is usually responsible for running the wards. These three groups are collectively referred to as nursing personnel. Forty per cent of them are males and 60 per cent are females.

[4] *It should be noted that having positive affective feelings for patients is not the same as being emotionally involved with patients. One can like patients without emotional entanglements; conversely one can become emotionally entangled with patients without liking them.*

[5] Gratitude is extended to Miss Lavonne Frey, Director of Nurses, and the members of her staff who gave generous support to this study. The authors alone, however, are responsible for the material presented in this paper.

[6] The information derived from these ward forms provided the data for characterizing the social context of the wards. We find, however, that over 40 per cent of the nursing personnel are regularly assigned to more than one ward. In cases of multiple ward assignments, it would not be possible to use a given ward context in accounting for attitudes Only those nurses exclusively assigned to a single ward, therefore, will figure in the following tables; they number 647. It might further be noted that nurses giving no answer to a questionnaire item and those who work on wards for which a given item of information was not received are not included in the following tables. This means that there will be a slight variation in the totals from one table to another.

THE DATA

It was pointed out earlier that status distance refers to the extent to which nursing personnel employ status considerations in defining their relations with patients,[7] while personal distance refers to intensity of their emotional feelings for patients.[8] Now we are in a position to see the relationship between the two attitudes, to examine the extent to which they overlap or depart from each other. As could be anticipated, Table 1 shows a relationship between these two dimensions of distance. As status distance decreases, the proportion of those who are high in personal distance tends to decrease. It is also seen in this table, however, that the relationship is relatively small and that the two attitudes are by no means identical. Every combination of status and personal distance is exhibited. Some of the staff are highly conscious of status in thinking of their relations with patients, but nevertheless express close personal feelings for them. Others display little status consciousness but also little personal feeling.

TABLE 1. THE STATUS AND PERSONAL DISTANCE OF NURSING PERSONNEL FROM PATIENTS

Personal Distance	Status Distance High	Moderate	Low
High	43%	38%	30%
Moderate	29	38	33
Low	28	24	37
Totals	291	131	219

$\chi^2 = 13.5$
df = 4
$P < .01$

The question we now wish to raise is whether status and personal distance, though distinct attitudes of staff to patients, are produced by the same or different sets of conditions. In order to answer this question, let us examine first some of the circumstances that promote status distance. Following this we will analyze personal distance in the same light.

Consider first the relationship of objective position in the nursing order to attitudes of status distance. Table 2 reveals that the attitudes of nursing assistants and charge attendants do not differ, but that head nurses are less disposed to attitudes of high status distance than either of these groups. Twenty per cent fewer of the head nurses are high in

TABLE 2. POSITIONS OF NURSES AND THEIR STATUS DISTANCE FROM PATIENTS

Status Distance	Nursing Assistants	Charge Attendants	Head Nurses
High	48%	47%	27%
Moderate	20	18	24
Low	32	35	49
Totals	456	126	59

Between assistants and head nurses: $\chi^2 = 9.9$, df = 2, $P < .01$
Between charges and head nurses: $\chi^2 = 6.5$, df = 2, $P < .05$

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[7] The dimension of status distance is measured by a Guttman scale consisting of the following six items answerable by strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree:
(1) If you get too friendly with patients, they often lose respect for you.
(2) It's a bad idea to get too friendly with patients.
(3) You have to keep your distance from mental patients, otherwise they are liable to forget you are a nurse or nursing assistant.
(4) It's hard to be friendly with patients without its becoming too personal.
(5) One of the problems in getting friendly with patients is that patients don't know where to draw the line.
(6) It's all right to get friendly with patients but not too friendly.

The reproducibility of this scale is .95; its scalability, according to the Menzel formula, is .85. Respondents scoring from 0 to 2 are categorized as "low;" the "moderate" group scored 3; and the "high" respondents received scores of from 4 to 6.

[8] The dimension of "personal distance" is measured by a Guttman scale consisting of the following five items answerable by strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree:
(1) I often find pleasure in talking about myself to patients.
(2) I often become quite personally attached to patients on my ward, and in a way am sorry to see them leave the ward.
(3) Whenever possible, it is fun to sit down with a patient and just pass the time of day talking.
(4) One patient is more or less the same as any other.
(5) When I get to know a patient well, I find that I talk to him just as I would anyone else.

The reproducibility of this scale is .95; its scalability is .82. Those in the "low" category scored 4 or 5; respondents scoring 3 are in the "moderate" group; and those scoring 0 to 2 are in the "high" category.

status distance than is found with either of the other ranks. Thus the two nursing ranks most contiguous to patients—assistants and charges—are the ones most likely to emphasize status distinctions between themselves and patients. The proportion of assistants and charges holding attitudes of high status distance is, however, virtually the same.

Differences between assistants and charges do appear, however, when we consider the nature of the wards to which they are assigned. First, let us consider the racial composition of ward patient populations. Race is a contextual property of particular relevance to status distance for several reasons. One reason is that for many it is a characteristic that, by social definition, serves as an indicator of one's standing in a broad social order; a second is that in the hospital, with its institutional pressures for uniformity, race remains a highly distinguishable sign of social standing for those disposed to view it in this fashion.

Wards were classified into three types according to their proportions of Negro patients. On the predominantly Negro wards 70 per cent or more of the patients are Negroes; the mixed wards have from 69 to 40 per cent Negro patients; and the predominantly white wards have 39 per cent or less. Table 3 presents nurses in different positions and assigned to wards varying in racial composition. This table, as well as others involving the racial composition of wards, does not contain the head nurse group. The reason is that only one registered nurse is exclusively assigned to a predominantly Negro ward; hence, no statement could be made about this group concerning the impact of racial composition on its feelings of distance.

When we take account of the racial context of the wards on which nursing assistants and charge attendants work, we find that their attitudes are far from identical. As Table 3 shows, charge attendants on predominantly *Negro* wards show unusually high status distance toward patients, whereas those who are on predominantly *white* wards show unusually low status distance toward patients. Among the nursing assistants, on the other hand, attitudes of status distance are almost completely uninfluenced by the racial composition of the wards. The absence of difference between nursing assistants and charge attendants which appeared in Table 1 is actually a spurious noncorrelation.[9] It stems from the fact that charge attendants on Negro wards are more likely than nursing assistants to hold attitudes of high status distance toward patients, but that charge attendants on white wards are less likely than nursing assistants to hold these attitudes. This suggests that charge attendants are relatively "sensitive" or "responsive" to the race of the patients on their wards, whereas nursing assistants are relatively indifferent to this factor.

TABLE 3. POSITION OF NURSES, THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THEIR WARDS, AND STATUS DISTANCE FROM PATIENTS

	Assistants			Charge Attendants		
Status Distance	P.N.* Wards (1)	Mixed Wards (2)	P.W.** Wards (3)	P.N.* Wards (4)	Mixed Wards (5)	P.W.** Wards (6)
High	49%	47%	48%	65%	53%	31%
Moderate	26	31	32	15	12	24
Low	25	22	20	20	35	45
Totals	97	133	209	34	34	58
	$\chi^2=1.6$, df=4, $P>.05$			$\chi^2=11.4$, df= 4, $P<.05$		

* P.N.—Predominantly Negro wards.
** P.W.—Predominantly white wards.

[9] Typically, we think of spuriousness existing where correlations are found. It can, however, be present in the absence of correlation. Hans Zeisel, *Say It with Figures*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 198–199.

Why are the charge attendants so responsive to the racial status of patients? One obvious possibility is that it represents a dislike for Negro patients by white charge attendants. This is not likely, however. While it was not feasible to collect information concerning the race of nurses themselves, it is known that about 75 per cent of both assistants and charges are Negroes. Furthermore, there is no pattern of selective assignment of personnel to racially different wards that would produce these results.

A partial explanation of the charge attendants' sensitivity is suggested by an examination of their place in the opportunity structure of the hospital. We know that charge attendants are promoted up from the ranks of nursing assistants. Once this promotion is achieved, charges have exploited all of the major advancement opportunities open to them, for the next stratum in the hierarchy is made up of registered nurses, a stratum inaccessible to those lacking the required training and education. This means that the charges who have mobility aspirations—and 76 per cent reported that "getting ahead" was of great importance to them—are in a situation that offers no hope of satisfying their aspirations. Nursing assistants, on the other hand, realistically have the possibility of promotion ahead of them. In the absence of opportunities for institutionally legitimized status enhancement, charges may be more likely than assistants to employ mechanisms for status aggrandizement that include distance from patients of low social standing.

The main evidence supporting this hypothesis comes from answers to the question: "Do you think your work in the hospital offers enough chance for you to get ahead in life as much as you want?" Those answering either that it offers no chance or not enough chance are considered as dissatisfied with their advancement opportunities; those replying that the chances are pretty good or very good are considered relatively satisfied. In Table 4,[10] charges and assistants differing in their assessment of mobility chances are compared for their expressions of status distance. This table reveals that the dissatisfied charge attendants are most sensitive to racial status. Where such personnel are assigned to Negro wards, 73 per cent are high in distance; on the white wards 42 per cent are high. This difference of 31 per cent is substantially larger than the 13 per cent difference found between columns 3 and 4, which represents the satisfied charge attendants working on wards varying in racial composition. While this evidence is incomplete, it would nevertheless appear that one factor that contributes to the sensitivity of charge attendants to the racial status of their wards is the frustration that ensues from a continued desire for advancement in conjunction with certain knowledge that they have reached the limits of the opportunity structure. If their mobility aspirations are relatively satisfied, they are less likely to demonstrate this sensitivity. Among the assistants,

TABLE 4. THE POSITIONS OF NURSES, ASSESSMENT OF THEIR CHANCES FOR MOBILITY, THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THEIR WARDS, AND STATUS DISTANCE FROM PATIENTS

	Charge Attendants				Nursing Assistants			
	Dissatisfied		Satisfied		Dissatisfied		*Satisfied*	
Status Distance	Negro Majority (1)	White Majority (2)	Negro Majority (3)	White Majority (4)	Negro Majority (5)	White Majority (6)	Negro Majority (7)	White Majority (8)
High	73%	42%	42%	29%	46%	48%	54%	45%
Moderate	4	16	29	29	26	21	11	21
Low	23	42	29	42	28	31	35	34
Totals	26	48	24	28	93	118	85	151
	$\chi^2=7.1$, df=2, P< .05		$\chi^2=1.3$, df=2, P> .05		$\chi^2=.6$, df=2, P> .05		$\chi^2=4.5$, df=2, P> .05	

[10] Because of small numbers, wards are dichotomized according to their racial majorities in Table 4.

current satisfaction with mobility chances makes little or no difference by virtue of the fact that there is realistically room for advancement before them.

To this point we have shown how those in higher positions in the nursing order are also higher in status distance—*when assigned to wards where the social standing of patients, as evidenced by racial composition, is low.* Evidence suggests that in part this results from the frustration of their own status goals. Thus the hierarchy of positions, established as a way to divide labor and authority efficiently among those of unequal skills, sets the background for the development of attitudes that might have unfavorable consequences for the care of some patients. Out of what was established as a functional arrangement can come unintended and, from the point of view of patients, undesired results.

This is further demonstrated when we turn from the objective ordering of positions to the subjective meaning that this order has for nursing personnel. While everyone in the hospital occupies some position in the authority structure, people differ in their attitudes toward authority and the meaning it has for them. One way in which they differ is in their obeisance to authority. By "obeisance to authority," we refer to an individual's tendency to accept without question or reservation the dictates of his superiors and to acknowledge status inequality through traditional forms of deference. The focus, then, is upon the honorific or social status aspects of authority rather than upon its functional aspects. Obeisance to authority was measured by a four-item Guttman scale.[11]

First we will examine how nurses differing in obeisance compare in status distance from patients. Discussion of "authoritarian"[12] or "sadomasochistic"[13] personalities would lead us to expect that the more obeisant a nurse is toward his superiors, the more likely he is to favor the maintenance of status distance from patients. And our data do, indeed, support this expectation. Table 5 shows that among the nurses low in obeisance, 38 per cent are high in distance; the corresponding percentage for those high in obeisance is 51 per cent. This difference indicates that an obeisant attitude to superordinates is associated with a keen awareness by nursing personnel of the difference in status between themselves and patients.

TABLE 5. OBEISANCE TO AUTHORITY AND STATUS DISTANCE OF NURSES FROM PATIENTS

Status Distance	Obeisance to Authority		
	Low	Moderate	High
High	38%	48%	51%
Moderate	24	21	17
Low	38	31	32
Totals	192	235	186

$\chi^2 = 7.9$
$df = 4$
$.10 > P > .05$

But the relationship between obeisance to authority and attitudes of status distance is not uniform; like occupational position, it varies with the racial composition of wards. In Table 5 we saw that 13 per cent more of the highly obeisant respondents were distant from patients. When we compare staff mem-

[11] The items comprising this scale are:

(1) Do you ever feel like disagreeing with *what* [your superior] wants you to do or *how* he (or she) wants you to do it?
—Often —Sometimes —Rarely —Never

(2) I figure my supervisor knows better than I what's good for my ward or else she (or he) wouldn't be a supervisor.
—Agree —Disagree

(3) The best way to get along on this job is to mind your own business and just do as you're told.
—Agree —Disagree

(4) I like the idea of nurses and nursing assistants standing up when the doctor comes into the nursing station.
—Agree —Disagree

The reproducibility of this scale is .90; its scalability is .72. Respondents scoring 0 or 1 are "low;" those scoring 2 are categorized as "moderate;" and those scoring 3 or 4 are "high."

[12] Adorno and his colleagues found that submission to authority goes with a wish for domination of others and a general concern with status. T. W. Adorno, Else Frankel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

[13] Fromm also has called attention to the close connections between the needs for submission and domination, one representing masochistic strivings and the other sadistic tendencies. Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1941, pp. 141–164.

bers working on Negro wards in Table 6, the difference becomes much greater. On these wards, nurses high in obeisance are 36 per cent more likely than those low in obeisance to express attitudes of status distance (Compare columns 1, 4, and 7.). On the other hand, the relationship between obeisance and attitudes of status distance are virtually non-existent on predominantly white wards (columns 3, 6, and 9).

The greater "sensitivity" or "responsiveness" of highly obeisant nurses to the social context of the ward can also be discerned by another comparison in the same table. When we compare groups similar in obeisance but working on wards differing in racial context, most difference is found among the group high in obeisance. Thus, whereas 69 per cent of this group assigned to the Negro wards are high in distance, this is true of only 43 per cent of the same group working on white wards. Among the other groups, however, there are no appreciable differences. It appears clear, then, that personnel who highly value and unquestioningly accept the honorific aspects of the hospital's authority system are more likely to elevate themselves above patients. Furthermore, this occurs most markedly among personnel assigned to wards containing patients of low social standing.

At the outset of this paper, we pointed out that one of the objectives in making the distinction between status distance and personal distance was to determine whether the same or different factors were associated with each of these attitudes. In order to examine this question, we subjected our scale of personal distance to the identical analysis made above. The only corresponding relationship to appear is between occupational rank and personal distance. In this instance 40 per cent of the assistants are high in personal distance, compared to 33 and 25 per cent of the charges and head nurses, respectively. Thus the higher one's position, the more likely he is to possess positive emotional feelings for patients. However, the racial context of wards is not a condition for personal feelings, nor does obeisance to authority relate to personal distance. In short, the factors that contribute to high status distance have, with the exception of position, no bearing on the intensity of personal feelings. The converse may now also be noted; none of the factors that will be shown to relate to personal feelings bear any relationship to status distance.

There is a reasonable explanation for this, one embedded in the very structure of the hospital itself. Occupational position, particularly within the context of ward racial composition, obeisance to authority, and frustrated mobility aspirations are all factors dealing with the status organization and status values of the hospital and its personnel. These status-relevant aspects of the hospital regulate status distance from patients.

TABLE 6. OBEISANCE TO AUTHORITY, RACIAL COMPOSITION OF WARDS AND STATUS DISTANCE OF NURSES FROM PATIENTS

	Obeisance to Authority								
	Low			Moderate			High		
Status Distance	P.N.* Wards (1)	Mixed Wards (2)	P.W.** Wards (3)	P.N.* Wards (4)	Mixed Wards (5)	P.W.** Wards (6)	P.N.* Wards (7)	Mixed Wards (8)	P.W.** Wards (9)
High	33%	40%	38%	53%	47%	46%	69%	51%	43%
Moderate	18	23	26	17	20	23	9	13	22
Low	49	37	36	30	33	31	22	36	35
Totals	33	71	88	54	70	111	41	53	92
		$\chi^2=2.1$ df=4 P> .05			$\chi^2=1.4$ df=4 P> .05			$\chi^2=8.4$ df=4 .10>P>.05	

* P.N.—Predominantly Negro wards.
** P.W.—Predominantly white wards.

But the status order of the hospital does not regulate the person-to-person feelings. At this level another set of structural conditions enters in. It is that in the hospital most interaction occurs not between status peers, but between status unequals. Although a staff member might use patients for his own status aggrandizement, he is nevertheless in fairly constant interaction with them. It is out of such interaction that positive personal feelings are most likely to emerge.[14] Such feelings derive more directly from continued interaction than from the status order.

Given the opportunity for interpersonal interaction, the question becomes: Under what conditions are positive feelings likely to develop? Even with continued interaction, such feelings are more likely to develop under some conditions than others. The main condition we wish to examine is the social role similarity of nurses and patients. It might be expected that people with similar roles are likely to have had similar experiences, more opportunity for identification and, consequently, greater personal affinity and less personal distance than those who, while also in extended interaction, do not share similar roles. With this as a guiding hypothesis, we will examine in particular sex and age roles of staff and patients.

When the personal distance expressed by male and female staff are compared, no differences appear: 40 per cent of the males and 37 per cent of the female nursing staff are high in this regard. Our main interest here, however, is in seeing how nurses of different sex, working on male and female wards, compare. Since no males work on female wards, the comparison will be of males on male wards and females on male and female wards. The results, shown in Table 7, indicate that females on male wards are less distant than either of the other combinations.[15] This result is somewhat unexpected,

TABLE 7. THE SEX OF NURSES, THE SEX COMPOSITION OF THEIR WARDS, AND PERSONAL FEELINGS FOR PATIENTS

Personal Distance	Male Nurses on Male Wards (1)	Female Nurses on Female Wards (2)	Female Nurses on Male Wards (3)
High	40%	38%	30%
Moderate	29	34	23
Low	31	28	47
Totals	249	345	47

Difference between columns 1 and 3: $\chi^2=4.1$, df=2, $P > .05$

Difference between columns 2 and 3: $\chi^2=7.4$, df=2, $P < .05$

since we anticipated that the nursing staff would better be able to identify with patients of their own sex, to understand their problems, and to establish more intimate relationships with them. Two observations may, however, help us to understand this result. One, made by several nurses, is that male patients in the charge of female nurses present fewer management and control problems than any other combination of nurses' and patients' sex. If this is true, then it would suggest that male patients are quite responsive to the demeanor culturally expected to be shown by males to the gentler sex. It might further follow that under conditions where tensions arising from management and control are somewhat absent, personal feelings are more easily developed. A second interpretation has to do with the *danger* of identification with patients of the same sex. One female nurse reports that she feels closer to male patients because she does *not* identify their problems with her own. With female patients whose hospitalization brings about anxieties about their children at home, for example, the female nurse can too easily adopt these problems as her own in a close relationship with the patient. In working with patients of the opposite sex, however, the female nurse can feel close without the upsetting emotional consequences that come from being with patients who have some problems not too different from those of the nurse herself.[16]

[14] George C. Homans points out that ". . . people who interact frequently with one another tend to like one another." George Homans, *The Human Group*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1941, p. 111.

[15] The greater affinity of female personnel for male than female patients is probably not one-sided. It is reported in a study that female patients complain bitterly about the behavior of female attendants toward them. Greenblatt, York, and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[16] A final interpretation can be made, this one on a more clinical level. It is that the feelings female

Directing attention now to age roles, personnel were grouped into three age categories: 35 years or less, 36–50 years, and those over 50 years. When these groups are compared for expressions of personal distance, inconclusive and small differences appear. Thirty-six per cent of the younger nurses are high in personal distance, 40 per cent of the middle group, and 33 per cent of the older group of nurses. If we consider the age of the patients with whom personnel work, however, interesting differences appear. The median patient age for each ward was calculated and wards categorized as having a median under 40, between 40 and 55, and over 55.

high in personal distance, this is true of only 32 per cent of the younger nurses working on the same kinds of wards. On those wards where the median age of patients is from 40 to 55 years, however, a reversal takes place. Now the older nurses are least likely to be highly distant and the younger nurses most likely. Finally, on the oldest wards, only 15 per cent of the older nurses are high, but this does not increase linearly as the ages of nurses decrease; that is, the nursing staff 36 to 50 years shows more distance on the older wards than does the youngest group of nurses. In sum, older staff have their strongest affinity for older patients and are indifferent to the younger

TABLE 8. THE AGE OF NURSES, THE MEDIAN PATIENT AGES OF THEIR WARDS, AND PERSONAL DISTANCE

	Ages of Nurses Assigned to Wards Where the Median Patient Age is Less Than 40 Years			Ages of Nurses Assigned to Wards Where the Median Patient Age is 40–55			Ages of Nurses Assigned to Wards Where the Median Patient Age is over 55		
Personal Distance	Over 50 Years	36 to 50 Years	35 or Less	Over 50 Years	36 to 50 Years	35 or Less	Over 50 Years	36 to 50 Years	35 or Less
High	62%	38%	32%	38%	40%	53%	15%	43%	28%
Moderate	19	34	29	21	35	29	34	31	39
Low	19	28	39	41	26	18	51	26	33
Totals	21	50	49	39	107	56	47	137	99
	$\chi^2=6.4$ df=4 P> .05			$\chi^2=9.6$ df=4 P< .05			$\chi^2=17.2$ df=4 P< .01		

In Table 8, therefore, we have nurses in different age ranges assigned to wards varying in patient age composition. Examination of the results of this table reveals a general tendency for nursing personnel to show most personal distance toward patients of disparate age, and correspondingly, most affinity for patients of age similar to their own. On the younger wards—that is, where the median age of patients is forty or less—high distance is most likely to be expressed by older personnel and least among the youngest group. Whereas 62 per cent of the older nurses assigned to the younger wards are

nurses express for male patients may, in some cases, be similar to feelings mothers have for sons in typical Oedipal relations. The female nurse-male patient and mother-son situations have at least two elements in common that might contribute to close feelings for the male member; in each instance the male is under both the nurturant care and the authority of the female.

patients. The young staff, on the other hand, not only exhibits more positive personal feeling for young patients than do either of the other nursing groups, but also shows relatively little distance from the oldest group of patients.

It is evident, therefore, that while *opposite* sex is a condition for close personal feelings of staff for patients, in the case of age it is *similarity* that tends to be associated with these positive feelings. Age correspondence is probably a condition for more staff-patient interaction around more shared areas of interest; in turn, this results in stronger affinities and emotional attachments.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, two attitudes considered of central importance to a therapeutic milieu

were distinguished and the relationships of certain status, personality and contextual factors to the attitudes were presented. These attitudes are status distance and personal distance. The extent to which nursing staff remove themselves from patients on the basis of status considerations is regulated, it was found, by the status organization and values of the hospital. Thus, staff who have been promoted into higher positions but assigned to wards of low status—as evidenced by racial composition—are most disposed to feelings of status distance from patients. This appears to be particularly true among those dissatisfied with or frustrated by the closed status opportunity structure of the hospital. It was also found that those most obeisant to authority or who most value the honorific status of their superiors express most status distance from patients. Again, this is especially true among the obeisant staff assigned to the predominantly Negro wards. Thus the location of nurses in the organization of the hospital, as well as the honorific value they attach to authority, are some of the conditions that influence their perception of patients in status terms.

The factors that regulate status distance, however, have little influence on the feelings members of the nursing staff develop for patients as persons. It was suggested that this is a result of the fact that even among those who emphasize status differences between themselves and patients, interaction in the hospital typically occurs more across status lines than within status lines. To the extent that personal feelings grow out of interaction, therefore, they can develop independently of status considerations. Instead, personal feelings are regulated by what might be called social role congeniality. Congeniality is not necessarily the same as similarity, however. In examining male and female staff assigned to male and female patients, it was discovered that female staff assigned to male patients is the most congenial combination for personal feelings for patients. In the case of age, most congeniality tended to appear between staff and patients of similar age. On wards having relatively young patient populations, least personal distance was expressed by the youngest group of personnel. Similarly, least distance was expressed by oldest staff on the wards having the oldest patients.[17]

The independence of status distance and warm personal feelings for patients has implications for hospital functions and their performance. On the one hand, the hospital is an institution of control. It must regulate and make predictable the behavior of its patient and staff members and provide for the perpetuation of itself as an organization. This it does by establishing a hierarchical order of authority and status and a system of impersonal rules and regulations. The exercise of authority and status prerogatives, probably necessary for any on-going organization, is sometimes viewed as being incompatible with a second function—that of providing patients with warm, stable and personal relationships with others.[18] Our data suggest that these are not incompatible. The very personnel who wish to maintain a status ascendancy over patients can at the same time entertain warm personal feelings for them. In this respect, the hospital is not unlike the family, where parents can be figures of both authority and affection. What appear logically to be incompatible behaviors and feelings, therefore, are not necessarily experienced as such by individuals. On an institutional level, it means that functions that seem to be in competition can be performed without unusual stress or strain on the organization.

[17] It should be noted that categories of wards often prominent in hospital organization and nomenclature are not relevant to either status or personal distance. Thus, the assignment of personnel to open or locked wards, chronic or acute, or hyperactive or "quiet" wards makes no difference as far as these attitudes of distance are concerned. With regard to such attitudes, at least, it appears that patients' social characteristics are more important than characteristics by which they are often recognized by the institution.

[18] The dilemma felt to exist between organizational needs and patient needs has been expressed in various ways. Harvey L. Smith and Daniel J. Levinson state it as the "individualization-standardization dilemma" in "The Major Aims and Organizational Characteristics of Mental Hospitals," Greenblatt, Levinson, and Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8. As another example, the dilemma is described by Merton J. Kahne as between bureaucratic structure and personalized treatment in "Bureaucratic Structure and Impersonal Experience in Mental Hospitals," *Psychiatry*, 22 (November, 1959), pp. 363–375.

VALUE-BEHAVIOR DISCREPANCIES REGARDING PRE-MARITAL COITUS IN THREE WESTERN CULTURES

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University student responses to questionnaires indicated both higher scores on sexual permissiveness and higher rates of premarital coitus in Denmark as compared with two samples from the United States (though intercultural differences in male coital rates could be explained, at least partially, by differences in age distribution among the samples). Of these latter, Midwestern students showed higher permissiveness scores and higher coital rates than did students in the more restrictive Mormon culture of the Intermountain West. In all three samples, males showed higher permissiveness scores and coital rates than females, though these sex differences were relatively small in the permissive culture (Denmark). In the Danish culture approval of premarital coitus ran ahead of actual practice, whereas in the American cultures the reverse was true—with accompanying feelings of guilt. Certain negative effects from premarital coitus showed up highest in the restrictive American cultures (Midwestern and especially Intermountain), suggesting that the difficulty may be partially the result of value-behavior discrepancies.

IN an earlier article, it was shown that premarital pregnancy and its consequences are in certain respects related to the general culture of the society involved. A "record linkage" comparison of samples from three modern Western societies—the sexually restrictive Mormon culture of Utah, the more typical United States culture as found in Indiana, and the sexually permissive Scandinavian culture of Denmark—revealed that the last named had not only the highest incidence of premarital pregnancy, but also the least negative effects therefrom. In Denmark there was found to be less pressure than in the American samples to either hasten into marriage or to dissolve the marriage as a consequence of premarital pregnancy.[1]

This report has been prepared as a companion piece to the work just cited. Whereas the first publication was based upon official registration data and was restricted to the phenomenon of premarital pregnancy, the present analysis was built from questionnaire responses of university students and it deals with: (1) attitudes respecting premarital sexual intimacy, (2) actual rates of premarital coitus, and (3) comparisons between the two. Nevertheless, both articles are concerned with the same three general cultures and both focus upon the problem of cultural relativism applied to premarital sex norms. By the use of complementary data, this second article attempts to retest and to further complete the theory suggested in the first.[2]

SAMPLES AND PROCEDURES

Though university populations cannot be considered as cross-sections of the societies in which they are located, students are perhaps the most accessible and cooperative of all possible subjects for research purposes. For this reason, and since cross-cultural research involves some unusual difficulties at

[1] Harold T. Christensen, "Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), pp. 31–39.

[2] Logically, the order of appearance of these two articles might have been reversed—since in sequence of time attitudes come first, coitus next, and pregnancy last. Explanation for the actual order of publication lies in the fact that the record linkage data were collected and analyzed first. Actually, in two of the cultures the record linkage analyses had been completed a number of years before the present cross-cultural research began.

The first article also compared attitudes (expressed as cultural norms) with sexual behavior (premarital pregnancy). However, there the norm differences among the samples were merely described, whereas here an attempt is made to measure them.

Although we also have data bearing upon the other levels of premarital sexual intimacy, space limitations require that our present analysis be confined to the phenomenon of premarital coitus. However, this is not a serious limitation for present purposes, since a preliminary examination made clear that intercultural differences tend to stand out most clearly when the most intimate type of behavior (coitus) is considered.

best, it was decided to use college students and thereby minimize the problem of achieving uniformity in the data gathering procedures. In line with this decision, our samples were drawn from a Danish university, from a university in Midwestern United States, and from a university of the Intermountain region of the United States having a high proportion of Mormons in its student body.[3]

A questionnaire was constructed, translated into Danish, pretested on both sides of the Atlantic, and exposed to criticism and revised several different times.[4] It was finally revised after a Danish draft had been translated back into English by a person not previously involved, and the translation then compared with the previous English draft so that discrepancies could be discovered and eliminated. These extreme precautions were used in an attempt to get rid of as many of the subtle differences in language as possible, so that the questions would have identical meanings in all three of the cultures. We believe that this aim was accomplished to a reasonable extent.[5]

The questionnaires were administered in university classes during regular class hours from late February through early May, 1958. Brief verbal instructions were generally given stressing the importance of the research and the voluntary and anonymous nature of participation. Response was almost one hundred per cent.

Prior to analysis, all questionnaires were carefully checked for completeness of answers and for internal consistency. This resulted in the elimination of thirty-three cases. Since the analysis was confined to persons under thirty years of age, an additional sixty-one cases were eliminated. The resulting samples consisted of 149 males and 86 females (total 235) from the Danish university, 213 males and 142 females (total 355) from the Midwestern university, and 94 males and 74 females (total 168) from the Intermountain university.

An Intimacy Permissiveness Scale. As a first step in analysis, it was desired to test the original assumption of intercultural variability regarding sexual permissiveness-restrictiveness. A Guttman type scale was constructed for this purpose, thereby permitting us to represent each respondent's attitude concerning premarital intimacy with a single numerical symbol.[6]

We started with twenty-one different items, but tests for unidimensionality reduced this number to ten. These are: agreeing with the statement, "I would prefer marrying a non-virgin;" disagreeing with the statement, "I would prefer marrying a virgin;" approving of petting any time before marriage for oneself; approving of petting any time before marriage for the daughter; approving of coitus any time before marriage for the daughter; approving of coitus on random or casual dates; approving of coitus when a couple is in love and going steady; approving of coitus when a couple is in love and formally engaged to be married; agreeing that premarital pregnancy is nothing to be ashamed of or to hide providing the

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[3] So as to maintain anonymity, the three samples will be referred to throughout this work simply as Danish, Midwestern, and Intermountain.

Seventy-nine per cent of the students in our Intermountain sample were Latter-day Saint, or "Mormon," in religious affiliation.

[4] The senior author was living in Copenhagen at the time (1957–58) as a Fulbright Research Scholar. He took the lead in research design and questionnaire construction, and gathered all of the data from the University of Copenhagen. The junior author assisted from the American side and gathered all of the data from the two universities located there. He also analyzed substantial portions of the data for his Ph.D. dissertation at Purdue University, completed in June, 1960.

[5] Additional approaches to questions of reliability and validity will be briefly mentioned: Responses were compared among pretests, and between pretests and the final questionnaire, and were found to be very similar. In each of the Danish and Midwestern samples, approximately two dozen respondents were interviewed and then certain of the interview data were compared with the questionnaire data on a matched case basis; correspondence was almost one hundred per cent—on presence or absence of premarital coital experience it *was* one hundred per cent. Completed schedules were studied for internal consistency and the inconsistent ones were then discarded.

It must nevertheless be recognized that more of the respondents from the conservative samples (Midwestern and especially Intermountain) *may* have covered up on their most intimate behavior because of the greater cultural disapproval of this behavior. However, since anonymity was always carefully assured, we do not believe this potential tendency actually expressed itself to any significant extent.

[6] See Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (April, 1944), pp. 139–150.

TABLE 1. MEAN INTIMACY PERMISSIVENESS SCORES BY SEX AND CULTURE

Sex	Danish	Midwestern	Inter-mountain
Males	8.4	4.8	2.7
Females	8.2	3.4	2.0
Total	8.3	4.1	2.4

couple is in love and later gets married; and agreeing that it is best not to try to prohibit erotic and obscene literature and pictures by law, but rather to leave people free to follow their judgments and tastes in such matters.[7]

All ten items were stated in terms of permissiveness, and, therefore, the higher the resulting scale value the greater the permissiveness of the respondent being considered. The range of possible scores was from zero through ten.

Tests of reproducibility were applied separately to each male and female group in each culture, and then to the combination of all. Resulting coefficients ranged from .90 to .96, showing that the scale meets acceptable standards.

INTIMACY PERMISSIVENESS

In Table 1 are presented mean intimacy permissiveness scores for males and females, and then for the total, in all three cultures. (1) The most striking thing to be observed is the very great and consistent decreases in scores as one moves from left to right. Danish scores are almost twice as large as the Midwestern, and Midwestern scores are almost twice as large as the Intermountain—which is practically a geometric decline. Furthermore, the comparison holds for males and females considered separately, as well as for the total, and in all cases the differences are statistically significant.[8] (2) A second observation is that the Midwestern scores are closer to the Intermountain than to the Danish. These two findings give further support to the hypothesis, partially tested by record linkage data in our earlier article, that Danish culture is sexually permissive, Intermountain Mormon culture sexually restrictive, and Midwestern culture somewhere in between but closer to the restrictive norms. (3) Thirdly, males are shown to have higher scores than females in all three cultures, indicating that they are more permissive regarding sexual matters. However, these differences were found to be statistically significant in the Midwestern sample only.

The sequence of Danish-Midwestern-Intermountain on the permissive-restrictive continuum is clear for every type of attitude test that has been run. Statistically significant differences in this direction were found, not only for totals and when sex as a variable was controlled, as shown in Table 1, but when two factors were controlled simultaneously (sex combined one at a time with each of the following factors: age, educational level, religious participation, social class, happiness of parents' marriage, and courtship-marriage status), and even when three factors were controlled simultaneously (sex, age, and religious participation; and sex, age, and social class). It was the most consistent and significant relationship revealed in the entire study.

PATTERNS OF PREMARITAL COITUS

Responses to our query on most advanced stage of intimacy revealed varying percentages who had experienced premarital coitus, as shown in Table 2. The points to be observed, as might have been expected, are

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE HAVING EXPERIENCED PREMARITAL COITUS, BY SEX AND CULTURE

Sex	Danish (N-228)[a]	Midwestern (N-351)[a]	Inter-mountain (N-168)
Males	63.7	50.7	39.4
Females	59.8	20.7	9.5
Total	62.3	38.8	26.2

[a] Three males and 4 females in the Danish sample, and 2 males and 2 females in the Midwestern sample, failed to answer the question on most advanced stage of intimacy prior to marriage.

[7] Though the last item named does not refer to intimacy between the sexes, but rather the public display of intimate sexual portrayals, it nevertheless tested in as part of our unidimensional scale.

[8] The five per cent level of significance is used throughout this paper. However, in the tests just cited, significance was well beyond the one per cent level.

similar to those of Table 1 for Intimacy Permissiveness scores: (1) Danish respondents show the highest percentages, with Midwestern intermediate and Intermountain lowest.[9] This is true for males and females alike (especially the latter) and for totals. All three sets of differences were found to be statistically significant. (2) For the females at least, Midwestern percentages are closer to the Intermountain than to the Danish. Male percentages, however, show approximately equal intercultural gaps. (3) In all three cultures, significantly higher percentages of males than females had experienced premarital coitus. It can be observed, however, that in the Danish sample the rates are within four percentage points of each other whereas in both the Midwestern and Intermountain samples the rates are approximately thirty points apart. Furthermore, all six tests wherein other factors (age, educational level, courtship-marriage status, religious participation, social class, and happiness of parents' marriage) were controlled, one at a time, revealed non-significant male-female differences for the Danish sample but significant differences for the Midwestern and Intermountain samples.

When the cross-cultural analysis is refined by controlling other factors, two and three at a time,[10] the picture remains essentially the same as above described—for females *but not for males*. For females, all tests but one (age, sex, and religious participation controlled simultaneously) showed significance at the five per cent level. But for males, only two (sex with social class and sex with courtship-marriage status) out of eight tests of cross-cultural differences showed significance. The major intervening variable for males was age. The fact that advanced age is related to higher rates of premarital coitus, together with the fact that the Danish sample has disproportionately more older males, suggest that for males part of the higher coital rate in Denmark is due to the different age distribution there.

Additional aspects of premarital coitus, for those who had experienced it, are presented in Table 3. Following are some relevant observations. (1) The Danish males and females had their first coital experience about a year and a half later in life than

TABLE 3. SELECTED RESPONSES BY PERSONS HAVING HAD PREMARITAL COITAL EXPERIENCE, BY SEX AND CULTURE

	Males			Females		
Items	Danish	Mid-western	Inter-mountain	Danish	Mid-western	Inter-mountain
Number of persons having had premarital coitus[a]	93	107	37	49	29	7
Median age at first coital experience	19.5	17.9	17.8	19 9	18.6	17.8
Percentage having had only one coital partner	40.9	33.7	35.1	42.9	65.5	57.1
Percentage where first coitus was with a "steady" or fiance(e)	64.5	42.1	46.0	71.4	75.9	100.0
Percentage where first coitus was voluntary because of desire	95.6	90.7	86.5	64.4	62.1	57.1
Percentage having "pleasant" feelings on day after first coitus[b]	71.4	44.8	33.3	72.9	34.5	14.3

[a] In a few instances, the statistical bases for averages and percentages to follow were slightly lower than those shown here because some respondents didn't answer every question, or answered ambiguously.

[b] Responses classified as "pleasant" were happiness, relaxation, and conquest. "Unpleasant" responses, which together made up the complements of the percentages shown here, included: tenseness, remorse, guilt, disgust, fear of others knowing, fear of religious punishment, fear of pregnancy, and fear of disease.

[9] A separate analysis of percentages who stopped their premarital intimacy with petting showed the reverse order; that is, Intermountain high and Danish low. This opposite cross-cultural relationship for petting would suggest that in the United States, as compared with Denmark, the tendency is to preserve the chastity norm by substituting petting for coitus.

[10] Space limitations precluded any detailed reporting of these intracultural tests.

did the Midwestern and Intermountain males and females. The former were about nineteen and one-half years of age whereas the latter were approximately eighteen. These cross-cultural differences were found to be statistically significant. In the Danish and Midwestern samples, females at first coitus were slightly older than males at first coitus, whereas Intermountain males and females were the same age. (2) Not only did males tend to start coitus earlier but they tended to be more promiscuous; that is, more of them had had more than one sexual partner. This was true in all three cultures, but especially in the Midwestern and Intermountain. Here is another example of males and females being more similar in behavior in Denmark than in the United States (though none of these intersex differences were statistically significant). (3) Still another example of the point just made is demonstrated by the percentage having first coital experience with either a "steady" or a fiance(e). Here, also, are the Danish males and females rather close together in their responses while the males and females of the other two sample are extremely far apart. By this measure, the Danish males were less promiscuous and the Danish females more promiscuous than the respective males and females of the other two samples.[11] In all three cultures, however, more females than males had their first coital experience under conditions of relative stability and commitment; that is, with a steady or a fiance(e). Intersex differences were significant for the Midwestern and Intermountain samples but not for the Danish sample. Intercultural differences fell a little short of the five per cent significance level. (4) In the majority of cases, first coitus was claimed to have been voluntary because of desire; and the percentages claiming this were highest for the Danish sample, next highest for the Midwestern sample, and lowest for the Intermountain sample. Though more males than females in every culture gave "desire" as their reason for first coitus,[12] the intercultural pattern for both sexes turned out in the expected direction. However, neither the intersex nor the intercultural differences were significant. (5) Finally, a majority of the Danish respondents but only minorities of the Midwestern and Intermountain respondents had "pleasant" reactions on the day after first coitus. As might be expected, pleasant reaction percentages were lowest in the Intermountain sample. Also as might be expected, pleasant reaction percentages were lower for females than males—except for the Danish sample where the familiar pattern of greater male-female similarity held. Only the intercultural differences were statistically significant.

ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOR COMPARISONS

The two points just made are suggestive of an important cross-cultural relationship. If coitus *by desire*, and also *pleasant feelings* the day after first coitus, both decrease in relative magnitude from Denmark to the Midwest to the Intermountain, as has been shown, there must be a reason. Perhaps the reason is that in sexually permissive societies there is less guilt and hence more desire and pleasure, while in sexually restrictive societies there is more guilt and hence less desire and pleasure—the restrictions being aim-inhibiting.[13] To further test this hunch, we have attempted an analysis of attitude-behavior discrepancies within each of the three samples.

It already has been observed that the variations of Table 1 and Table 2 are substantially the same. Thus, premarital coital experience was found to be more likely in those categories showing the highest Intimacy Permissiveness scores; attitudes and behavior tended to line up.

Another approach was to compare *individual* score values on the Intimacy Permissive-

[11] Not reported here are data which show a smaller percentage of Danish males but a larger percentage of Danish females, than the males and females of the other two samples, having first coitus with either an "unmarried stranger," an "unmarried casual acquaintance," an "unmarried friend," or "a person married to someone else."

[12] In all three samples, many more females than males indicated that the first coital experience was either forced upon them or was voluntary on their part because of a felt obligation.

[13] Actually, responses concerning feelings the day after first coitus showed only 2.2 per cent of the combined male and female sample from Denmark feeling guilt, as compared with 12.7 per cent from Midwestern, and 25.6 per cent from Intermountain. This, of course, supports our hypothesis.

ness scale with the presence or absence of premarital coital experience. When this was done a positive relationship was found. In other words, the higher the permissiveness score, the larger the per cent having had premarital coitus. The relationship held in all three cultures and differences were found to be statistically significant.

By considering for each sex and culture the percentage who approved of coitus before marriage, and then superimposing upon this the percentage who had actually experienced premarital coitus, we were able to study the several patterns of discrepancy between attitude and behavior in this regard. Comparisons are given in two ways: first, by showing numerical ratios of approval to experience; and second, by picturing graphically for each subdivision both the per cent approving and the per cent experiencing the phenomenon. (See Figure 1.) The following points stand out: (1) First and most important, both males and females in the Danish sample gave greater approval than actual experience whereas those of the other two samples indicated more experience than approval. Apparently, in the Danish sample, there were a number of both sexes who had not experienced premarital coitus but thought they would do so later on.[14] Obviously, where there has been premarital coitus by more people than approve, some of these will be harboring guilt feelings about their behavior. Both Midwestern and Intermountain students (especially the latter) fell into this category. In the Intermountain—where guilt over premarital sex may be presumed to be the greatest—a larger percentage of total males than total females experienced coitus without approving it, but of the sexually experienced the situation was the reverse of this (compare graph bars with approval-experience ratios). (2) As with previous comparisons, females showed up more conservative than males. This may be observed in all three cultures and for both approved behavior and actual coital experience. Furthermore, each of the female approval-experience ratios were lower than the corresponding ones for males. Thus, of the sexually experienced, proportionately more females than males apparently had compromised their standards.[15] Statistical significance was

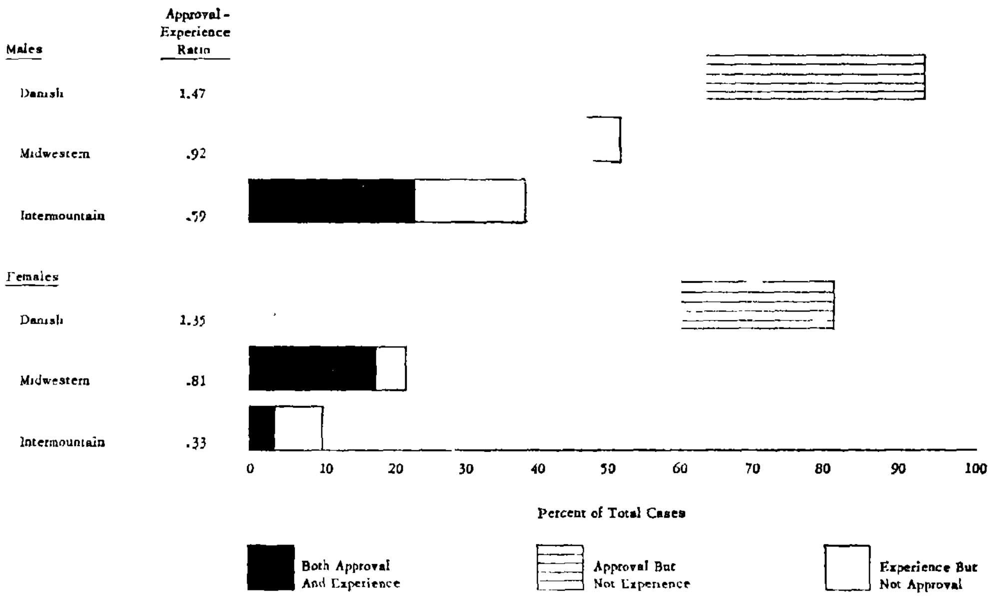


FIGURE 1. COMPARISONS OF APPROVAL WITH EXPERIENCE IN PREMARITAL COITUS

[14] The reader will recall that the Danish students with coital experience were initiated about one and one-half years later than their American counterparts.

[15] Cf. footnote 12 and the next to the last item in

found for the intercultural differences of Figure 1, but not the intersex differences.

THE MEASUREMENT OF EFFECTS

From the beginning, it has been our contention that premarital sexual behavior is related to the general culture in which it occurs: first, in respect to the attitudes or values which people hold; second, in respect to the actual overt behavior which takes place; but third, *in respect to the consequences or effects of this behavior.* Specifically on this last point, it has been hypothesized that the most permissive culture would have the least negative effects from premarital sexual intimacy, because behavior there would be in line with accepted values, while the most restrictive culture would show the greatest negative effects, since in that situation behavior would tend to be in violation of the values held. Therefore, in considering the three cultures dealt with in this study, we have expected the Danish sample to show the least and the Intermountain sample the greatest negative effects from premarital coitus.

One important measure of effects was provided by the senior author's earlier analysis of these three cultures by the method of record linkage. It was shown that premarital pregnancy in Denmark does not cause either the hurried up marriage or the same pressure for divorce later on as it tends to do in America.[16]

Another clear indication of effects was suggested above by three different but complementary findings: first, that the percentages of respondents who said their first premarital coitus was "voluntary because of desire" were highest for Denmark and lowest for Intermountain (Table 3); second, that the percentages of respondents who had "pleasant" reactions the day after first premarital coitus were highest for Denmark and lowest for Intermountain (Table 3); and third, that the Danish respondents indicated greater approval of premarital coitus than they had actually experienced, whereas both the Midwestern and Intermountain respondents indicated the reverse of this (Figure 1). Thus, the Danish respondents had a margin of tolerance in which they could feel relatively comfortable, whereas many Midwestern and Intermountain respondents (especially the latter) had over-stepped the moral bounds of their groups and so must have been experiencing some guilt. Actually, the guilt expressed for the day after first coitus was greatest for the Intermountain sample and least for the Danish sample, which bears out the claim just made (see footnote 13). The probable explanation for these cross-cultural differences in sexual desire at first coitus, and pleasant feelings the day following first coitus, seems to be the relative lack of inner conflict over sexual matters in the permissive culture as against the presumed inner conflict in the more restrictive cultures due to the value-behavior discrepancies existing there.

A final test of effects, which the data permit, has to do with indications of satisfaction or lack of satisfaction over present courtship-marriage status. Respondents had been asked to give their present relationship with the opposite sex and then to tell whether they estimated this to be "very satisfactory or happy," "moderately satisfactory or happy," "moderately unsatisfactory or unhappy," or "very unsatisfactory or unhappy." Correlation tests between the two sets of data revealed a positive relationship; that is, greater satisfaction in the more advanced statuses (differences significant for males but not for females).

We were interested in the possibility of a relationship between satisfaction over courtship-marriage status and the presence or absence of coital experience. A preliminary test with undifferentiated data revealed, for all three cultures, higher coital rates in the "satisfied" as compared with the "unsatisfied" groups (differences significant for males but not for females). However, since both coital experience and status satisfaction were known to increase with level of courtship-marriage status, it seemed necessary to control the latter variable for purposes of the analysis. In order to accomplish

Table 3. It should be pointed out that there is no contradiction between the claim (1) that, *of the sexually experienced,* more females than males compromise their standards, and (2) the suggestion soon to be made (see footnote 17) that, in the restrictive Intermountain culture, more males than females *of the total sample* compromise their standards.

[16] Christensen, *loc. cit.*

this, the "never date" and "married" categories were discarded entirely, and the "frequent dating" was combined with the "steady dating" category and the "informally engaged" with the "formally engaged" category. Even so, some of the cells remained too small for reliable comparisons. Nevertheless, the results are presented in Table 4, so that the reader may judge for himself.

Though differences were non-significant in the statistical sense, nine out of the twelve comparisons showed lower satisfaction rates for those who had experienced premarital coitus as compared with those who had not. The exceptions were Danish males and Intermountain females in the "Frequent or Steady Dating" category, and Danish females in the "Informally or Formally Engaged" category. Cross-cultural differences in this suggested relationship are not too clear. Nevertheless, the smallness of numbers in some of the cells, together with the fact that two out of three of the exceptions to the suggested relationship were in the Danish sample, leaves us wondering if our hypothesis of smaller negative effects in the more permissive culture (Denmark) does not hold here also. Certainly such a relationship has not been established, but neither has it been disproved. Conclusive evidences for either this assumed relationship, or for the possibility of premarital coital experience being accompanied by dissatisfaction in courtship, are lacking; yet our data are highly suggestive of both.

TABLE 4. COMPARISONS OF PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF PREMARITAL COITAL EXPERIENCE WITH SATISFACTION OVER PRESENT COURTSHIP STATUS, BY SEX AND CULTURE

Satisfaction Over Courtship Status	Danish		Midwestern		Intermountain	
	Premarital Coitus		Premarital Coitus		Premarital Coitus	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Frequent or Steady Dating						
Males						
Total cases	31	24	49	56	20	22
Percentage answering "Very satisfactory"	29.0	25.0	38.8	41.1	30.0	31.8
Females						
Total cases	13	16	13	68	3	42
Percentage answering "Very satisfactory"	23 1	37.5	15.4	50 0	33.3	19.1
Informally or Formally Engaged						
Males						
Total cases	25	7	25	22	3	9
Percentage answering "Very satisfactory"	60.0	100.0	64.0	72.7	66.7	77.8
Females						
Total cases	15	5	9	33	3	13
Percentage answering "Very satisfactory"	87.7	80.0	66.7	84.9	66.7	76.9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper is the complement of an earlier one dealing with the cultural relativism of premarital sexual intimacy. Three cultures have been analyzed by means of both governmental record data and university questionnaire data. The cultures involved are Denmark with its rather permissive sex norms; Midwestern United States with its somewhat typically American sex norms, and the Mormon culture of the Intermountain West with its rather restrictive sex norms. No claim is made for precise representativeness of the samples or for exact comparability of the data. Yet, it is believed that the data are reasonably qualified in these respects. Furthermore, the fact that both sets

of data present the same general cross-cultural pattern, tends to increase one's confidence in the results.

The general pattern revealed is as follows: (1) Denmark has the most permissive and Intermountain the most restrictive *attitudes* regarding premarital sexual intimacy. This was shown through citations from the literature and by means of an Intimacy Permissiveness Scale. (2) Likewise, Denmark has the most permissive and Intermountain the most restrictive *behavior patterns* in the area of premarital sexual intimacy. This was shown by means of indices for premarital coitus and premarital pregnancy. (3) But when it comes to *negative effects* resulting from premarital intimacy, Denmark has the least and Intermountain the most. The effects analyzed in this regard were lack of sexual desire at first coitus, unpleasant feelings on the day following first coitus, lack of satisfaction with present courtship status, tendency to hurry the marriage after discovery of pregnancy, and tendency to terminate the marriage by divorce. (4) In most of the above comparisons, Midwestern United States is intermediate, though closer to the Intermountain Mormon culture than to the Danish culture. The largest gap, in other words, was found to be between the Danish and the United States cultures.

It must be remembered that, for males, the higher coital rate in Denmark may be accounted for in part by the larger percentage of older males in the Danish sample.

Also to be kept in mind are the facts that larger percentages of Danish men had only one sexual partner and had their first coitus with a steady or fiance, which means that they are *less promiscuous*, and that Danish men and women had their first sexual experience at a later age than was true in the United States. In other words, sexual intimacy in Denmark is more a part of the marriage process; the culture there is actually less permissive of intimacy for its own sake; in this sense, the Danish pattern is the more conservative. This closer association of sexual intimacy with the marriage process in Denmark may help account for the greater likelihood of pleasant feelings accompanying first coital experience there.

There is some evidence that sexual restrictiveness tends to converge male and female *attitudes*, perhaps by idealizing the male; while sexual permissiveness tends to converge male and female *behavior*, perhaps by liberalizing the female.[17] Apparently, a possibly stronger male sex drive causes males more than females in the restrictive cultures to "break over the traces;" so that—in regards to behavior but not in regards to attitude—cross-cultural differentials are less for males than for females.

But, though the male in the restrictive culture seems to have the greater discrepancy between what he believes and how he behaves sexually, both sexes within such cultures experience some discrepancy in this direction. And it seems probable that it is this discrepancy that causes the guilt feelings, the dulled sexual experiences, the lack of satisfaction in courtship-marriage status, the higher rate of divorce, and possibly other negative effects which seem to be highest in restrictive cultures. In other words, it may be the *value-behavior discrepancy*, as much or even more than the behavior itself, that is causing the difficulty.

[17] Table 1 shows males and females to be close together in attitude in *both* Denmark and Intermountain, whereas table 2 and parts of table 3 show the behavior of the two sexes to be close together in Denmark but strikingly far apart in Midwestern and especially in Intermountain. Furthermore, Figure 1 shows the Intermountain—and especially the Intermountain male—to have the greatest excess of experience over approval. Nevertheless, this "evidence" we speak of is suggestive only.

THE LOCAL COMMUNITY: A SURVEY APPROACH

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Sociologists in the Chicago tradition looked at the city as a "mosaic of social worlds" culturally differentiated and socially insulated from one another. These they termed local communities. This paper reports on a search, in a central area of a modern metropolis, for comparable units. The results suggest that residents of a metropolis see their city as composed of named and bounded areas, and that these areas have status-ascriptive functions in urban social relations. The data indicate that residents of the named areas use local facilities only in a limited way.

THE model of the local community was proposed by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess as a framework for the description of social structure in American cities. The original model underlies several more recent investigations of urban life. Among the distinctive features of this model are the divisibility of the city into "natural" areas delimited by "natural" boundaries, the recognition of the areas as communities by their inhabitants, and the organization of social life within the areas around distinctive local facilities. This paper reports on a study using survey methods to investigate these aspects of the local community model. A further concern of the study was the status-ascriptive function suggested for named areas in the work of W. Lloyd Warner.

The research attempted, first, to determine whether named and bounded areas are recognized by a sample of urban residents who were asked to name and bound their own area of residence and to identify other named areas within the city. Second, the status-ascriptive functions were investigated through analysis of free responses to the stimuli of selected area names. Third, the residents were questioned concerning the location of various common activities that appeared to be relevant to the local community model. The results of this paper both amplify and qualify portions of the original model.

THE LOCAL COMMUNITY MODEL

In the industrial metropolis, depicted by Simmel as a collection of overstimulated, blasé, and reserved individualists, Robert E. Park and his colleagues noted many regions where social life was intense, informal, and intimate. Prototypical of such regions was the immigrant ghetto, integrated by the institutions of a quasi-folk society and isolated from other parts of the metropolis by language barriers and prejudice. The limits of the immigrant colonies were often marked by physical barriers to travel, such as elevated railway walls and watercourses. Impressed by the fact that the entire urban landscape was divided into small areas by the network of transportation and industry, these early ecologists put forward a model in which the interstices of this network, termed "natural areas," contained the units of urban social structure, which they called "local communities." Starting with a map of Chicago containing the expected natural boundaries, they began a search for "the correspondence, if any, between this physical formation of the city . . . and the currents of the economic and social life of the city." The latter were determined by the following tests:

(1) Well-recognized historical names and boundaries of local communities and the changes which these have undergone.
(2) Dividing lines that are at present recognized by the residents, as when on one side of the street persons state that they live in one community and persons on the other side of the street state that they live in another community.
(3) Boundaries of areas claimed by local organizations as businessmen's associations, by local newspapers, and by improvement associations, and in cases of dispute checking claims by plotting memberships of these groups.
(4) Plotting membership or attendance or patronage of local community institutions or enterprises and noting the effect of barriers like parks and railroad lines.
(5) Plotting the distributions and the move-

ments of cultural groups like immigrant colonies and noting the effect of these barriers.[1]

According to Burgess, the model was appropriate to Chicago. On the other hand, simultaneously with this effort to demonstrate that the metropolis is made up of community areas segregated by natural boundaries, students following Park's research suggestions were noting certain limitations of the model, especially in some central city areas. Among these was Zorbaugh, who, after studying the Near North Side "community" in Chicago, stated:

> . . . the older organization of the community, based on family ties and local associations, is being replaced by an organization based upon vocational interests and attitudes. This vocational organization cuts across local areas; defines itself spatially as city-wide; and takes much of a person's life out of the local community.[2]

In American cities of the fifties and sixties, many of the cultural differences that once distinguished among, and isolated, the local communities appear to have diminished. The large immigrant ghettoes of the early twentieth century have declined in size and have been reduced in variety and number, and the association "based on vocational interests and attitudes" appears increasingly prevalent. The question arises: can one identify today entities analogous to the local community as described by Park and his colleagues? Furthermore, if such entities are found, what functions do they serve in modern urban life?

Several recent urban studies imply the finding of local areas with properties similar to those given by the model cited above. Janowitz' concept of the community of limited liability represents a conditional confirmation of the model, in which he cites the proliferation of local communications media as evidence of residents' orientation to a local community, but stresses the partial and selective character of this orientation. This perspective is confirmed in Greer's studies of outlying urban areas. Greer stresses the local press, local organizations, and informal interaction as local community characteristics.[3] A somewhat similar approach appears in the "social areas" tradition of Shevky, Williams, Bell, and their students. This tradition is based on the demonstration of socially homogeneous areal units in several cities, and it offers a convincing typology for these units that has been found useful by other researchers.[4] On the other hand, some investigators, following the lead of Paul Hatt, have found a lack of homogeneity within small areal units, and a lack of congruence between reasonable alternative criteria of local organization, leading them to reject or to severely qualify the community model.[5] In the field of city planning, many writers take for granted the possibility of creating a community-like structure in the urban plan, but differ in their opinions as to whether a corresponding social organization can or should develop from such a plan.[6] In short, the local community model is still employed in much current urban theory and research, but with various degrees of confirmation arising from different empirical tests. The principal purpose of this paper is

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[1] Ernest W. Burgess, "Basic Social Data," in T. V. Smith and Leonard D. White, editors, *Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 47–66; see particularly p 58.

[2] Harvey Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, p. 241.

[3] Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting*, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952; Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 19–25; and Scott Greer, "Socio-Political Structure of Suburbia," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (August, 1960), pp. 514–526.

[4] A general guide to work in the social areas tradition appears in Wendell Bell, "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," in Marvin B. Sussman, editor, *Community Structure and Analysis*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959, pp. 61–92.

[5] Paul Hatt, "The Concept of Natural Area," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (August, 1946), pp. 423–427. See also William H. Form, Joel Smith, Gregory P. Stone, and James Cowhig, "The Compatibility of Alternative Approaches to the Delimitation of Urban Sub-Areas," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 434–440.

[6] See, on the favorable side, Judith Tannenbaum, "The Neighborhood: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," *Land Economics*, 24 (November, 1948), pp. 358–369. The chief critic is Reginald Isaacs. See "The Neighborhood Theory," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 14 (Spring, 1948), pp. 15–23.

the submission of selected parts of the model to a new test through the use of survey techniques.

RECOGNITION OF NAMED AREAS

With rare exceptions,[7] surveys concerned with the identification of a local community, in terms of respondents' naming and bounding an area in which their residences are located, have been unsuccessful. Typical are the findings of Riemer [8] in Milwaukee, Bloch *et al.*[9] in Chicago, Foley [10] in Rochester, McKenzie [11] in Columbus, and Smith, Form and Stone [12] in Lansing.

The present study was initiated on the assumption that these negative findings were in large part the result of methodological weaknesses, including the use of the ambiguous term "neighborhood" and the placement of questions concerning the name and boundary of the area at the end of questionnaires concerning "your block" or "the area within five blocks from home." Therefore, the first question asked of respondents in this study was, "What is the name of this part of [the city]?" There followed a request to state the boundaries of the area so named. The hypothesis to be tested was that residents agree on the name and boundaries of the area in which they live, and it was arbitrarily decided in advance that the criterion of "agreement" would be a simple majority.

A census tract in central Boston [13] was chosen for study. The choice was made in order to depart as much as possible from the ghetto prototype of the local community. The tract in question was an apartment house area. It contained population of mixed class and ethnic background. Because of a large proportion of young, unmarried people, the area had a very high mobility rate. Two hundred fifty respondents, representing 87 per cent of a random sample of households,[14] participated in the study.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF NAMES ASCRIBED TO THE "PART OF TOWN" BY RESPONDENTS IN THE STUDY AREA

Name	Per Cent Using Name
Beacon Hill	68%
Modified form of Beacon Hill[a]	6
West End	23
Other name	2
D. K.	1
Total	100% (250)

[a] e.g., "the Back Side of Beacon Hill," "Bohemian Hill," etc.

Tables 1 and 2, presenting the distributions of names and boundaries given in answer to the above questions, show that there was a great deal more agreement in this study than in previously cited studies that the respondents lived in a certain named and bounded area of the city. Majority agree-

[7] One exception is contained in Shirley Star, "An Approach to the Measurement of Interracial Tensions," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950. She notes in passing that 81 per cent of the residents in one local community and 49 per cent of those in a second used the names attributed to the areas by the Chicago Community Inventory. The finding is vitiated by the fact that interviewers introduced the study as one of Grand Crossing or Auburn-Gresham, thus providing a set for questions on area name. Bell (*op. cit.*, p. 75) implies the use of names employed by residents in social area analysis Scott Greer, in an unpublished research report, found that 98 per cent of residents of a part of Saint Louis County gave a distinctive name to their residential area. Names have been assigned to areas in countless studies in urban sociology, perhaps implying positive findings concerning agreement of residents to the name An impressive example is in Calvin F. Schmid, "Urban Crime Areas: Part I," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (August, 1960), pp. 527–542, Figure 1, p. 528.

[8] Svend Riemer, "Villagers in Metropolis," *British Journal of Sociology*, 2 (March, 1951), pp. 31–43.

[9] Donald Bloch, *et al.*, "Identification and Participation in Urban Neighborhoods," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1952.

[10] Donald L. Foley, "Neighbors or Urbanites?", mimeographed manuscript, Rochester: University of Rochester, 1952.

[11] Roderick McKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.

[12] Joel Smith, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-Sized City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (November, 1954), pp. 276–284.

[13] Tract K-1, between Cambridge Street and Myrtle Street, Joy Street and the Charles River.

[14] Twenty-nine refusals and nine non-contacted persons made up the rest of the sample. A check of age, sex, and occupational distributions of the respondents against census statistics for the tract showed no significant differences between the sample and the population on these variables.

ment was found on a name for the area and on three of four boundaries. Moreover, the boundaries were those predicted in advance from natural area considerations. To the north, the boundary was a heavily traveled street, and to the south and west the boundaries were parks, major streets, and a river.

The presence of a second name for the area, on which a minority agreed, was not expected. It was noted that the boundaries given by respondents terming the area "the West End" tended to include territory lying farther north than the region defined by respondents using the name "Beacon Hill," and the hypothesis was advanced that the previous study by Kevin Lynch,[15] using a small and non-random sample of well-informed Bostonians, had located several named areas by asking the respondents to describe the city. Among these were three—the Back Bay, the North End, and the South End—that had also been recognized by Firey in his study of symbolism in ecology.[16] Professor Lynch sketched the boundaries obtained for these three areas from his respondents on a map prepared for the present study. The Beacon Hill-West End sample was asked if they knew the areas by name (no map was shown) and, if so, to name a street in each. The hypothesis that some[17] respondents might be living in a border region between two more clearly defined areas. In order to test this hypothesis, two small samples of people in tracts adjacent to the study area were asked the same questions. To the north, 24 respondents agreed unanimously that they lived in the West End. To the south, 22 of 23 agreed that they lived in Beacon Hill. Thus, the border region nature of the study area appears to explain the bimodal distribution of names among the original sample.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF BOUNDARIES ASCRIBED TO THE "PART OF TOWN" BY RESPONDENTS IN THE STUDY AREA

Northern Boundary		Southern Boundary		Eastern Boundary		Western Boundary	
Street	Per Cent	Street	Per Cent	Street	Per Cent	Street	Per Cent
Cambridge	80%	Beacon[a] or Boston Common	81%	Joy	12%	Charles St., Charles River and Embankment[c]	87%
		Myrtle or Pinckney	5	State House and streets bordering	43		
				Scollay and Tremont[b]	21		
Other	9	Other	3	Other	9	Other	5
D.K., vague	11	D.K., vague	11	D.K., vague	15	D.K., vague	8
Total	100% (250)	Total	100% (250)	Total	100% (250)	Total	100% (250)

[a] Combined because Beacon Street forms the near border of the Boston Common.
[b] Combined because Tremont Street begins at and forms an extension of Scollay Square.
[c] Combined because the Embankment is a park that follows the Charles River, and Charles Street parallels and borders the Embankment in the immediate vicinity of the census tract studied

The question was raised whether areas of the metropolis other than the area of residence were commonly identifiable by name. A areas of the metropolis, in addition to the area of residence, are known as named areas, was tested according to the criterion that a majority of the respondents must be able to name a street within the boundaries sketched by Lynch. As many of the respondents were new to the city, and no measure of the accuracy of the Lynch boundaries (as against those determined by questioning a

[15] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge, Mass.: The Technology Press, 1960.

[16] Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947.

[17] The sample of areas was not random, so no statistical generalization can be made.

random sample of residents) was available, this could be expected to be a difficult test of the hypothesis. Yet the percentages of respondents correctly naming a street within the boundaries drawn by Lynch were 66 per cent for the North End, 80 per cent for the Back Bay, and 57 per cent for the South End. The hypothesis was therefore rather strongly confirmed.

In summary, it can be said that residents of the area studied regard themselves as living in a named area of the city, and agree on the boundaries of their area in all but one direction. The criterion of majority agreement was satisfied despite the fact that the study happened to be conducted in a border region formed by the intersection of two clearly defined named areas. Furthermore, residents of this region can correctly identify several other named areas within the city. These results were achieved in spite of the fact that many residents were new to the city, and that the census tract studied was highly urbanized, being central to the city and heterogeneous in population.

FUNCTIONS OF THE NAMED AREA IN ASCRIBING STATUS

Some sociologists, not primarily concerned with the study of local communities, have found the concept of named urban areas to be useful in other respects. One important use that has been made of area names is in ascertaining the social class of an individual. Warner's instructions for scoring the Index of Status Characteristics are illustrative:

> By previous knowledge or interview, establish the major social areas and their relative ranking . . . make a map of the areas and indicate the value of each area by putting its rating after its name on the map. Sub-areas of higher and lower ranking should be delineated and ranked. People living in the area know the differences.[18]

While these instructions, quoted in their entirety, are not very precise, Warner seems to be proposing the interview as a method for determining the named areas and finding out the degree of prestige associated with each area name. This technique would presumably be increasingly useful in large cities, where ratings that depend on intimate knowledge of individuals (for instance, Evaluated Participation) are less feasible.

Others have suggested that what is useful to the sociologist is also useful to the average man. Shevky and Williams write:

> In urban-industrial society, the unfailing indicators of the social position of others readily accessible to everyone are houses and areas of residence. As every occupation is evaluated and generally accorded honor and esteem on a scale of prestige in society, so every residential section has a status value which is readily recognized by everyone in the city.[19]

Consideration of such names as Chinatown, Little Italy, Kilgubbin and Harlem suggests that ethnic connotations as well as status connotations are conveyed by the names of areas. A possible conclusion from these considerations is that area names play an important role in identifying the status and ethnicity of individuals, in a manner resembling that of occupational title for social class and family name for ethnicity. If area names are to perform this function in large cities, the names must be well-known, and the connotations they bear concerning class and ethnicity must be appropriate to the population of the areas. The diffusion of knowledge of area names in different parts of the metropolis was suggested in the previous section of this paper. Evidence concerning the appropriateness or accuracy of the connotations evoked by names of urban areas will be presented in the following paragraphs.

In the study by Lynch cited above, certain parts of the named areas were designated core areas because of very high agreement on them by his respondents. The core areas were smaller than, and central to, the wider areas containing them. A census tract approximation of Lynch's core areas was used to determine selected demographic features for each of the named areas. Indices of social class and ethnic composition for the areas are presented in Table 3. Residents of the studied tract were asked to give a description of the three distant areas. Respondents denying knowledge of an area or citing a

[18] W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, p. 238.

[19] Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949, pp. 61–62.

TABLE 3. INDICES FOR 1950 OF CLASS AND ETHNICITY FOR FIVE NAMED AREAS IN BOSTON

Index	Named Area				
	North End[a]	Back Bay[b]	South End[c]	Beacon Hill[d]	West End[e]
Percentage professionals, proprietors, managers, and officials in the labor force	8.0%	39.0%	9.7%	34.0%	13.8%
Percentage laborers and operatives in the labor force	46.2	3.7	27.5	6.4	31.3
Percentage of population foreign born	18.9	14.0	11.6	15.5	26.3
Percentage of population non-white	0.0	0.6	22.2	0.9	1.1

[a] Tracts F-2, F-4, and F-5.
[b] Tracts K-3 and K-5.
[c] Tracts I-1, I-2, I-3, I-4, L-1, L-4, and L-5.
[d] Tracts K-1 and K-2.
[e] Tract H-1.
Source: *United States Census of Population: 1950. Vol. III, Census Tract Statistics.* Chapter 6.

street not within the wider boundaries given by Lynch were not counted in the following tabulations. The descriptions, coded for mentions of class and ethnicity, were compared with the demographic indices for each area. Among the three areas, it was expected that the Back Bay would be described as white-collar, in contrast to the other areas; that the South End would be seen as Negro; and that the North End would be seen as Italian, since 96 per cent of its foreign-born were from Italy. Tables 4 and 5 support these expectations. Given the very open nature of the question,[20] the absolute number of class and ethnic symbols mentioned is evidence that these associations are among the first to be made to the stimulus of an area name.[21]

[20] "Tell me a little about the North End as you see it. What kind of a place is it? What makes it different from other neighborhoods in Boston?"

[21] In contrast, the same comparison made on the variable of family status revealed little salience. In no case did as many as a quarter of the respondents mention age and/or marital status variables in their descriptions of the communities, although the Back Bay contains unusually large numbers of young, single people, and great stress could have been placed on this fact.

A similar pattern appears in Table 6, in which respondents thinking of themselves as living in Beacon Hill are compared with those thinking of themselves as living in the West End. In this tabulation, direct questions [22] were asked of the respondents about the class and national origin of the people in the area named, so the proportions mentioning class and ethnic composition cannot be taken as an index of the salience of these characteristics. The respondents speaking of Beacon Hill thought of it as an upper- and middle-class area of North European Protestant stock. Those speaking of the West End thought of it as a working- and lower-class area of ethnic stock. These characterizations are supported, for the cores of these areas,

[22] The question on class was based on that used by Richard Centers in *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951. It read: "When [the area] is mentioned, do you think first of the middle class, the lower class, the working class, or the upper class?" The question on national origin was, "When [the area] is mentioned, which of these groups do you think of first?" A card listing eleven broad national groups was presented with the question.

TABLE 4. HOW RESPONDENTS CHARACTERIZE THREE NAMED AREAS IN TERMS OF STATUS

Community	Percentage of Those Demonstrating Knowledge of the Area Who Mention Class						
	White Collar	Blue Collar	Both	Total	No Mention	Grand Total	N
North End	1%	14%	1%	16%	84%	100%	166
Back Bay	33	4	3	40	60	100	199
South End	1	45	1	47	53	100	142

TABLE 5. HOW RESPONDENTS CHARACTERIZE THREE NAMED AREAS IN TERMS OF ETHNICITY

	Percentage of Those Demonstrating Knowledge of the Area Who Mention Ethnicity						
Community	Negroes	Italians	Other Ethnic	Total	No Mention	Grand Total	N
North End	[a]	67%	1%	68%	32%	100%	166
Back Bay	[a]	[a]	4	4	96	100	199
South End	37%	[a]	7	44	56	100	142

[a] Not coded separately.

by the census statistics presented in Table 3.

The preceding paragraphs have shown that accurate characterizations of class and ethnicity of the residents are among the salient connotations of area names. It follows that these names are available for use in social interaction between non-intimates in defining their respective statuses, as suggested by Shevky and Williams. This study is not able to supply proof that these names are actually used for this purpose, but one of the tabulations made suggests that people act as if this were so. The study took place in a border region between two named areas with different status connotations, and residents of the region had a choice between the names of Beacon Hill and the West End. If people are socially typed by the name of their area of residence, those with a choice may be expected to choose the name with status connotations corresponding most closely to their own self-conceptions. Thus, in the present case, people conceiving of themselves as upper- and middle-class should tend to choose Beacon Hill as the name of their residence area, whereas people conceiving of themselves as working- and lower-class should choose the West End, allowing a margin of error for working-class people who would like to "rise" to Beacon Hill and for middle-class people who do not accept the stereotype of the West End as working-class.

TABLE 6. DIFFERENCES IN CHARACTERISTICS ATTRIBUTED TO THE AREA AMONG RESPONDENTS IDENTIFYING WITH BEACON HILL AND WEST END

Class Designation of Area	Respondents Speaking of Beacon Hill	Respondents Speaking of West End
Upper or middle	70%	31%
Working or lower	27	66
Both, or D.K.	3	3
Total	100% (169)	100% (58)
Ethnic Designation of Area		
North European Protestant [a]	54%	7%
Ethnic [b]	24	81
Both, or D.K.	22	12
Total	100% (169)	100% (58)

[a] Old Yankee, English, Scottish, German, Dutch, Scandinavian origin.

[b] All other countries of origin.

The results of the survey support the predictions. Among the respondents describing themselves as upper- and middle-class, 81 per cent "chose" Beacon Hill as their area of residence, compared with 58 per cent of the respondents thinking of themselves as working- and lower-class. A similar situation exists with respect to national origin. Among the North European Protestants, 76 per cent "chose" Beacon Hill, as against 65 per cent of the ethnics. Proximity to the cores of the respective areas was found to be associated with this decision, but cartographic analysis revealed that proximity operated independently, and that at any distance from the cores of the communities, working- and lower-class individuals were more likely to "choose" the working- and lower-class West End label for their area of residence.

THE NAMED AREA AS A COMMUNITY

The concept of community has several different meanings in sociology. According to a classical definition, "wherever any group, small or large, live together in such a way that they share, not this or that particular interest, but the basic conditions of a common life, we call that group a community." [28]

[28] R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937, pp. 8–9.

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES USED BY RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LOCATION OF FACILITY

Facility	Beacon Hill and West End	Downtown	Other	Don't Use or D.K.	Total	
Food shopping	80%	a	18%	2%	100%	(250)
Clothing shopping	2	75	21	2	100	(250)
Furniture shopping	5	63	24	8	100	(250)
Work	22	28	34	16	100	(250)
Entertainment	22	37	34	7	100	(250)
Church	36	17	27	20	100	(250)

a Less than ½ of 1%.

Definitions of local community implicit in empirical investigations focus on both interaction and institutions. The former focus, prominent in the work on suburban communities, is exemplified by such criteria as friendship, neighboring, participation in informal organizations, and orientation to communications media.[24] The latter focus, prominent in the Chicago tradition of concern with ethnic and central city communities, is exemplified by such criteria as membership in formal organizations and intensive use of distinctive local facilities.[25] Thus, the literature on local communities furnishes various criteria that could be framed as hypotheses concerning properties of named areas. This study investigated one of these criteria, the usage of local facilities.

Two studies of peripheral urban areas by Donald Foley served as a background and source of specific hypotheses for this work. While inspection of Foley's designs suggests that he never came to grips with what constituted "local" for his respondents, the parallel between his results and the findings in central Boston supports the general applicability of both.

Foley's first study [26] concerned a lower-middle-class area in northwestern St. Louis, containing elementary schools, churches, movie theaters, and "other facilities" as well as industries. Not available within the district were public high schools, large parks, and, aside from movies, professional entertainment facilities. A representative sample of families was polled to ascertain the location of various facilities used by all members of the family. Usage within the boundaries of the arbitrarily defined district was classified as local. Foley found that local food outlets and churches were used by the residents of this area, with 69 per cent and 77 per cent of the total uses, respectively, being local. On the other hand, only 5 per cent of clothing, household equipment, and furniture shopping was local, and only 18 per cent of employment was local, despite the presence of industry. A study of a peripheral area in Rochester [27] revealed a similar pattern, where "local" was defined as "within five blocks from home."

The data from Boston are shown in Table 7. Because of the border nature of the census tract, both Beacon Hill and the West End were considered local, and the most liberal boundaries available (those sketched by Lynch) were used. All major categories of facilities were available within the area, although in variety and quality of stores the area was inferior to the adjacent central business district. Despite the differences between this area and those studied by Foley, and the different criteria of what is "local," the pattern is quite similar. Food shopping and church attendance are modally local, but all other facilities usages were found to be predominantly non-local. While the adjacent downtown area accounts for much non-local usage, it is noteworthy that non-local facilities usage *apart from the downtown area* far exceeds local facilities usage in all categories investigated except food shopping and church attendance. The non-local and non-downtown usage was fairly widespread throughout

[24] The works of Greer, Bloch *et al.*, and Janowitz, cited above, are examples of this focus.

[25] This focus is illustrated by several of the studies in the Chicago Sociological Series, most notably Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928, and Zorbaugh, *op. cit.* See also Foley, *op. cit.*

[26] Donald L. Foley, "The Use of Local Facilities in a Metropolis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (November, 1950), pp. 238–246.

[27] Donald L. Foley, "Neighbors or Urbanites?", *loc. cit.*

the metropolitan area. Respondents expressed preferences for suburban discount houses, for furniture and clothes from fashionable streets in the Back Bay, for roadhouse entertainment, and a host of items available in isolated locations or in specialized business centers serving the entire metropolis.

In view of the support lent to the pattern found here by Foley's work, the proposal that the local community is organized around distinctive facilities must be strongly qualified. The nature of the qualification can be illustrated by considering the kinds of facilities that are locally used. While only food shopping and church attendance are modally local in these studies, the distribution of retail outlets in the city suggests that drugs, some kinds of banking, purchasing at variety stores, and other similar activities, are also typically local. This type of activity can be characterized as convenience shopping involving goods which are used in small quantities and purchased fairly often, in which price differentials are not very important, and which are relatively highly standardized. It is, in other words, precisely in those lines in which goods are *not* strongly differentiated that local shopping is done. Goods and corresponding outlets that are distinctive appear to require a larger market than that supplied by a typical named area.

These data indicate that the local facilities usage of the modal urbanite, in the areas studied in this project and in Foley's previous work, tends to be confined to convenience goods. However, it should be kept in mind that local facilities usage in almost all categories appears greater than a chance model would predict, especially considering the absence of opportunities in the area.[28] Furthermore, a supplementary analysis revealed a slight tendency for some residents to use various local facilities more than other residents, supporting a model proposed by Merton in which the relevant community may be different for different people living in the same general locality.[29]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The research reported here supports the proposition, contained in the local community model of the metropolis, that the city is perceived by its residents as containing named areas, bounded by such barriers to travel as parks, rivers, and large streets. On the background of many studies yielding negative evidence, this study succeeded, using a new method that avoided the ambiguity of the term "neighborhood" and presented definitional questions at the beginning of the questionnaire.

The names of areas apart from the one of residence were found to be well-diffused in this study. Furthermore, these names were shown to have class and ethnic connotations that were in harmony with indices derived from the census. This evidence can be interpreted as support for the proposition that one function of named areas is the attribution of class and ethnic positions in the secondary social relations typical of the city.

An investigation of the proposition that residents of a named area use distinctive local facilities yielded generally negative results. Little use was made of local facilities except in items commonly termed convenience items, which are similar from area to area.

These results, based on a sample of households in one census tract in Boston, are statistically generalizable only to the census tract sampled. However, there is evidence to indicate that the results are not entirely due to peculiar local conditions in Boston and in the study area. In pre-tests of the questionnaire used in this study, residents of three Chicago "local communities" as defined by the Chicago Community Inventory—South Shore, Near North Side, and New City—were asked to name and bound their part of Chicago. Agreement on name and boundaries in these areas compared favorably with that found in the Boston case, although residents of New City uniformly used the more pun-

28 The term "opportunities" is used as in Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review,* 5 (December, 1940), pp. 845–867.

29 For instance, about half the respondents with working- and lower-class self-descriptions, and half of those over 45 years of age, used local churches. See Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence," in Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, editors, *Communications Research 1948–1949,* New York: Harper, 1949.

gent name of Back-of-the-Yards in referring to their area of residence. Similar results were found in a secondary analysis by the author of data gathered in outlying areas of Boston by Morton Rubin of Northeastern University. Consciousness of living in a named and bounded area thus does not appear to be confined to residents of high-status and historic areas of an old city. With respect to the other findings in this paper, Warner's use of the Index of Status Characteristics in various cities supports the characterization of named areas as a source of status ascription, and the previously noted similarity between areas in Boston and St. Louis and Rochester supports the generalizability of the results reported for use of facilities.

This study supports the local community conception of the city by demonstrating that named units with "natural" boundaries are recognized by residents of an urban area. It further suggests that named areas have a status-ascriptive function not stressed in the original model. The research qualifies an aspect of the model concerning the usage of local facilities. Other features of the local community model, such as the presence of participation in local organizations and a network of local friendships, were not specifically tested in this study, and await further research.

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

INDEPENDENT CAUSATION IN MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS: THE CASE OF POLITICAL ALIENATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD A SCHOOL BOND ISSUE *

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Some interesting general problems of multivariate analysis are involved in a recent report of a study of political alienation and attitude toward a school bond issue by Thompson and Horton.[1] They assert, "We have built our case upon the proposition that a differential distribution of power in the community is reflected in an attitude of political alienation which, in turn, is translated into a vote of protest against the 'powers that be.' "[2] They also conclud that the effect of political alienation upon attitude is *independent* of socio-economic status.

There are, in fact, two separate propositions here: (1) socio-economic status influences political alienation which, in turn, influences attitude; (2) socio-economic status does *not* influence the *association* between alienation and attitude. I shall attempt to explicate the formal analytic requirements of these propositions, in the course of which I shall develop the notion of *independent causation* among a set of three categorical variables, all of which are related to each other at the zero-order level of association. It will be shown incidentally that the data reported by Thompson and Horton do not support either proposition.

If the data are to support the first proposition, it is necessary that the association between socio-economic status and attitude tend to disappear when alienation is held constant. In general, the association between two variables in a developmental or causal sequence will tend to disappear when an intervening variable is held constant.[3] In the Thompson and Horton analysis, this kind of "clean" pattern does not emerge. Note the differences between rows within each column in the upper half of Table 1. What the analysis actually reveals is a pattern referred to by Hyman and Lazarsfeld as specification.[4] That is, holding alienation constant, the partial associations do not tend toward zero, and there is a difference between the partial associations of SES and voting that appears to be worth taking account of. Among the non-alienated, the association is higher than that among the alienated; and it varies systematically from upper to lower SES among the former but not among the latter. Therefore, the appropriate interpretation would seem to be that there is interaction among the three variables, i.e., the effect of either one of the independent variables (alienation and SES) upon the dependent variable (attitude) is *not* independent of the other. Contrary to the explicit conclusion of Thompson and Horton, the association of alienation and attitude cannot be considered independent of the effect of SES; nor, for that matter, can the association of SES and attitude be considered independent of the effect of alienation.

The meaning of an assertion that an association between two variables is independent of a third variable *to which each is associated* needs explication. Let us examine this in the context of the Thompson and Horton problem. What does it mean to say that the association between alienation and attitude is independent of SES? Now if the model of a simple causal sequence (SES-alienation-attitude) did hold, the independence proposition would be true *in one sense.* That is, since the association between SES and attitude, with alienation constant, would be zero, the magnitude and direction of the association between alienation and attitude would almost certainly be unaffected by holding SES constant.[5] But this sense of independence,

* I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council which, through a Faculty Research Fellowship, has provided me the time to work on problems such as those dealt with in this paper.

[1] Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation As a Force in Political Action," *Social Forces,* 38 (March, 1960), pp. 190–195. My "reconsideration" is concerned only with the formal aspects of analysis in this paper. Technical matters of sampling, data collection procedures, definition of variables, and such are not considered.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 194. This treatment will deal with socio-economic status as an indicator of power in the community. Occupation of head of household and educational attainment of the interviewee are also used by Thompson and Horton. These can be substituted for socio-economic status, and the argument which follows will still apply.

[3] Herbert Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955, pp. 276–295.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 295–311.

[5] In general, within a system of three variables, all of which are related at the zero-order level, if the association between any two disappears with the

TABLE 1. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SCHOOL BOND ISSUE AS RELATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, HOLDING CONSTANT POLITICAL ALIENATION; AND POLITICAL ALIENATION AS RELATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, HOLDING CONSTANT ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SCHOOL BOND ISSUE *

	Percentages Who Were Unfavorable or Very Unfavorable Toward the Issue			
	Among the "Non-alienated"		Among the "Alienated"	
Interviewer ratings of socio-economic status:				
Upper SES categories	19%	(31)	63%	(19)
Middle SES categories	36	(42)	49	(39)
Lower SES categories	46	(28)	69	(48)
	Percentages Who Were "Non-alienated"			
	Among the Unfavorable Voters		Among the Favorable Voters	
Upper SES categories	33%	(18)	78%	(32)
Middle SES categories	44	(34)	57	(47)
Lower SES categories	28	(46)	50	(30)

* This table has been constructed from Table 4 in Thompson and Horton, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

it would seem to me, is trivial and to some extent misleading, for it tends to obscure the sequential links between the variables. And to assert that the association between two variables is independent of an antecedent variable in a causal chain is not particularly meaningful.[6]

Now if the notion of a simple causal sequence does not hold, the independence assertion takes on an entirely different meaning. Since SES is markedly related to attitude at the zero-order level, the meaning must be that SES affects attitude, *and at the same time* the nature of the association between alienation and attitude remains unaffected. Within any category of SES the size and pattern of association between alienation and attitude does not differ from that in any other category of SES. In other words, the combination of a given SES and alienation does not produce a *relative* attitude effect any different than the combination of any other given SES and alienation. Thus, for a given SES category the general level of unfavorable attitude may be considerably different from that of another SES category, but the differences between the alienated and the non-alienated are approximately the same *within* each category. This is to say, then, that SES and alienation *independently* affect attitude. Translated into analysis, this means that the association between SES and alienation should tend to disappear when attitude is held constant. If two variables are separately producing an effect, which is to say that there is no *simple* causal sequence [7] or interaction, then holding the effect constant should eliminate the association between them.

Formally, this pattern of partial associations is the same as that of a spurious association. However, just as we cannot identify an association as spurious when it tends to disappear as a result of holding an intervening variable constant, so we cannot identify as spurious an association which disappears when a consequent variable is held constant. The latter pattern, it seems to me, may most aptly be referred to as indication of *independent causation.*

The rationale is similar to that involved in the computation of independence values (theoretical frequencies) for any contingency table.

third held constant, then the association between any other two will not change with the third constant and, in particular, cannot become zero. While it is difficult to generalize about the range of possibilities in which this holds, this appears to cover very well most of the cases that would be encountered in practice. If all the variables are dichotomous and Q is used as a measure of association, it can be shown by a simple algebraic proof that this proposition holds absolutely. With categorical variables of three or more categories and a measure of association based upon Chi-square, it can be shown empirically that if one set of partial associations becomes zero, the magnitude and direction of association in the two other possible sets of partial associations do not differ greatly, if at all, from their respective total association. With quantitative variables, it can be shown that if one partial correlation is equal to zero, the other two possible partial correlations cannot be zero. However, these other two partial correlations will decrease in relation to their respective zero-order correlation, and if the zero-order correlations are quite large, the decrease will be appreciable; with moderate zero-order correlations, the decrease will be quite small.

[6] Another sense in which the independence assertion would be trivial would be in the case of a spurious association, i.e., in the case in which the association between alienation and voting, with SES constant, would tend to disappear. Then it could be shown that the association between SES and voting is unaffected by holding constant alienation. But this is simply to affirm what must be the meaning of a spurious association.

[7] It is necessary to emphasize the *simple* because the notion that two variables are separately producing a given effect could be taken to mean also that one of the two variables can affect the other. E.g., A affects C, and A also affects B which affects C. This, however, would be a case of interaction.

If two variables are independently producing a given effect, we would expect, among those showing the effect, the joint frequency of any combination of categories of the two variables (one category of each variable) to be the same as that given by the product of the separate probabilities of each category. For example, among those voting unfavorably on the bond issue, we would expect the frequency of those who are *both* lower SES and politically alienated to be no greater (or less) than that which would be expected by chance on the basis of the proportion of lower SES and the proportion of alienated among the unfavorable voters. To the extent that this is not the case, we are justified in concluding that, in combination, alienation and SES influence attitude differently than would be expected if the influence of each was independent of the other. That is, if the two variables are *not* independently influencing attitude, we would expect certain combinations of alienation and SES to occur disproportionately within each category of attitude. We would, for example, expect among unfavorable voters a disproportionately large frequency of those who are *both* lower SES and alienated or a disproportionately small frequency of those who are *both* upper SES and non-alienated. In effect, we say that being *both* lower SES and alienated increases the likelihood of an unfavorable vote over and above the *separate* effects of SES and of alienation.[8]

To return to the Thompson and Horton study, it is clear that their data do not warrant an inference of a simple causal sequence of SES, alienation, and attitude; nor do the data warrant an inference that the association of alienation and attitude is independent of SES. To infer the former, the association between SES and attitude should definitely tend to become attenuated when alienation is held constant. (See upper half of Table 1.) To infer the latter, the association between SES and alienation must definitely tend to become attenuated when attitude is held constant. (See lower half of Table 1.) Neither pattern does in fact obtain. Rather there is a pattern of specification, which means that there is interaction among the three variables and that the association between alienation and attitude cannot be considered independent of SES.

This study has been used as a case in point to develop the notion of ***independent causation*** and the multivariate analysis pattern which is required to support the notion. Among three variables, all of which are related to each other at the zero-order level, the only non-trivial sense in which the association between one independent and one dependent variable can be independent of the second independent variable is that of independent causation. Demonstration of independent causation requires that the association between the two independent variables tends to disappear when the dependent variable is held constant.

[8] It may at first consideration seem somewhat "abnormal" that the two independent variables in this system would be associated at the zero-order level. The more "normal" expectation would be that no association is manifested at the zero-order level if each variable is *separately* producing a given effect and there is no causal relationship between them. This may indeed be the empirically more frequent case. However, further consideration suggests, it seems to me, that two variables producing an effect to some extent in common, even though they are not causally related, may well show some common variation, and therefore their zero-order association would *not* be expected to be zero. The association between the two independent variables in this case is an empirical "accident" in the same sense as is a spurious association between an independent and a dependent variable.

THE OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS TO DULUTH: A RETEST OF ROSE'S HYPOTHESIS *

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In August, 1958, Arnold M. Rose reported his findings of a research project designed to test the hypothesis "that higher status persons, seeking the better jobs or 'opportunities,' must move a greater distance to find them, on the average, than do persons whose skills or aspirations direct them to look for less desirable opportunities."[1] Rose limited his hypothesis of migration to American urban areas. His data pertained specifically to migrants who moved into the Minneapolis area. In reporting his study of socio-economic status and the distance traveled by migrants to the Minneapolis area, Rose pointed out that relatively little had been done *beyond* the work of Stouffer in his 1940 study of the relationship between the number of migrants and distance traveled.[2] Thus, Rose's

* The author wishes to express his appreciation to the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota for a grant-in-aid to conduct the research on which this report is based. The author also wishes to acknowledge the able assistance of Lewis Dana, Marshall Cohen, and Samuel Gibson.

[1] Arnold M. Rose, "Distance of Migration and Socio-Economic Status of Migrants," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (August, 1958), p. 420.

[2] See Rose's article, referred to above, for a bibli-

TABLE 1. DISTANCE MOVED AS RELATED TO OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY—1958
(Percentage Distributions and Medians of Distance for Each Category)

	Occupational Categories *							
Zone Moved from	1 % (Prof-Tech)	3 % (Mgrs)	4 % (Cler)	5 % (Sales)	6 % (Craft)	7 % (Oper)	9 % (Serv)	12 % (Lab)
1. 0– 25 miles East	1.30	1.63	—	—	7.84	16.67	—	5.56
1. 0– 25 miles West	1.30	—	4.54	1.47	1.96	16.67	—	16.67
2. 26– 80 miles East	0.43	1.63	—	—	1.96	—	12.50	5.56
2. 26– 80 miles West	5.63	10.57	22.72	10.30	17.65	8.33	25.00	22.22
3. 81– 160 miles East	2.60	4.88	4.54	1.47	3.92	8.33	—	—
3. 81– 160 miles West	18.61	26.83	22.72	29.42	19.61	8.33	62.50	16.67
4. 161– 240 miles East	1.73	2.44	—	7.36	1.96	8.33	—	—
4. 161– 240 miles West	6.93	8.94	—	7.36	5.88	16.67	—	—
5. 241– 400 miles East	9.52	9.76	9.09	7.36	9.80	8.33	—	—
5. 241– 400 miles West	3.46	6.50	9.09	7.36	9.80	—	—	5.56
6. 401– 625 miles East	6.06	4.06	—	2.94	3.92	—	—	5.56
6. 401– 625 miles West	4.76	4.06	—	5.88	1.96	—	—	5.56
7. 626– 920 miles East	4.76	4.06	9.09	—	1.96	—	—	5.56
7. 626– 920 miles West	2.60	0.81	9.09	4.41	1.96	—	—	—
8. 921–1200 miles East	17.75	5.69	4.54	1.47	—	—	—	—
8. 921–1200 miles West	2.16	—	—	—	1.96	—	—	—
9. 1200+ miles East	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9. 1200+ miles West	3.46	2.44	4.54	11.77	3.92	8.33	—	—
7. 626– 920 miles South	1.73	0.81	—	—	—	—	—	5.56
8. 921–1200 miles South	3.03	2.44	—	1.47	—	—	—	—
9. 1200+ miles South	0.86	0.81	—	—	—	—	—	—
Canada	0.86	0.81	—	—	3.92	—	—	—
Foreign	0.43	0.81	—	—	—	—	—	5.56
Total percentages	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total cases	231	123	22	68	51	12	8	18
East median	652.32	347.17	400.50	272.50	240.50	120.50	80.50	240.50
West median	155.85	138.60	112.50	133.36	106.50	120.50	104.50	66.75
South median	1020.50	1060.50	—	1200+	—	—	—	920.50
General median	373.83	186.21	147.17	200.50	143.83	120.50	96.50	75.00

* See Table 2 for fuller identification of occupational categories. Categories 2 and 8 are not shown since each involved only one case. There were no cases in categories 10 and 11.

study was an attempt to relate distance migrated to the socio-economic status of the migrants, "thereby tying migration theory into social stratification research." [3]

The present research report is of a retest of Rose's hypothesis.[4]

PROCEDURE

This retest was done in a city of a considerably different type than that used by Rose in his research. The locale for his research was Minneapolis, a city of over 500,000 population, lying within a metropolitan area of over a million—Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. The present research was done for Duluth, Minnesota, a middle-sized city of 106,000 persons. Duluth not only differs from Minneapolis in size but in several other respects as well. Duluth's population has not varied appreciably for the past half century; it is a port city on the Great Lakes seaway, and a large proportion of its economic base rests on the iron and steel industry.

The best available source of data on the migrants to Duluth was the listing of names and information kept by the employees of the Welcome Wagon, Inc. The Welcome Wagon people received names and addresses of in-migrants from several sources, such as the local power and light company, the gas and public utilities department, and informally from the school board (new teachers) and some residence hotels and apartment buildings. Although not all in-migrants would be included in these lists they still provided the most complete listing avail-

ography of the significant work that has been done in this area.

[3] *Idem.*

[4] We have called it a *retest* rather than a replication because the locale and variables connoting socio-economic status are different.

able. Many persons who rent furnished apartments and hotel rooms would not, of course, be included in this research. Generally speaking, the group of migrants that is most completely represented in our findings is that which came into the city with a family of some kind and thereby would be most likely to buy or rent a house or duplex and in that way become new customers of one or more of the public utilities from which the Welcome Wagon obtained its names and addresses. The type of data used in this study was essentially the same as that utilized by Rose.

The determination of socio-economic status used in this retest was the occupational category of the head of each migrant family. The Edwards classification of occupation, as used in the 1950 U. S. Census of Population, was utilized.

FINDINGS

As seen from Table 1, the median distance moved generally declines as one proceeds from those occupied as professionals and managers to foremen and laborers.[5] This supports the hypothesis and findings reported by Rose for migration to Minneapolis. Likewise, as indicated by Rose, we found that the largest proportion of migrants held professional or managerial jobs, 31 per cent and 17 per cent respectively, or a total of 48 per cent for the two categories.

Rose reported that 44 per cent of his sample moved to Class I neighborhoods. This, as Rose pointed out, indicated the importance of the movement of persons to the upper and upper-middle class areas of the city. The addresses of the migrants to Duluth were also tabulated by the census tract to which they moved upon arrival in the city. The results indicated that the majority of the newcomers in Duluth also moved into middle and upper-middle income residence areas.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATION OF MIGRANTS BY SECTION OF THE COUNTRY "MOVED FROM"—1958 *

Occupational Category	Percentage of 735 Cases	Percentage from Major Sections of U.S.		
		East	South	West
1 Professional, technical	31.42	44.15	5.63	48.92
3 Managers, officials	16.73	34.15	4.06	60.16
4 Clerical	2.99	27.27	—	72.72
5 Salesmen	9.25	20.59	1.47	77.96
6 Craftsmen, foremen	6.94	31.38	—	64.71
7 Operatives	1.63	41.66	—	58.33
9 Service workers	1.09	12.50	—	87.50
12 Laborers	2 45	22.22	5.56	66.67

* Census occupational categories 10 (farm laborers and unpaid family workers), and 11 (farm laborers except unpaid and farm foremen) are not represented in this study, and census occupational category 2 (farmers and farm managers) represented by only one case (0.14% of 735) and occupational category 8 (private household workers) represented by only one case (0.14% of 735).

The "place moved from" was classified in the same manner as Rose had done. That is each migrant or migrant and family was classified by locating previous addresses within one of nine concentric rings drawn to cover the United States, with the center at Duluth. Table 1 gives the radius in miles of each of the nine zones.

"Place moved from" was also classified as to whether it was east or west of an imaginary line that ran from Duluth south along the Wisconsin border to the Mississippi River and then along the Mississippi River to New Orleans. The southern states were placed in a separate category. Migrants from Canada were also kept separate.

The total number of persons visited by the employees of the Welcome Wagon in the Duluth area for 1958 was 735. Table 1 shows the distribution of these cases by occupational category and distance and direction of previous residence.

In analyzing the direction and distance moved by Duluth migrants, it was found that among the professionals approximately 44 per cent came from the east, 49 per cent from the west, and 6 per cent from the south. A further breakdown shows that of the number constituting the 44 per cent from the east, 15 per cent came from zones at a distance of 241 to 625 miles and 22 per cent came from 626 to 1200 miles. That is, the migrant from the east, who had a professional type of occupation, came from urban centers to the east—namely Mil-

[5] The other occupational categories of the Edwards classification were not included in the present report because of an insufficient number of cases.

waukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and the cities on the Atlantic seaboard.

A perusal of the median distance traveled by each occupational group further indicated that those coming from the east followed the pattern found by Rose, whereas those coming from the west tended to be limited generally to moves from areas approximately 110 to 155 miles from Duluth. The smaller cities of the iron range and Minneapolis and St. Paul were the origin of the majority of these cases. The percentages of the various occupational groups that came from the eastern or western sections of the country are presented in Table 2.

While the professional group was almost evenly divided with 44 per cent coming from the east and 48 per cent coming from the west, the occupational groups from manager to laborer all indicate that the majority of migrants came from the west. Thus, our data generally corroborates Rose's finding that the migrants of the highest socio-economic status are most likely to come from the east, whereas the reverse is true for lower status groups.

CONCLUSION

The present study definitely corroborates the major findings of Rose's earlier study of distance of migration and socio-economic status of migrants. The two studies indicate that both in Minneapolis and Duluth professionals and managers migrate longer distances than do lower status migrants. Likewise the higher status migrants are more likely to come from eastern urban centers while middle and lower status groups come from rural areas and small cities and towns lying west of the Mississippi.

With reference to Stouffer's work, it can be said that, in general, lower status migrants find a larger number of "intervening opportunities" in a given distance than do upper status persons. As Rose stated, the geographic position of a city has different "opportunity" significance for migrants from different segments of the population.

ERRATA AND CLARIFICATIONS

The Editor invites readers to direct his attention to errors and ambiguities that have appeared in recent issues of the *Review*. Errata and clarifications will be reported from time to time as a convenience to our readers and contributors.

VOLUME 24 (AUGUST, 1959), pp. 482–501.

A student's observation of an apparent contradiction in data presented by Mattei Dogan in the *Revue Française de Sociologie* and by Seymour Martin Lipset in his article on "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism" in the *Review* has led Professor Duncan MacRae, Jr., of the University of Chicago, to investigate two errors of method in the Lipset article. Professor MacRae writes:

"In his analysis of working-class authoritarianism, Lipset asserts that 'where the Communist party is small and a Labor or Socialist party is much larger, the support of the Communists is stronger among the better-paid and more skilled workers than it is among the less skilled and poorer strata.'[1] As an example he presents percentages for Sweden, citing Håstad[2] as the source. These percentages are both erroneous, because not calculated correctly from the source cited, and misleading, because other data in the same table Lipset cites lead to a contradictory conclusion."

"The errors in reproducing data from the source table are shown in Table 1. Lipset's N's are too high for both Social Democrats and Communists, and his percentages depart somewhat from the correct percentages, apparently because cases were added by mistake into the highest income category. Inspection of the source table cited suggests that the error may have resulted from using data in the middle-class (M) columns of the table rather than the working-class (A) columns, and in the wrong rows, for the income categories over 8,000 kronor. It is commendable to cite sources in Swedish, but their captions should be interpreted correctly."

TABLE 1. WORKING-CLASS SUPPORT FOR COMMUNIST AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN SWEDEN, BY INCOME (1946)

	Lipset's Figures[1]		Håstad's Figures[2] (With Correct Percentages and Totals Added)			
	Social Democrats Per Cent	Communists Per Cent	Social Democrats Number	Social Democrats Per Cent	Communists Number	Communists Per Cent
Income (kronor)						
Less than 2000	14%	8%	688	14%	77	9%
2001–4000	40	38	2092	43	330	40
4001–6000	32	30	1636	34	290	35
6001–8000			312		76	
8001–10,000	14	24	84	9	30	15
10,001 and over			20		16	
N	5176	907	4832		819	

[1] Lipset, *op. cit.*, *American Sociological Review*, p. 498.
[2] Håstad, *loc. cit.*

"Although this error does not affect Lipset's conclusion that within the working class the Communist voters reported a higher income distribution than did the Social Democratic voters, other data from the same table lead to a different interpretation. If the two parties are compared by use of the occupations of their supporters, rather than by use of the incomes of their working-class supporters, the Communist party is seen to be *more* heavily working-class than the Social Democratic party (82 per cent workers as against 72 per cent).[3]

[1] P. 497. This article has been republished in essentially the same form in Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, New York: Doubleday, 1960, Chapter IV.

[2] Elis Håstad, *"Gallup" och den Svenska Väljarkåren*, Uppsala: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1950, pp. 175–176.

[3] Håstad, op. cit., p. 158. Data in the table cited

Moreover, if the parties are compared in terms of the incomes of *all* their reported voters, the effect reported by Lipset is drastically reduced. Why this choice of one operational definition rather than another for "strata"? It cannot have been on theoretical grounds, because in an immediately following table on India, Lipset cites data classified by respondents' class (middle, lower middle, and working) in support of his hypothesis. It is odd that he presented data for Sweden using the operational definition that supported his argument rather than the one that did not."

Professor Lipset replies as follows:

"I am very grateful to Professor MacRae for pointing out the errors in Table 5 of my article (p. 498; also p. 124 of *Political Man*) which compares the 'Income Composition of the Working-Class Support of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties in Finland and Sweden.' In going back to the original source, I find that his computations are correct. Frankly, try as I can to figure out the source of the original error, I can not. Lack of knowledge of Swedish does not help to explain it since the table involved is quite simple. I must assume Professor MacRae's charitable suggestion is valid, that somehow in transcribing the data an error was made on one line for one of the income groups."

"Since apparently, there was only one transcribing error which related to one income category out of the six reported on in the original Swedish publication, this fortunately did not result in an erroneous relationship being reported. The correct results presented in Professor MacRae's communication show the same pattern as my table containing the error."

"The second point raises issues concerning the relevance of different types of available data to the discussion in this particular place in the study. In the specific section under discussion, the issue primarily dealt with is the relative support of different groups of *workers*, better paid and highly skilled as contrasted with poorly paid and lowly skilled. I reported that in countries with small Communist parties and relatively large Labor or Socialist parties, the Communist working-class strength is disproportionately recruited from the upper-level of the working class, while the Socialist vote comes more from the poorer section. The countries for which data are reported are Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Brazil, and Great Britain. Conversely, I indicated that in countries in which the Communists are larger than the Socialists, the relationship among the workers is reversed, e.g., that in Italy, France, and Finland, 'the lower the income level of the workers, the higher their Communist vote.' In discussing these *nine* countries, I did not analyze the relative strength of the two working-class oriented parties among middle as compared with working-class voters. Thus I not only failed to report data on this relationship in this particular part of the article for Sweden. I also did not choose to do so for many other countries."

"It is true, however, that in presenting data for India which involved contrasting the support of Socialists and Communists within the same country in states in which Communists are strong as compared with the rest of the country in which they are weak, I did present the *only available Indian materials*, which were *less class specific* than those which I was able to gather for the other nine nations. The Indian Institute of Public Opinion has published the relationship of party choices to 'class' and 'education,' but does not print or give out any tables involving a three variable analysis, e.g., class by income by party vote, as is available in published form or through secondary analysis for the other countries. (I tried to get such more elaborate analysis but I did not succeed.) I particularly thought the Indian study worth reporting—even though the classifications differed from those available for the other nine countries—because it presented the rather unique case of differential class support for the same parties in differing contexts *inside one country*, data not available for other countries."

"I might mention, finally, apropos of the question of the appropriateness of reporting specific data in various contexts that, as a perusal of *Political Man* will indicate, there are a number of places in the book including the specific section under discussion in which I report evidence contradictory to the principal explanatory hypothesis. Thus in discussing the correlations between income and leftist party support among workers, I reported an "unpublished study" from Finland that contradicts my general interpretation, since it found that Communist working-class voters were more well to do than Social Democrats."

VOLUME 25 (OCTOBER, 1960), pp. 645–654.

Professor Raymond J. Murphy of the University of California (Los Angeles) reports that independent calculations by one of his assistants suggests the following computational errors in the tables presented by Ephraim H. Mizruchi in the article on "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City":

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by Lipset give very similar results. Comparable data are reported in Mattei Dogan, "Le vote ouvrier en Europe occidentale," *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 1 (January-March, 1960), p. 28.

Table 3, p. 648:

For the *Grade School* findings, the article reports a χ^2 of 2.54 and a P<.20; from my calculations this *should* read $\chi^2=5.05$, P<.10.

High School table indicates no association; it should show $\chi^2=6.67$, P<.05 (This would seem to require some qualification of the discussion on p. 648).

College: Article shows $\chi^2=37.82$, P<.001; it should read $\chi^2=16.6$, P<.001.

Table 4, p. 649:

Shows 6 degrees of freedom, but *should* show 4 degrees of freedom; χ^2 shown as 52.53, but *should* read $\chi^2=22.69$, P<.001.

Table 8, p. 651:

χ^2 shown as 12.18, P<.02; it *should* read $\chi^2=23.9$, P<.001.

Table 10, p. 652:

For Class positions IV, V, χ^2 is shown as 12.63, P<.02; it should read $\chi^2=5.75$, P<.30 (This also requires alteration of the interpretation placed on this table on p. 652).

Professor Mizruchi comments on these suggested corrections as follows:

"*Table* 3:

Grade School. The chi-square value as calculated by myself and a colleague (independently) is 3.21. The 2.54 which appeared in the article must have resulted from using two different methods of calculating chi-square. My original method was the one described in Hagood, pp. 371–376. When the editor asked me to revise the paper and present chi-square tables (contingency) instead of percentages, I re-calculated the values for some of them by multiplying marginals, etc. Whatever the case, P<.20 is substantially correct.

High School. Your assistant's calculations are substantially correct; I am in error.

College. He is substantially correct.

"*Table* 10:

Your assistant is correct, P<.30.

"As to the matter of interpretation, however, I find that with respect to my hypotheses and my interpretations as presented in the paper these results make little difference.

"The association between anomia and income tends to reach high levels of significance as we ascend the educational ladder. The lowest educational group still responds in a manner which is consistent with our theory. Furthermore, in the thesis which I have just completed class controlled analyses on a variety of factors, including, for example, employment status, indicate that anomia is associated with these variables for the middle classes only! Thus, the data in Table 3 are consistent with my over-all findings.

"The Table 10 data, although I do refer to them, are not incorporated into my theory but are presented as replications of Wendell Bell's studies. I do feel, however, that they support the hypothesis which I have suggested in footnote 22. Thus, only the *formal* associations, because they reflect the community's normative system, are significant in the process of integration. This is a Durkheimian interpretation and differs from Bell's socio-psychological interpretation."

The reader's attention is directed to the exchange of communications regarding this article that appeared in the April, 1961 issue of the *Review* (pp. 275–278).

VOLUME 26 (JUNE, 1961), p. 429.

In connection with her study on "Structural Constraints on Friendships in Old Age," Zena Smith Blau wishes to record her indebtedness to the following past or present directors and other staff of the Social Science Research Center at Cornell University associated with the Elmira Kips-Bay studies of old age: Professors Edward A. Suchman, Milton Barron, and the late John P. Dean, Dr. Rose K. Goldsen, and Miss Jessie Cohen. For the use of the Kips-Bay data she is also indebted to Dr. Bernard Kutner, director of a series of investigations in aging carried out at Cornell University Medical College under the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Center at Cornell University, Cornell University Medical College, and the New York Department of Health, supported by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation. The results of the Kips-Bay study by Kutner and his associates were reported in a volume entitled *"Five Hundred over Sixty: A Community Survey of Aging."*

VOLUME 26 (JUNE, 1961), pp. 464–466.

In his report on "Expanding and Declining Fields in American Sociology" Richard L. Simpson utilized a quality index based on the ratio of papers published in the *American Sociological Review* to papers presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association. (See especially Table 5, p. 465). Saxon Graham of the Roswell Park Memorial Institute questions the validity of this index. He argues that "each of the fields which obtained low indexes deals, not only with sociol-

ogy, but with fields other than sociology, namely religion, medicine, politics, and the like. In each of these fields, an author can publish either in a sociology journal, or in a journal related to that particular field. In medical sociology, for example, I know that most articles are never submitted to the *American Sociological Review*, despite the fact that they are given at annual meetings of the American Sociological Association. But they are published in a variety of medical journals, such as *Cancer, Journal of the American Public Health Association, Public Health Reports, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* and the like. Frequently, articles by sociologists will appear in other medical journals, such as the *Journal of Chronic Disease,* and the various journals having to do with heart disease, arthritis, psychiatry, and alcoholism."

Simpson does not find this argument convincing. He notes, in reply, that "the availability of publication outlets other than the *American Sociological Review* is not peculiar to fields, such as medical and educational sociology, which scored low on my quality index. Highly respectable alternative outlets are also available in fields which scored high, such as marriage and family and social psychology. Therefore, I do not feel that the draining off of papers by special-topic journals can explain the differences between the quality indexes of different fields."

VOLUME 26 (OCTOBER, 1961), p. 712.

Professor David Matza, University of California (Berkeley), wishes to express his appreciation to the Program for Behavioral Science and Law at the University of Chicago Law School for having provided the opportunity to collaborate with Gresham Sykes on their study of "Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values."

COMMUNICATIONS

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SOCIOLOGY IN INDIA

To the Editor:

Sociology is a relatively new science in India. It is a much younger science than in the West. In the West, during the last 40 or 50 years, Sociology, as a science of society, has taken long strides in emerging as a body of systematic social theory. The same impact can be felt in India. But the developments have not been so spectacular For, Indian sociologists have inherited a different social philosophy, which is not only ancient, but even goes far beyond the known history of many civilizations. It is also unique in considering the relation of man not simply to other human beings but to all life. In the Hindu social system, the whole Cosmos is believed to be dominated by one Supreme Being, which is identifiable with Self. But a distinction is drawn between the Cosmic Self and the Psychic Self. The Cosmic Self is the Supreme Reality, the Unity which lies behind all multiplicity, known as *Brahma*. But the Psychic Self, the manifestation of one's own self, is *Atman*. It is the simple truth that nothing can destroy. Death does not touch it nor vice dissolve it. Permanence, continuity, unity, eternal activity are its characteristics.

It is the doctrine of *Karma* that sums up individual action and behavior. *Karma* literally means deed, action. At every moment of our life we are performing some *Karma* (action). Each action produces its own reaction or result and the nature of this result depends upon the moral or immoral nature of the action performed. Driven on by his *Karma*, the individual moves from existence to existence, since indidividual life is only a span out of a series. This series is called the round of Transmigration. And this round ends only with the attainment of salvation (*moksha*), the realization of the Supreme Unity.

The doctrine of *karma* provides continuity of social existence, in terms of *ashrama*. It literally means a stage, a period, or a condition. The past being determined and the future only conditioned, 'life' in Hinduism cannot be regarded as fatalistic resignation but as an opportunity for intense striving as a preparation for self-realization.

In this sense, human life must be lived for the realization of the four ideals of life, namely, *dharma, artha, kama* and *moksha*. The law of *dharma* imposes upon the individual a set of rules to be followed in his relationships, filial, economic, religious, and social. The second ideal of *artha* may be interpreted as action or conduct leading to the economic or temporal good of the individual as living in a social group of which he forms an organic but unique part. *Kama* indicates the cultural aspect, in the sense that it means the enjoyment of life and thus proves to be a strong corrective to the streak of pessimism and renunciation. It regulates the relationships between the senses, on the assumption that the life of the flesh, far from being something sinful or harmful in itself, has a necessary and moral function to perform. Last, there is the ideal of *moksha* or salvation which demands that all the actions must be performed by the individual with this ultimate end in view. To facilitate the fulfilment of these ideals, an individual's life is divided into four stages of *brahmmacharya, grihastha, vanasprastha* and *sanyasa*. These may be translated as periods of life devoted to study, household duties, con templation and renunciation. The whole fourfold typology constitutes the *varnashramdharm*.

It is, therefore, obvious that spiritual values to us are not so much a form of mystic religion as a mode of life. It also explains the complete absence of an organized church in India, quite unlike the West. In this connection it may also be mentioned that while other civilizations have perished, the Indian civilization, which is contemporary with those of Egypt and Babylon, is still functioning. How has India managed to remain more or less the same in the midst of social migrations, upheavals and political changes that have elsewhere changed the face of society? Why is it that her conquerors have not been able to impose on her their language, their thoughts and customs, except in superficial ways? It is because the vitality of Indian culture lay in its power to reaffirm the old values and to unmask the decaying ones only to discover them. This is what Buddha, Mahavir and Shankaracharya achieved; they gave a new lease of life to Indian civilization. There have been many reformist movements in the country, but none so revolutionary as to upset her fundamental values. As Hans Kohn points out, "A truer basis of unity than modern national sentiment was to be found in a common intellectual heritage, persisting through an unbroken tradition and molding and permeating India's whole social life to the minutest detail, and in the

peculiar contemplative piety which lies at the root of all the various forms of Hinduism." (*A History of Naturalism in the East*, p. 349.)

Religion has played a very important role in the life of our country. It is the center around which the whole Indian social life rotates. A wave of blind imitation of every thing that was Western had begun to spread in the country in the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was also the period when the British had succeeded in consolidating their power in India. The free thinkers and the 'Young Bengal' group under the leadership of Derozio acted like Nihilists, paying no respect to traditions and ancient beliefs. But they miserably failed in their attempts. But at the same time, reformers like Rja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chander Sen, Swami Dayanand Saraswati infused a new life into Hindu society, because their great achievement was that they succeeded in preserving the fundamental unity of Hindu social organization and its value systems.

Whenever Indian society was faced with forces of disintegration it generated new forces within itself to resuscitate it. But the contact of Indian society with the West, unlike that of the Modern with Medieval society in Europe, introduced a foreign element in Indian culture. It is in this context that modern sociological thought of India has to be understood. This impact led some thinkers, who wanted to return to the traditional principles, to reject Western civilization altogether. Among the prominent modern thinkers who subscribe to this view may be mentioned Coomarswamy and Bhagwandas. Coomarswamy is very uncomprising in his criticism of Western civilization, while Bhagwandas, though adhering to the traditional sociological thought of India, believes in a rationalistic synthesis. But it is rationalism on a religious basis. However, a healthier development has been in the direction in which attempts have been made to interpret traditional concepts and values from a modern rationalistic-positivistic point of view. Contemporary sociology in India poses the problem. If no solution has been found, it forms the worst dilemma for Indian sociologists. This predicament is perhaps the key to the understanding of the fundamental trends in contemporary social thought in India.

Even the current sociological view cannot be said to be divorced from metaphysical thinking. As Radhakamal Mukerjee has observed, "Social interests and experiences must express our conceptions of the nature and functions of divinity."

Professor Mukerjee's thinking is clearly indicative of the rise of Sociology in India. His thought covers a vast field, from ecological studies and observations to religion and mysticism. He even goes further and endeavors to integrate such extremes as ecology and mysticism in one grand whole. In the final analysis, as A. K. Saran points out in his contribution to Roucek's volume on *Contemporary Sociology*, the bases of Dr. Mukerjee's synthesis of traditional and modern thought are the concepts of level, hierarchy, and the theory of symbolism; also the methods of re-interpretation and adaptation. The concepts and methods are all traditional. In both Economics and Sociology he has made a great effort to meet the challenge of the West.

Another prominent exponent of the synthesis theory of Indian culture is D. P. Mukerjee. He looks at the impact of the West on Indian society as a phase in the social process of cultural assimilation and synthesis that has been going on in Indian history almost from the very beginning. In his view, Indian culture has grown by a series of responses to the successive challenges of so many races and cultures, which has resulted in a synthesis. Western impact is the latest phase in this process and the problem is not one of acceptance or rejection but of understanding the laws of cultural synthesis in the context of Indian history. But in his later thought, he shifts more towards the role of tradition in Indian culture. He is not prepared to be dubbed as "traditionalist," but he passionately advocates the study of traditions with a view to reinterpreting the Hindu theory of man and society. Thus, he gives a clear indication of departure from his earlier attempt to analyze social change in terms of Marxian thought. "Thus it is, that I give top priority to the understanding (in Dilthey's sense) of traditions, even for the study of their changes. In other words, the study of Indian traditions, which, in my view, is the first and immediate duty of the Indian sociologist, should precede the socialist interpretations of changes in the Indian traditions in terms of economic forces." Professor Mukerjee's lament is: "It pains me to observe how our Indian scholars succumb to the lure of modern 'scientific' techniques imported from outside as a part of technical aid and 'know how' without resistance and dignity. In the intellectual transactions which are taking place, it seems that we have no terms to offer, no ground to stand upon."

A great product of such a synthesis in thinking was Mahatma Gandhi. He cannot be said to be a revivalist or believer in sociological archaism by any means. On the other hand, he was a great social innovator. He did not

belong to the élite, but to the masses and succeeded only because he could appeal to their spiritual sentiments and make himself understood. He believed in the dignity of man, not under class-structure, but as a being to whom nothing is higher. The ultimate ideal of man is to realize God and anything that lowers man in this world lowers God's dignity. Closely connected with this belief is his conception of man in relation to his environment. Since the world is a creation of God, one must enjoy the world with a sense of sacrifice. He did not pin his faith to the material welfare of man, and thus he substituted 'standard of life' for 'standard of living,' which had moral values. But the basic idea underlying Gandhian thought was non-violence. There were others, for instance Buddha, who preached non-violence, *ahimsa.* But they meant by it negation of enjoyment. To Gandhi, non-violence was not a negative approach. It meant to him that in order to promote the dignity of man and to develop personality there must not be any compulsion or coercion. Non-violence was an approach to a problem through persuasion and compromise and hence it was the only suitable weapon to be used in the struggle for freedom. It is the greatest tribute to Mahatma Gandhi that through non-violent means India regained her freedom, because hardly a parallel can be found in the history of the world where a nation has established her freedom only through non-violent means. A dynamic force was created by Gandhi by harnessing spiritual values of the people and making full use of them. As E. S. Bogardus observes, "Gandhi's social strength illustrates the surprising effectiveness that can be achieved under theories of life and world negation." (*The Development of Social Thought,* p. 42.)

It may, therefore, be said that in our sociological thinking there is a preponderance of belief in nature and divinity. An individual's actions are believed to be justified not only in his own life time but even beyond. Thus, Darwinism, which had such a great influence on Western thought, possibly could not have found a place in Indian thought. Even now in our society an individual's behavior and values are inter-related as part and whole. Hence, Sociology in India cannot be entirely 'objective' in its content and approach. It has to contain a little bit of abstruse philosophy. This provides a continuity between the past and the present and constitutes the dynamics of Indian society.

However, a more modernistic trend is found in current social research in India. In the wake of Independence, the country was faced with many social problems which needed new techniques for their solution. Today, the social organization of the village, its culture, its value patterns, its leadership, its economic structure, in fact, the village community as a whole are standing at the threshold of a new era. The old power-structure, based solidly on traditional caste structure and feudalistic traditions, is meeting a challenge from the new forces of democratization in the shape of constitutional rural Panchayats at the village level and the entire parliamentary democracy at the national level. Therefore, changes of far-reaching socio-economic importance are being ushered in by the villagers themselves, greatly facilitated by innovating leadership on the one hand, and the conscious attempts by the State on the other. Consequently, the people are being motivated to pursue their own goals and build an economically sound and productive system. It is for this reason that village studies and monographs represent a new trend in Social Research. We have now quite a few interesting studies of rural life as lived in different parts of the country. Recently, illuminating village studies have been published by Srinivas, Dube, Majumdar, Oscar Lewis, Gough, Beals, McKim Marriot, Steed, Mandelbaum and others. All these authors have adopted a different approach and have not studied rural life as a traditional rural sociologist might do. Oscar Lewis was interested in comparing his Ranikhera village with its counterpart in Mexico and thereby comparing the two cultures on the basis of the findings of these two villages. Others wanted to explain how the norms and values are being carried on in traditional ways. In other words, the studies done so far reflect the microcosmic approach and try to generalize from one village the nature of social structure of the rest of rural India. How far these generalizations may be said to be a scientific analysis of Indian rural community is open to grave doubts.

It is in this field that foreign influence has been most powerful. In fact, it is mostly foreign scholars who have made these studies and those that have been done by Indians are, with few exceptions, in collaboration with American research projects. The techniques used have been mostly interviews and questionnaires by paid investigators. I have nothing to say against the interest being taken by foreign social scientists in studying processes of rural change in India. It is something for which we may even feel grateful since we have had the advantage of empirical research techniques. But the difficulty arises in the use of interpreters, whose real assignment is that of collection of field material. Again, it is open to objection that

the data so collected should have been processed in another country and the book on Indian village written according to a preconceived plan there. These doubts were raised by Professor D. N. Majumdar in his Presidential address (Anthropology Section) to the First Indian Sociological Conference in 1955. He went so far as to say: "This is . . . mechanization with vengeance and a challenge to methodology in the social sciences."

It has been the belief of sociologists in this field that intensive studies of a few select villages would yield, in course of time, certain generalizations, firstly, in the field of Indian rural sociology and, secondly, in general social theory. With the latter objective in mind comparative studies have also been made. All that they have succeeded in achieving is describing the habits and customs, rituals and ceremonies, and economic structure of the villages. Social structures of villages have been studied in terms of caste ranking and socio-economic relations of caste. It could be expected that in this process the determinants of these intercaste rankings would be discovered, but it is difficult to establish any consistent set of criteria even for a single village. The chances of discovering general principles applicable to Indian rural society are quite remote. One cannot ignore the fundamental fact that the Indian village is a community. It had not been concerned w the great political upheavals that had tak place in the history of India. So far, it had be a self-contained socio-economic unit. What the vital force that kept the Indian village con munity alive and self-sufficient throughout h history? The present studies fail to give a answer, since their approach is mainly ethno graphic. However, this approach to rural soci ology may have some appeal to cultural anthropologists, since it affords them an opportunity to interpret a traditional society in terms of the assumptions of modern thought. But such an attitude implies the refusal to understand tradition in its correct perspective. There is an other danger in such ethnographic-monographic studies. They have led to a number of implicit or explicit generalizations, which are unwarranted not only because they have been based on insufficient data but also because evidence to the contrary is available. Most of these studies have been made in short periods, ranging from 6 to 18 months, which is a very short period for proper appraisal particularly so in the case of foreign social scientists, who do not understand the language of the people. Under these circumstances, exaggerations and important omissions can hardly be avoided.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Family Growth in Metropolitan America. By CHARLES F. WESTOFF, ROBERT G. POTTER, JR., PHILIP C. SAGI, and ELLIOTT MISHLER. Foreword by ANSLEY J. COALE. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xxii, 433 pp. $10.00.

This volume would have been more appropriately titled *Family Size Preferences of Second Parity Couples in Metropolitan America,* for size preference and not actual growth is the central concern of the research being reported. Two other dependent variables, however, which are more relevant to the phenomena of growth—fertility planning success and number of months from marriage to second birth—receive attention almost commensurate with that given size preference.

The volume reports the first stage of a longitudinal study of family size preferences. The study employs data obtained from 1165 couples who were white, born in continental U. S. A., married but once and still living together, living in seven of the eight largest metropolitan areas (Boston excluded), and who had had their second birth in September 1956. The interviews were conducted in early 1957. A subsequent round of interviews is planned for 1960. The dependent variables are observed in conjunction with 67 independent variables having to do with religion and religiousness, social economic status, social mobility, residence and migration, age and sex composition of the family, social relations within the family, and personality characteristics. The chapters presenting analysis of the relations among variables follow several excellent technical chapters on the measurement of fecundity, contraception, and related matters.

A theoretical point of departure is found in the results of earlier studies, notably the Indianapolis Study, pointing to the predominating influence of social economic status on fertility differentials. This leads the authors to aver: "There is good reason to believe that it is not socio-economic status *per se* but rather the underlying attitudes and psychological characteristics of these classes that account for the fertility behavior." (P. 7.) Unfortunately, despite a very careful definition of variables and a competent analysis, the general hypothesis fails to bear fruit. Virtually none of the correlations involving psychological variables account for as much as ten per cent of the variance in the dependent variables; in most instances the percentage of the variance explained hovers about one per cent. Better results are had with nonpsychological variables, such as amount of parochial education, residence experience, and duration of wife's employment. Even there, however, the correlation coefficients are consistently low. In many instances impressive findings in frequency distributions are vitiated in correlation analysis. Although some comment on that outcome would seem to have been indicated, none is offered. A final chapter presents a multivariate analysis based on twenty-five variables. Thus, it is possible to account for 64 per cent of the variance in number of children desired among Catholics, but only 48 and 55 per cent among Protestants and Jews, respectively. The results for fertility planning success rise as high as 51 per cent only for the Jews. The strongest influence of the twenty-five variables appears to be exerted on the number of months from marriage to second birth; the h^2 values range from 60 to 89 for the three religious groups.

The results of this study raise a serious question concerning the relevance of psychological variables—such as the "drive to get ahead," childhood happiness, liking for children, adjustment to motherhood, male or female ascendancy, and the like—for the explanation of differential fertility. They clearly have had a long career of nonfulfillment, or may one say, nonfecundity, in fertility studies. There is the possibility, of course, that the psychological variables are consistently used improperly. Perhaps psychological factors are only useful in accounting for some of the unexplained variances in the associations of social structural variables and fertility. But in this study, even the more dependable social structural variables yield rather modest results. That may be because desired family size, itself a psychological factor, is an unstable whim which shifts and changes with each additional experience. The same, however, cannot be said of fertility planning success, assuming it is correctly reported, and number of months from marriage to the second birth. It may well be that the design of the study, or at least of the part presently reported, is faulty. Whether a second-parity sample has lived out a sufficient amount of its fertility span to have differentiated itself may

be doubtful. The second stage of the study should throw some light on that matter.

An unavoidable conclusion from a reading of the book is that it was published prematurely. The prevalence of what amounts to little more than trace findings, the utter failure of the psychological variables, and the absence of any device for testing the measure of number of children desired all argue, or should have argued, for a postponement of publication until the second phase of the study was completed. It is to be hoped that then there will be more substantial findings to report.

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Famille et Habitation. II. Un Essai D'Observation Expérimentale. By PAUL CHOMBART DE LAUWE. With J. JENNY, L. COUVREUR, P. LABAT, J. RETEL, J. CHARAZAC, M.-J. CHOMBART DE LAUWE, G. ROCHER, D. DUBOIS-RAINE, E. PERROY. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960. 364 pp. 24 NF.

European cities, prior to the end of World War II, were very much "agglomerated" and, in a large degree, emphasized "bed-room" suburbs very little. Now, due to war's destruction, population growth, housing shortage, and other reasons, commuting suburbs are being built by public money. In them live three broad classes of urban-industrial families which are classified here as workers, employers, and "white collars" (*Intermédiaires*). These new residential social forms raise problems of different social relations, according to the authors, and mark a turning point in the history of industrial civilization. In previous cities the social classes each tended to live in separate neighborhoods or the commuters were from peasant villages to which they returned nightly or weekly.

About 1950 the authors, with the blessing of the national housing association, began a study of these new social relations. The first 2 volumes (Paris, 1952) (and other studies including Vol. I in this series) were mostly concerned with the "sociology of habitation" in the older centers of the cities. The present volume is based upon all their previous observations and newer materials collected from three significant housing developments in the outskirts of Paris, Nantes, and Bordeaux.

The studies combine empiricism and social theory in a wholesome and helpful manner. The reviewer considers them the most advanced sociological analysis appearing in France since the nineteenth century LePlay school. Sociologists interested in the city, social class, commuting, and industrial problems, especially, should not miss a careful perusal of this whole group. Europeans know something about cities and industrial sociology, too. They comprehend many aspects of the newer social relations that our researchers do not, because, in the United States, it is difficult to visualize separately the problems of newness of settlement, of the westward movement, of extensive machine farming, and of industrial development.

Chombart de Lauwe organized and unified the study and its published results. Each coworker presents an integrated section such as, for example, the new housing attitudes, and the new situation of the fathers, mothers, infants, and youth. Space does not suffice to analyze the rich details.

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The Hindu Family in Its Urban Setting. By AILEEN D. ROSS. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1961. xiv, 325 pp. $7.50.

Several sociologists predicted a decade ago that increasing urbanization and industrialization would transform the traditional, social institutions of underdeveloped areas. Since then, this thesis has been substantiated by Prabhu, Zinkin and others, and it has been refuted by Kapadia, Lambert, Orenstein and others by studies of the family and caste systems of India. These contradictory findings stem from differences among researchers in their methods of measuring institutional change.

The present volume by Ross begins with a review of the methodological problems of delineating the total attributes of family and kin systems and of explaining change from one family system to another. The author then selects two areas for intensive investigation. First, consideration is given to the urban factors which seem to influence the frequency of simple and complex family structures in India. This is followed by several chapters which describe how a change from the large, joint family to the nuclear family affects four family substructures: the ecological distribution of primary kin, the allocation of power and authority, the distribution of rights and duties, and patterns of sentiments.

Unfortunately, this exploration fails to produce a set of clear-cut conclusions. This would have required a more detailed classification and analysis of data than the author was able to make on the basis of her 157 interviews with middle- and upper-class Hindus in Bangalore City.

Nevertheless, the study is a valuable addition to the literature on the family and social change. It reveals the complexity and subtleties of intrafamily relations in India, notes the main areas of strain during family change, and suggests a number of important hypotheses.

EDWIN D. DRIVER
University of Massachusetts

Urban Redevelopment and Social Change: A Study of Social Conditions in Central Liverpool 1955–56. By CHARLES VEREKER and JOHN BARRON MAYS. With the assistance of ELIZABETH GITTUS and MAURICE BROADY. Preface by T. S. SIMEY. Social Research Series. Liverpool, England: Liverpool University Press, 1961. ix, 150 pp. 25s.

Although nothing unique to the growing knowledge about social cohesion in physically blighted districts is added by this sample survey of social conditions in central Liverpool, it is a sufficiently sophisticated case study to be important reading for anyone interested in this topic.

The study area was a small section of the city characterized by social decline, heterogeneity, deterioration and neglect; but, the survey shows, few of its inhabitants indicated any desire to move away. For many, residence in the dilapidated dwellings was part of the price they were willing to pay for the convenience of "close-in" residence (60 per cent worked in inner Liverpool) and was offset by the controlled low rents of the district. Many residents had moved from bombed out areas and for them the district marked an improvement in residence that they were reluctant to jeopardize. A surprisingly large proportion "belonged" to the area by reason of past or present sentiment and kinship ties, largely matrilocal. Where a willingness or desire to move was exhibited, the respondents tended to be young and to aspire to residential suburbs "for better health and cleaner air, and better conditions for their children."

The authors, members of the Department of Social Science at the University of Liverpool, do not use their findings to argue for maintaining the *status quo*. They indicate that the cost of replacing substandard dwellings includes the decline of these kinship ties and the severance of sentimental attachments, as well as higher rents which go with higher standards of living. They advocate "gradual clearance and concurrent rebuilding" as a resolution of the problem.

JOHN T. LIELL
Indiana University

Housing A Metropolis—Chicago. By BEVERLY DUNCAN and PHILIP M. HAUSER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. xxii, 278 pp. $7.50.

The 1956 National Housing Inventory made available detailed data on the housing stock and characteristics of the "consumers" of housing that went beyond information included in previous housing censuses. Particularly noteworthy was the inclusion of data on the components of change in the inventory between 1950 and 1956 and of information on family and household composition, age, income, and color which could be cross-tabulated with housing variables to produce a more meaningful analysis of behavior in the housing market.

The monograph reviewed here is a thoroughgoing analysis of the 1956 statistics, having as its major objective the demonstration of methods and analytical techniques that may be applied to these data. Its focus is upon Chicago, for which changes in the housing stock between 1950 and 1956 and housing differentials between lower and higher income families, white and nonwhite families, and "younger" and "older" families are analyzed. To provide comparative data for generalizations regarding housing inventory changes during the period under study and to place the findings on Chicago in perspective, Part One of the monograph presents an interarea analysis that includes five other standard metropolitan areas (Boston, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia) and one other city (Philadelphia).

On the basis of special supplementary data and tabulations for Chicago, Part Two of the monograph examines problems experienced by lower income, nonwhite, and "older" families by testing for differences between these several categories and other segments of the housing market. Here, a number of theories and suggestions from other studies are examined and are either affirmed or brought into serious question. For example, theories of the relationship between rent and income in general are supported by the findings, while certain questions are raised regarding the direct effect of heavy nonwhite in-migration upon the housing inequalities experienced by this group.

This volume presents many analytical techniques for the evaluation of housing statistics, among which techniques for the assessment of data on the components of change (new construction, demolition and other losses, conversions and mergers) may be singled out for mention. Its indication of the pitfalls in existing data will doubtlessly result in efforts to improve the data collected by future censuses. The substantive findings are adjudged to be equally as important as the methodological contribu-

tions. It must suffice, by way of example, to refer to two unrelated such findings: (1) The housing stock was greatly improved during the period between 1950 and 1956, as indicated by the reduction of the proportion of substandard housing. The component contributing most to this result was the volume of new construction. (2) There are separate white and nonwhite housing markets. Landlords receive a substantial bonus by renting substandard dwelling units to nonwhites.

The pioneering character of this work and its methodological contributions recommend it for reading by a wide audience. The technical competence, theoretical orientation, and judicious claims of the authors provide added imperatives for serious study of this volume. As it was designed in part to provide data for governmental agencies in Chicago which are concerned with housing policies and programs, the ideas advanced will be useful to housing practitioners.

G. Franklin Edwards
Howard University

Modern Organization: A General Theory. By Victor A. Thompson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. viii, 197, xi pp. No price indicated.

This is a short exposition of some of the standard ideas of organizational analysis, an introduction of two concepts, and a new thesis. The exposition covers, in a textbook manner, Weber's conception of bureaucracy and the classical-administration theory analysis of specialization and hierarchy. Considerable attention is paid as well to more recent work and to sociological perspectives of these phenomena. A chapter on conflict and one on cooperation examine the Mayo-Lewin-Whyte *et al.* approach. A chapter on *Dramaturgy* sees organizational activities and activities in organizations in terms of acts, stage, and drama, under the acknowledged influence of Erving Goffman *(The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life). Bureaupathology* is the author's way of referring to deviant and dysfunctional behavior resulting from the bureaucratic structure.

The author's thesis is that "modern bureaucratic organization is a composite of the traditional and the new. Upon the hierarchy of arbitrary authority have been superimposed increasingly technical and instrumental forms of specialization. . . . While technical specialization advances at a rapid rate, cultural definition of authority roles do not. There results a gap of increasing width, therefore, between those who have the *right* to make decisions in modern organizations and those who have the *ability*. The resulting insecurity and friction give rise to 'bureaucratic' practices in the pathological sense."

I think Thompson has a point but, probably in order to drive it in, he overdoes it. True that increased specialization and employment of professionals require a decentralization of the authority system (by the way, both in terms of legitimation *and* of power), but the ultimate decision will have to be made, as before, by the non-experts, by those who have a total-system view and who have the "political" skill to articulate and coordinate subsystems, rather than to represent specialized knowledge and demands. Similarly, while an ability-legitimation gap might well be a major source of insecurity and friction, and thus of the various pathologies Thompson has discussed, surely this is only one factor among many.

Amitai Etzioni
Columbia University

Exploration in Management: A Description of The Glacier Metal Company's Concepts and Methods of Organization and Management. By Wilfred Brown. Foreword by Eric L. Trist. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. xxii, 326 pp. $6.00.

This endeavor by a corporation executive to provide us with a general theory of administration invites comparison with Barnard's *The Function of the Executive.*

Brown is more empirical than Barnard; he draws on many vivid and illuminating cases from his experience as the manager of the Glacier Metal Company, and he makes use of studies of his firm. He has a sociologist on his staff whose influence on the book is acknowledged extensively.

For Barnard, the organization is "a system of consciously coordinated personal activities"; for Brown, it is a system designed to carry out work by constant active interaction with its environment. Barnard is interested in the environment chiefly as a biological-physical layer of the organization which he treats as a closed system; for Brown, the environment is chiefly the market to which the corporation adjusts in active interaction. Thus, the organization is seen as an open system.

Both authors share a firm belief in the omnipotence of communication. Despite the wide criticism of this view in the last two decades, Brown still believes that most problems he encounters are consequences of a lack of cognitive communication and that increased communication and clarification can remove almost all difficulties. There is little, if any, recog-

nition of the possibility that increased communication might increase dysfunctional conflict (e.g., increase consciousness of differences of interest) or that communication gaps are not accidental or due to neglect of managerial duties but are themselves, in part, structurally determined.

Major progress is made by Brown in three specific areas: (1) the analysis of the staff and line relationships; (2) the discussion of the supervisor's role; and (3) the study of change. In these three spheres, Brown, who studies management, has gone beyond Barnard's analysis of executive functions. First of all, staff is viewed not as strictly advisory but as having authority over specific spheres; the staff gives and should give "prescriptions" (rather than orders) which the subordinate can ignore, at his own risk. Secondly, according to Brown, the supervisor's responsibility is not limited to staffing the jobs and keeping the workers at their machines but also extends to the organization of the services that supply the work and maintain the machines. This is in line with recent studies in this country which show that the supervisor is becoming a super-assistant of the assembly-line workers.

Finally, the most important contribution of the book is to the study of organizational change. Conflict, it is recognized, often plays a positive function; it is an indication that the policy is unclear or dated. Differences of opinion among executives should hence not be suppressed but their expression encouraged so that a superior can introduce the necessary changes. Special departments in charge of change (e.g., Research and Development), which have an obligation not just to generate innovations but also to support their implementation (e.g., through the increased and recognized staff authority) is another mechanism to assure institutionalization of change. Brown assigns the personnel division the role of designing and implementing structural changes in the organization itself.

One thing did not change over the interim between Barnard's and Brown's efforts: Barnard, to judge by his book, did not read many of the books written before him on his subject, and he gave credit to even fewer; Brown, to judge by his book, never heard of Barnard.

AMITAI ETZIONI
Columbia University

Underdeveloped Areas: A Book of Readings and Research. Edited by W. LYLE SHANNON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1957. xi, 496 pp. No price indicated.

The value of this book extends beyond the subject indicated by its title. Its broader value inheres not in its concern with the social and economic development of underdeveloped areas but in its attempt to draw attention to the interrelations between political and social factors in the development of underdeveloped areas. It marshals the available evidence to present economic development as basically a sociological development. In doing so, the author is filling a much needed gap for both students and practitioners concerned with the developmental problems of underdeveloped areas.

Roughly one-third of the forty-nine papers in this collection are by sociologists and anthropologists. The remainder are by economists, political scientists, and historians. The editor uses the sociological and anthropological contributions to examine the demographic, educational, health, communication, and technical assistance problems of underdeveloped areas. The editor also relies on sociological and anthropological materials to present several perceptive discussions of the problems involved in the introduction of social change. The remaining materials deal with the rising tide of nationalism, levels and sources of income, problems of increasing production, the pros and cons of private industry versus government efforts in economic development, measures for rapid economic development, and education for self-development.

A number of papers are sufficiently noteworthy in their contributions to be singled out for comment. The consequences of the reproductive mores of underdeveloped areas for their economic development is presented in two perceptive papers, one by Kingsley Davis on "Population Change in Backward Areas" and one by Hope Eldridge on "Population Growth and Economic Development." Wilbert Moore presents a discerning case analysis of the relationship of social structure to the sources and motivations of native manpower supply. John Useem in the "Changing Structure of a Micronesian Society" insightfully demonstrates how change in the religious system weakened the fabric of the total society and, in doing so, affected, in a later period, the introduction of programs of economic and social development. H. H. Golden ably details in "Literacy and Social Change in Underdeveloped Countries" the proposition that the development of literacy in developing areas is related to the emergence and diffusion of an urban-industrial civilization. B. F. Hoselitz in a provocative paper, "The Recruitment of White-Collar Workers in Underdeveloped Countries," emphasizes the difficulties involved in recruitment and training of engineers and managers in an industrializing

economy because of the prevailing kinship and village friendship patterns. R. A. Manners and J. H. Steward contribute a paper that sets forth the thesis that subcultural distinctions seem to be related to the patterns of crop emphases within a given society, such as Puerto Rico. W. Longmore and C. P. Loomis in "Health Needs and Potential Colonization Areas of Peru," provide some exciting ideas for the developing field of medical sociology. They, for instance, find an adverse effect of social mobility on the incidence of medical symptoms. The editor, in an introductory statement to "Private Industry vs. Government in Underdeveloped Areas: Early and Recent Periods," contributes a useful analysis and his typology of government plans is particularly valuable. Two papers on "Technical Assistance To Underdeveloped Areas" by Afif I. Tannous and Charles J. Erasmus, while analytical, are at the same time practical. A keen analysis of the problem of applying survey research methods in developing societies is found in the paper on "Studies of Fertility in Underdeveloped Areas" by J. Mayonne Stycos. A paper having the merit of both analytical sharpness and practical usefulness is that of McKim Marriott's "Technical Change in Overdeveloped Rural Areas."

Several papers indulge in either well-known generalizations bordering on common sense or are of such vagueness that their analytical or practical contributions are of doubtful value. H. Belshaw, in "Some Social Aspects of Economic Development in Underdeveloped Countries in Asia," sets forth the proposition that culture is an obstacle to economic development. M. R. Solomon, in "The Structure of the Market in Underdeveloped Economies," advances the hardly surprising idea that the structure of the market is a function of such variables as size of market, nature of goods, size of production units, degree of specialization, etc. P. T. Bauer and B. S. Yamey suggest the not unexpected view that economic progress is related to changes in occupational distribution.

The editor's effective over-all approach to his subject matter is best exemplified in his quotation from W. Rosenberg that "too few people realize that economic development is a sociological matter, not merely an economic one." Incidentally, this paper is not reprinted in this volume, but it may be of interest to sociologists to learn that it appeared in the *Economic Record*. This collection is certainly a useful contribution to both student and practitioner.

Simon Marcson
Rutgers, The State University

The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and United States Policy. Edited by Max F. Millikan and Donald L. M. Blackmer. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1961. xiv, 171 pp. $4.50.

Although this relatively short book, an outgrowth of a report prepared by the authors for the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U. S. Senate, offers neither new data nor startlingly revealing insights, it nonetheless constitutes a serious, and at moments excellent, study of some of the problems of societies in transition. The authors (in addition to the two editors: Francis M. Bator, Richard S. Eckaus, Everett E. Hagen, Daniel Lerner, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Lucian W. Pye, Paul N. Rosenstein-Rodan and Walt W. Rostow) are associated with the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. They represent sociology, political science, economics, and social psychology. As would seem with all interdisciplinary works, this one, too, suffers somewhat from conscious and unconscious desires to arrive at an intellectual consensus. Unlike some other works of this kind, *The Emerging Nations* reads with amazing smoothness and presents its findings clearly and with a minimum of ambiguity.

The rapid rise, or at least aspiration, to independent status of so many ethnic entities claiming nationhood often comes hand in hand with the collapse of traditional society. In examining the causes which might have contributed to this state of transition—from traditionalism to modernity, the authors point cautiously to such factors as dissatisfaction with the old order, influence of Westernism, industrialization, war, population growth, and slow but gradual disintegration of old systems of caste and authority.

Sudden acquisition of independence and responsibility has obviously created some foreseen and unforeseen problems. Many of these problems are related to frustrations generated by unfulfilled dreams and undelivered promises, the reluctance of some to deviate from traditional patterns, the inability of others to adjust themselves to new patterns or to find a place for themselves therein. Of far greater seriousness in its possible consequences is the tendency of some aspects of modernity to run far ahead of the rest of society, thus increasing possibilities for frustration and discontent. This is a familiar theory, advanced by students of comparative economic systems and comparative labor organizations who see danger to stability and order in the discrepancy between a society's capacity for economic growth and its desires for advancement in the area of social

and political relations. Yet, while economic growth depends in great measure upon the assistance of foreign capital, opposition to foreign "intervention," political as well as economic, is part of the ideology of emergence. The authors note that "abstract arguments on the level of slogans, whether socialist or laissez-faire, are almost irrelevant to the real choices confronting the underdeveloped countries." The real choices often involve problems connected with bridging the gaps between existing urban elites of varies sociopolitical and economic orientation, and of narrowing the general gap between the modernized, urban-centered elite as a whole and the village-bound and tradition-oriented peasantry.

One of the weaknesses of the book is the underlying economist assumption that "positive" social values are necessarily related to "constructive" tasks of economic and industrial endeavor. At times it seems as if the authors wish for the resurgence of the classic and "rational" Economic Man among the ruling elites of Asia and Africa. In fact, the term "constructive" as used by the authors betrays somewhat their economist and Western culture bias. Western, and particularly American, value-bias is also evident in the statement that communal land ownership in many African tribes prevented the development of individual "incentive for systematic investment and improvement." It is quite likely that, under the prevalent general sociopolitical and economic conditions of the countries concerned, individual initiative in the area of agricultural development would have had a difficult time developing even under non-collective ownership.

These and other weaknesses of the study are few and far between, however, and they should not detract from an otherwise useful volume.

In the end the authors offer some policy proposals which should serve as "guides for action" to U. S. policymakers. These proposals (in the general liberal and internationalist tradition) are of some interest in view of the identification of some of the authors with the present administration in Washington.

JOSEPH R. FISZMAN
University of Oregon

Man Takes Control: Cultural Development and American Aid. By CHARLES J. ERASMUS. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. x, 365 pp. $6.50.

This volume has a heavily conceptual orientation stemming from Thorstein Veblen. There are three parts: the first deals with theories of cultural causality; the second is concerned with cultural development; the third consists of an experiential interpretation of economic development and cultural change in Northwestern Mexico. The last chapter not only presents the author's conclusions and implications for the future, but also some opinions about the methods of the social sciences.

Simply stated, Erasmus takes the position that man's desire for social recognition accounts for the progressive growth of culture. Although self-interest is sanctioned, it is socially mediated. Conspicuous consumption is divided into conspicuous giving, conspicuous ownership, and conspicuous production. Invidious comparison is subdivided into invidious sanction, invidious emulation, and invidious promotion.

Appropriate examples from the author's storehouse of knowledge about foreign aid and technical assistance programs are presented to substantiate his propositions. While the sophisticated social scientist would agree that we should commence with a general theory of behavior, drawing from this general theory of behavior a set of testable hypotheses, he would not follow the procedure of test by example as has Professor Erasmus. Much to be preferred would have been predictive statements of what should happen under certain circumstances, followed by an examination of what did happen. Unfortunately, and this mars a very provocative volume, Professor Erasmus has no defense against those who would substitute other theories and illustrative examples purporting to demonstrate their correctness.

In Chapters IX through XII the author draws upon his years of experience in describing the process of economic development and cultural change in Northwestern Mexico. Particularly interesting is his analysis of the religious institutions of Catholic Sonora and the development of a strong middle class with its own "Protestant" ethic.

Most disconcerting, however, is Chapter XIII. Erasmus reveals little understanding of the role of mathematics and statistics in sociology and anthropology when he states: "although the social scientist mimics the natural scientist through his use of statistical quantification, his observations do not really succeed in becoming any more technical nor his knowledge more progressively cumulative." Shortly following this, he avers: ". . . in practice social scientists are more concerned with the vocabulary of a speaker than his data." And still another example from the same page, ". . . social scientists evince strong ego-involvements in their vocabulary and will argue their definitional differences into the ground. Novelty in the social

sciences depends more on fresh analogies and jargon than on new frequency interpretations." If these statements are any indication of how Erasmus perceives the social scientist, and they must be, since there are many others that could likewise have been selected, his contacts have not been with the modal category of modern sociologists.

Erasmus quite honestly states that he does not completely separate man's role as a scientist from his role as a citizen or valuer. Although many sociologists in the United States would agree with his conclusions on the future of technical assistance (including the reviewer), the supportive evidence is so inadequate that it cannot be called a "scientific" position.

LYLE W. SHANNON
University of Wisconsin

Mambu: A Melanesian Millennium. By KENELM BURRIDGE. New York: Humanities Press, 1960. xxiii, 296 pp. $8.50.

"Mambu" was a Kanaka, a native of an obscure section of New Guinea, who led a "Cargo Movement" for about a year in 1937–38. His activities ended ignominiously with his imprisonment by Australian authorities, and his movement soon collapsed.

Using Mambu as the focal point, Burridge has constructed a case study of a Cargo Movement in one small part of New Guinea. But it has a much broader significance. It is replete with insights into all types of social movements, particularly: (1) the relationship of a movement to the societal conditions out of which it arises, (2) the importance of the symbolism of any movement, and (3) the reciprocal relationship between the charismatic leader and the movement.

We find in the study the familiar story of the effects upon a preliterate, barter economy of the superimposition of European administration and capitalist economy, symbolized by "Cargo"—the White Man's goods. The form of the native culture is not materially changed but the meaning is, subtly but significantly. It is clear to the natives that in this new world into which they have been drawn through no fault of their own the white men have "Cargo" in abundance but the Kanakas do not. This symbolizes the loss of human dignity which they feel.

The "myth-dream" arises to explain this condition. The essential theme is that it was good fortune, not superior moral quality, that gave the White Man pre-eminence over the Black Man. While the myth places a demand for repentance and atonement on the Kanaka, it also carries an implication of moral responsibility for the White Man to share his good fortune with his Black Brother. This primitive, nonintellectualized myth-dream has its counterparts in the ideologies of social movements among highly articulate, literate peoples, whose historians provide the necessary revisions of history to justify their aspirations.

It is the combination of societal conditions and the myth-dream which sets the stage for the appearance of the charismatic leader. The fact that he does not bring it to full fruition does not destroy the myth. Instead, the fallen leader becomes part of the myth. He is succeeded by other leaders. For it is not "Cargo" that Mambu and his followers seek, of course; it is a new sense of dignity. As Burridge suggests, the same sort of analysis of the symbolic meaning of a wide variety of social movements would indeed be profitable.

LEWIS M. KILLIAN
Florida State University

Maori Youth. By DAVID P. AUSUBEL. Foreword by ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE. Victoria University of Wellington Publications in Psychology, No. 14. Wellington, New Zealand: Price, Milburn, 1961. 221 pp. $3.00.

The crosscultural study of the changing aspirations of adolescents is beset with complexities since in many regions rapid acculturation and urbanization are profoundly altering those communal and familial values which sustain an adolescent's achievement motivation. In a compact, admirably developed, monograph, David Ausubel addresses himself to this intricate question as it applies to the youth of the Maori minority in New Zealand.

He compares the vocational and educational aspirations of matched samples of 50 *pakeha* (European) and 50 Maori secondary school boys in two different communities, one urban and one rural. The data derive from structured interviews with the boys in all four groupings, from standard psychological tests of aspiration administered to the boys, and from field work and participant observation in the general Maori community. Contrary to Ausubel's anticipation of higher expressed levels of aspiration for the *pakeha* samples, the two sets of groups in both rural and urban samples appear to possess roughly similar levels of vocational and educational aspiration. The Maori adolescents, however, are unable consistently to internalize and subsequently implement an achievement pattern which they recognize as normative for New Zealand society and, thus, they are unable to convert their intentions into practice. In certain respects, the Maori-*pakeha* differential is more conspicuous in the city owing

to the recency of Maori in-migration and their lack of familiarity with the urban milieu, but, the urban-rural differential is notably less significant than the general cultural cleavage between the two groups.

The greater part of Ausubel's pages is given over to an eclectic sociohistorical explanation of the ambiguous status of the young Maori. He sees Maori youth finally moving away from a kind of protective acculturation-by-withdrawal adopted by the older generations following their submission to conquest and the alienation of their land in the late nineteenth century. Now the path of Maori youth toward integration into an urban-industrial society is hindered not so much by attachment to Maori communal values (although some survive) as by external barriers: unfavorable life chances in the class structure, a basic indifference of New Zealanders toward what is realistically durable in Maori language and culture despite a sentimental veneer of "appreciation" of Maori subculture, and above all a surprisingly pervasive system of racial discrimination that directly contradicts the complacent official view of a country without race prejudice and that suggests a Myrdalian "New Zealand dilemma." While Ausubel is detached in analyzing the differential in aspirations, detachment gives way to indignation in his discussion of race prejudice. In the set of policy recommendations which conclude the book, he is as much concerned with "measures . . . to improve the steadily deteriorating racial situation" as he is preoccupied with the need for reform of Maori vocational guidance and adjustments in the school curriculum.

I suspect that although Ausubel makes a first-rate contribution in crosscultural terms to the McClelland-Rosen theories of achievement motivation his book will gain acceptance primarily as a critique of the myth of racial equality in New Zealand. But on both subjects Ausubel himself cautions against overgeneralizing from two community studies. On race relations, for example, if New Zealand is not nearly as "good" as the government maintains, can it be as "bad" as Ausubel claims?

RICHARD ROBBINS

Wheaton College (Mass.)

Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico. By MELVIN M. TUMIN with ARNOLD S. FELDMAN. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xxvi, 549 pp. $10.00.

The striking success of Puerto Rico in its economic development has made the island an ideal laboratory for studying social change in modernizing countries. The present study is an exploration of the changes in the social stratification system, based on 999 four-hour interviews of a carefully drawn sample of heads of households. The aim is to study the effects of the changes in the country on the class system and the manner in which the evolving class system can support the program of economic advancement. In the actual analysis of the data, class is defined as education, because it turned out to be the most effective control variable. This leads the authors into such paradoxes as dealing with five classes (according to education) while talking about the change from a two-class to a three-class society, referring to the college-educated as upper-class while saying that they are not the most powerful group, and treating skin color as important to life chances but not as an indicator of class (thus treating race as class-within-a-class). Contrary to the title of the book and the aims stated in the first chapter, we find an exhaustive discussion of correlates of education, followed by a few chapters on occupational mobility. The analysis stays on a simple crossbreak level. Further exploration of surprising findings is explicitly rejected by the authors as falling outside the province of the study. Within these self-imposed restrictions, the book succeeds in presenting a detailed documentation of the place of education in a developing country.

KURT BACK

Duke University

The Mandarins: The Circulation of Elites in China, 1600–1900. By ROBERT M. MARSH. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961. xvii, 300 pp. $5.00.

For a long time, it had been tacitly assumed that social mobility was, and still is, greatest in the United States and more or less limited in other societies. The strong turnover was regarded as one of the most important reasons for the rapid social and economic changes which led to the emergence of the United States as a world power. Recently this assumption was challenged by studies which attempted to show that European countries in the nineteenth century exhibited a similarly high degree of social mobility. China, then, remained the "typical" case of a stable society. This image, however, has become untenable after a number of published and unpublished studies have been undertaken. At the present time, one has the impression that until the tenth century, it was very difficult for a man to move into the elite; but from the eleventh century on, entrance into the top level of political leadership became easier. The data available for studies of periods prior to 1600, although extremely rich,

are not suitable for statistical analysis. However, statistical analysis is possible for material dating from 1600 to the present time; the only obstacle is the overwhelming amount of data. The most common way of analyzing the nature of the elite has been to study lists of successful candidates in the Imperial examinations. These examinations opened the way for top level government jobs. Marsh has seen the weakness of this approach: by no means all successful candidates were employed, while some mandarins got their jobs without having passed the examinations. Therefore, he undertook to study "all" mandarins between 1600 and 1900, i.e., all members of the bureaucracy who had one of the 18 (or 20) official ranks. The enormous number involved forced him to select a sample. One must agree with him that, at the present time, it is impossible to find a statistically acceptable sample. He selected 572 mandarins from the standard English-language bibliographical dictionary of the period, in which all persons are mentioned who had, according to the judgment of the authors, an impact upon history. Marsh was aware of the strong bias which was thus introduced. This bias was indeed considerable since 76 per cent of the men belonged to the few top ranks, while in reality the majority of officials were always found in the low ranks. Men of the lowest ranks were not represented at all in the sample. This was the more regrettable as in China many men had titles corresponding to lower ranks, but they enjoyed the prestige and privileges of mandarins, without having a real job. The conclusions, therefore, can be regarded only as preliminary results, and Marsh is aware of this. However, one has the feeling that in their broad outlines the results may prove to be correct. The author found that in this period between 19 and 36 per cent of the Chinese elite had fathers who were below elite status. In times of dynastic change or extensive wars, mobility was higher; while in periods of peace, it was lower. Mandarins from mandarin families held high-rank posts longer, even if they did not take the "regular path" (the examinations). Manchus, i.e., members of the nobility, rose higher and held high posts longer than Chinese, because they were privileged by law. On the other hand, commoners received their degrees not later than sons from mandarin families and were as successful in reaching high-rank posts as these, but not as successful in holding these high-rank jobs. Marsh concludes by saying that "whatever the extent of family favoritism in Chinese business or other spheres, we feel that advancement in the Ch'ing bureaucracy was influenced by the seniority principle which offset the operation of family favoritism" (p. 189). The study did not take into consideration that rank was not a clear expression of power and not even of prestige. Some positions in the bureaucracy were highly coveted not because of high rank but of either the power connected with the job or the economic benefits which came with it. In addition, there were special careers which guaranteed quick promotion and great benefits; Marsh mentions only the military career, but there were others. Finally, the high "casualty" rate of officials (execution, exile, other punishments) seemed to have induced some families to reach only for medium local positions and to avoid top positions in the capital. Only further research along the lines shown by Marsh and along other lines will clarify and solidify these preliminary results.

WOLFRAM EBERHARD
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Student und Politik: Eine soziologische Untersuchung zum politischen Bewusstsein Frankfurter Studenten. By JÜRGEN HABERMAS, LUDWIG VON FRIEDEBURG, CHRISTOPH OEHLER, and FRIEDRICH WELTZ. Neuwied am Rhein; Berlin; Darmstadt: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1961. 360 pp. DM 19.80.

A minor review cannot possibly do justice to this theoretically sophisticated and empirically rich study of West German student participation in and attitudes towards politics. Quite apart from its substantive findings, which provide a mine of data for scholars of comparative political sociology and generational behavior, this book is of interest on two counts: first, it is evidence of the favorable reception of recent American social and political theory in post-Hitler German social science; and, second, it demonstrates that German social scientists writing about the politics of young Germans can do so in an empirically disinterested manner—a far cry from the pseudo-ideological, sentimental humbug that constituted the pre-Hitler output of writing about German youth.

An introductory section, more of interest to the political scientist than to the sociologist, represents a successful attempt to reconcile within a comprehensive theoretical framework the new *Wissenschaft von der Politik* with the traditional German *Staatslehre.* The significance of student participation is to be appraised within a developmental frame of reference which seeks to determine the effect of such participation on the transformation of "formal" and "liberal" into "material" and "social" democracy. The objective of the study, then, is to assess the "democratic potential" of German student po-

litical participation for the realization of a free society in Germany.

Participation is broadly defined as including not only style and stance of activity, but also the kind and degree of psychological predispositions, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, and involvement that relate the student to public affairs. Two theoretical dimensions serve the purposes of analysis: first, something called *"politischer Habitus"* (or "readiness to political engagement") conceptualized in terms of a continuum of six main types—at one end, the "unpolitical" and the "irrationally withdrawn"; in the middle, the "rationally withdrawn" and the "naive citizen"; at the other end, the "reflective citizen" and the "engaged." The second dimension is characterized as *"politische Tendenz"* (or "attitude towards the democratic system") consisting of four syndromes: "genuine democrats," "formal democrats," "authoritarians," and "indifferent." Multivariate analysis serves to construct and analyze corresponding "images of society" which are designed to permit prediction of student political behavior in times of democratic crisis. Western readers will be disappointed (though perhaps not surprised) by the findings: no stable expectations could be formed concerning three-fourths of the sample of 171 students; and among the remaining fourth with well-formulated "images," antidemocratic tendencies can be expected to find support rather than encounter resistance. Only about ten per cent of the sample could be identified as possessing a "definitely democratic potential" that might be mobilized in favor of democracy during a future crisis. Evidently, not much has changed in Germany's political climate.

HEINZ EULAU

Stanford University

Contemporary Political Ideologies. Edited by JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. x, 470 pp. $10.00.

This could have been an important and much needed collection, but unfortunately it falls short. What prevents it from serving its purpose as a work of scholarship, as well as a text or guide for the mushrooming courses on contemporary "ism" and/or the relationship between ideology and political behavior, are primarily inadequate editorial coordination, lack of uniform framework and vocabulary, a general lack of orginality, lack of empirical data to substantiate the scattered and often contradictory assertions, lack of definitions, unevenness in the quality of its contributions, and immodesty in price.

The title of the book promises discussion of "ideologies," but precisely because of its lack of definition and organization we have only a collection of essays on a wide range of related, and sometimes unrelated, subjects—some dealing with established political systems, others with political movements, still others with specific forms of political organization. Thus, we have offerings on such diversified topics as Marxism and Neo-Marxism as well as "remnants of socialism." Along with these appear accounts of colonialism, France's Fifth Republic, German reconstruction, Austria's survival, Japan's reforms, etc.

Professor Anthony T. Touscaren, for example, discusses "Sovietism," which he defines as the "system of government by the soviets." What follows is a scanty and sometimes misleading description of Soviet political institutions. Professor Theodore Hsi-en Chen's essay on Chinese Communism (at least he uses original sources) is correct but pat and elementary. A workmanlike and competent job is Dan N. Jacob's essay on Titoism.

Professor Eulau's essay on the New Deal is by far the most sophisticated and original piece on the tray. He also, at least by implication, offers a definition of ideology as a "coherent and consistent set of beliefs, values, opinions and aspirations . . . an internally congruent system of thought." But here too—and especially here, because the attempt is so provoking—one wishes that Professor Eulau had developed further and in greater depth some of his thoughts on the components of ideology and ideological movements and on the distinction he makes between "ideologues" and "politicians."

JOSEPH R. FISZMAN

University of Oregon

Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership. By SIDNEY VERBA. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xii, 273 pp. $6.00.

Can findings and models about small laboratory groups help students of politics? Mr. Verba's answer is that the gap can be bridged. The scholarship and intelligence with which that answer is given commend the book to students of human behavior beyond the field of political science. Here there is no pole-vaulting from this discipline to that, no magical concocting of an essence here that matches an essence there. On the contrary, there is work, organization, thought, and a clarity of exposition that demands few assumptions of readers.

Outside the laboratory, primary groups shape political thought and some become settings of

political decisions. That they do so is better known than how they do it. Inside the laboratory, researchers are preoccupied with how groups operate. And around this preoccupation has grown a special—and sometimes strange—culture devoted to precision and control, familiar with "artificial" tasks, volunteer sophomores, one-way mirrors, etc. To this culture the author carefully introduces his readers because of his belief that only through acquaintance with the culture can one know the nature of the data and only through knowing the differences that exist between laboratory groups and political formations (and the data *they* produce) can one extrapolate intelligently. Aware then of the difficulties, augmented, I would add, by our incomplete knowledge of political formations and of the data they *might* produce, our author pleads for a reorientation of laboratory culture toward less "artificial," more relevant, and, we would guess, more important matters.

Happily he does not rest there, for this would be to abdicate just the kind of intellectual leadership needed to bridge the gap. Rather, as a special substantive area he compares leadership processes within and without the laboratory. The instrumental-affective dimensions, along which Slater and Bales found a differentiation of leaders, are relevant to political systems in which there is between leader and follower an exchange of services and resources, of affective rewards and loyalty. Why, however, do members in the laboratory react negatively to the instrumental initiator (and positively to the affective leader) whereas in established groups they react negatively to a failure of the leader to take the initiative? Mr. Verba accounts for the contradiction by the *differences* between the two types of systems: no known norms exist in the laboratory groups unambiguously legitimizing instrumental initiative, whereas in established groups norms define it as a responsibility. Moreover, the need for affective affirmation is in part absorbed by commitment to the norms. As the author pursues his analysis of norms and leadership, he reminds us that little systematic work has been done in the laboratory on group norms—genuine group norms.

Seeing the difference between systems inside and outside enables Mr. Verba to establish this, and other, strands of the bridge. It presents as well a more realistic alternative to his suggestion that laboratory researchers come a step his way by working on more "relevant" problems. Since comprehension of group norms is as essential to an understanding of laboratory groups as it is to political behavior and to any human behavior, researchers might improve their own work—and take that step—by a thorough inquiry into the normative systems of the so-called "artificial" groups in isolation in the laboratory which produce their basic data.

THEODORE M. MILLS

Yale University

Social Influence and Power in Two-Person Groups. By ANTTI ESKOLA. Transactions of the Westermarck Society, Vol. VI. Copenhagen, Denmark: Munksgaard, 1961. 153 pp. No price indicated, paper.

There is considerable theoretical and experimental literature on social influence and power, and the author of this monograph is thoroughly familiar with it. He offers a lucid discussion of the concepts of power and influence and of the various attempts to measure them in small group settings. With considerable methodological ingenuity, he has designed a series of experiments to explore the influence process in two-person groups. He is thorough in elaborating his research design and conscientious in bringing out weaknesses that might be glossed over or relegated to a footnote in a less leisurely format.

However, the freedom from space limitations is not always used wisely. The bulk of the monograph consists of a skillful analysis of increasing refinement with data of modest significance. At times this becomes a rather sterile methodological exercise; the sleight of hand is impressive but no rabbit emerges. Results which sprawl over half-a-dozen pages could frequently be reduced to three or four paragraphs with negligible loss of clarity.

But while the substantive findings are rather pedestrian, the techniques employed are not. The method of measuring relative power between pairs of individuals has potential for a number of situations. Furthermore, while the author distinguishes between influence over a public, joint decision and over a private opinion in the first set of experiments, he integrates both kinds of influence into a unidimensional measure in the second set.

He makes little effort to explore the connection between influence in the laboratory setting described and influence in a variety of nautral situations. For example, he finds that the total amount of verbal activity and influence is positively correlated for female pairs but uncorrelated for males. Unfortunately, little effort is made to interpret this; the author simply notes that little has been done to illuminate power relationships within groups of women. A greater investment in the interpretation of

results might have yielded a more exciting return for such methodological sophistication.

WILLIAM A. GAMSON
Harvard University

The Effects of Mass Communication: An Analysis of Research on the Effectiveness and Limitations of Mass Media in Influencing the Opinions, Values and Behavior of Their Audiences. By JOSEPH T. KLAPPER. Series on Foundations of Communications Research, Vol. 3, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. xviii, 302 pp. $5.00.

Anyone venturing into the field of mass communication soon discovers a tangle of speculation, observation, charge, and countercharge concerning the possible effects of the mass media. What is needed, and what Dr. Klapper here provides, is a guide through this vast semantic jungle. The author is eminently qualified for the task of mapping some pathways to the hidden temple of effects by virtue of his wide research experience in industrial, governmental, and academic centers of mass communication. In the present volume, by sifting, sorting, and evaluating material from hundreds of sources, he leads us to a clearing (which he would call "the brink of hope") from which we can gain a sharp view of the tortured trail that has been traveled and a clearer conception of the alternatives that researchers might confront in the long journey ahead. This is the case even though certain vital areas where mass communication is vigorously employed for the achievement of effects—formal pedagogy, international communications, and consumers' behavior—were not staked out for exploration in this survey.

Part I of this book deals with mass communication as an agent of persuasion and marshalls evidence around the central conclusion that the impact of the media is mitigated by factors that intervene between the media and the masses to modify the meaning of the messages. The important mediators include pre-existing attitudes and opinions, group membership and norms, opinion leaders, and the interpersonal transmission of mass media content *Reinforcement,* then, is the most likely effect, with minor changes in attitudes also possible, and conversion of attitudes only rarely achieved via mass communication.

Part II of this book is concerned with effects of specific kinds of media content (crime and violence, escapist material, adult TV fare) which have been alleged to produce socially and psychologically important consequences. A considerable part (17 per cent of the pages) of this section is devoted to abstracts from and a commentary upon the outstanding research of Himmelweit and her associates concerning the effects of television on English children.

The reviewer has now had an opportunity to use this book as a text in an advanced course in mass communications. It has served well as an integrated review of a large body of literature and as a source of suggestions concerning areas and problems for future research. However, some reservations can be voiced to certain aspects of the book.

The tone of the text is more than cautious and tentative, it is curiously defensive and overapologetic. The author offers an organizing set of propositions but is sometimes hard pressed to fit them into the review of each chapter while at other times he is seemingly astonished that the evidence supports them. At one point involving the critical concern of "conversion" (p. 84) he almost abandons his own building blocks when he makes the following concession without any elaboration:

> The entire phenomenon seems to the present author more fully susceptible of explanation in terms of learning theory than in terms of the generalizations which he has himself advanced.

Some readers will undoubtedly wish that the author had put forth his theoretical scheme more boldly, with more concern for revealing the mechanics of its origin, for exposing its logical structure, and for developing the line of deductions that might follow from such a system. His timidity in this regard may result from his striving to satisfy a lay as well as a professional audience. To the extent that this book succeeds in reaching the lay audience (and Part II seems particularly pointed in this direction) the emphasis on mediating factors and the deemphasis on the direct effects of mass communication may alleviate some of the public pressure on the mass media. One can only hope that this, in turn, may generate support for new research directed at the influence of these important mediating factors and sociological conditions that now are more sharply in focus as a result of this book.

OTTO N. LARSEN
University of Washington

The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life. By GERHARD LENSKI. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. xvi, 381 pp. $5.95.

This volume by Lenski, the latest in a series of excellent monographs that have grown out of the Detroit Area Studies, addresses itself to a problem long important to sociology: What

influence does religion have on individual behavior in other than its own sphere? Using a structured questionnaire, Lenski queried a carefully selected cross section of the Detroit populace (data taken from samples drawn in previous area studies were also used on occasion) about a wide range of behavior and attitudes. The sample is divided into four socioreligious groups: white Protestants, Negro Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. And where sample size and composition permit, these groups are further broken down by social class.

The study was specifically designed to test (among other things) the Weberian notion, as Lenski states it, "that every religious group develops its own distinctive orientation towards all aspects of life and that these orientations profoundly influence the daily actions of its adherents and hence the institutional structure of society." The data support this notion in a rather impressive way. In the spheres of politics, economics, education, and family life, Lenski found consistent and theoretically explicable similarities and differences among the four groups. The following are examples of but a few of the many findings. *Politics:* Jews and Catholics are more inclined than white Protestants to support the Democratic party and welfare-state legislation; *Economics:* Catholic business and professional men tend to enjoy their work less and their leisure more than white Protestant and Jewish business and professional men; *Education:* Catholics are more likely than white Protestants and Jews to drop out of school without completing the unit of education they have begun, even when class is controlled; *Family Life:* Protestants and Jews stress independence training in the socialization process more than do Catholics.

Many of these findings have been reported in earlier studies or are part of the fund of "common-sense" observations, though this in no way vitiates the value of Lenski's contribution. Some of his findings are surprising, even startling, at least to this reviewer. For example, who would have predicted that more than a third of the Protestant clergy in this study would admit that they had at some time doubted the existence of God? Lenski's interviews, by the way, with a sample of white Protestant, Negro Protestant, and Catholic clergymen are among the most interesting and valuable parts of the study. Most surprising is the finding that Catholic-Protestant differences are not declining, as is so often supposed, but increasing, and that the differences between the two groups are greatest in the most acculturated and middle-status groups.

Lenski does much more than merely cross-tabulate religious affiliation with various attitudes and behavior. He is very much aware of the danger of spurious relationships and often introduces test variables to see whether the original relationship will endure. One of these explanatory variables is the individual's commitment to the dogma of his faith; another is his involvement in the group life of his religious subcommunity. The author makes an important distinction between what he calls *associational* involvement (measured by frequency of attendance at corporate worship services) and *communal* involvement (measured in terms of the degree to which the primary-type relations of the individual are limited to persons of his own religious group). He found that the four groups differed greatly with regard to these types of involvement: associational ties are weak among Jews, communal ties are strong; the reverse is true of Catholics; neither type of involvement is very strong among white Protestants, while both are relatively strong among Negro Protestants. Individuals varied greatly in their attitudes and behavior depending on the relative strength of their communal or associational involvement. Thus, Lenski found that "involvement in the church [associational] makes individual Catholics sensitive to the moral appeals of the Republicans, involvement in the sub-community makes them sensitive to the egalitarian appeals of the Democrats. . . . On the whole, however, the pull of the sub-community seems much stronger than the pull of the church."

The generalization that communal ties are more influential than associational involvement in affecting behavior occurs so often in this study that I wonder why Lenski did not seriously follow up the possibility that what appears to be a religious factor is in fact a more inclusive ethnic one. The failure to control for ethnicity is in my opinion the most serious flaw of this study. Surely it is time for sociologists to stop lumping all Roman Catholics in one category without first looking for significant inter-ethnic differences. To group Irish, German, Polish, Italian, and Middle European Catholics into one "Catholic" category, ignoring their historical and cultural differences, may be unfortunate to say the least. There is a growing body of data to suggest that the differences between various Catholic groups are often greater than those between Catholics and Protestants. Important ethnic differences also exist between various Protestant groups. That Lenski is aware of this problem is evident in his brief mention of the differences between Northwestern European Catholics and those from Southern and Eastern Europe so far as attitudes

towards parochial education is concerned. And on several occasions he compares various Protestant denominational groups with one another. But usually he makes no effort to control for ethnicity, although he is always careful to control for social class. The reason for this omission, I suspect, is one that plagues every study involving multivariate analysis—limited sample size. The number of cases in some of the cells often is very small as it is; the introduction of ethnicity as a control would hopelessly complicate the analysis. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that until religion is separated from its ethnic matrix we shall not know whether we are dealing with a "religious" factor or with a more inclusive ethnic variable of which religion is only one component.

For the most part, this is an admirable book. Fewer digressions and a tighter organization of the material would have made it easier in places to follow the author's argument, but these flaws are more than compensated for by the highly sophisticated analysis and cogent interpretation of the findings which generally characterize the book. And the data in themselves are bound to fascinate anyone interested in the sociology of religions; they cannot help but add fuel to the ever continuing controversy about the role of religion in contemporary American life.

BERNARD C. ROSEN
University of Nebraska

Psycho-Sociologie de L'Appartenance Religieuse. By HERVÉ CARRIER. Studia Socialia. Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne, 1960. 314 pp. $3.50, paper.

The author of this volume, a French Canadian professor of sociology at Gregorian University in Rome, has endeavored to study the consequences that various kinds of religious affiliation may have for conduct. Fully cognizant of the recent contributions in this area made by American sociologists, Carrier is nevertheless critical of what he deems to be the overly narrow perspective adopted. He contends that the bafflement sociologists continuously experience when dealing with the topic of religious affiliation stems in large part from their analytic preoccupation with "objective" sociological factors to the exclusion of the psychological (i.e., attitudinal and belief) factors underlying affiliative behavior.

Carrier seeks to remedy this by setting forth in social psychological terms a conceptual scheme by which the very considerable body of research already existing in the field is classified and subjected to analysis.

Carrier lays no claim to having broken new ground; nor, in the opinion of this reviewer, has he done so. But his effort could well serve as a valuable preliminary to further research advances. To do so, it would have to be extended beyond the boundaries of Carrier's coverage, which is limited to formally organized religious groups in the Judeo-Christian tradition—and even here, little account is taken of Jewish groups as such. This is perhaps a limitation of which the author, himself, is aware, for he is refreshingly frank in admitting the possible bearing of his own religious beliefs on his sociological stance. This frankness might well be emulated by other social science investigators of religion.

ELIZABETH K. NOTTINGHAM.
Queens College

Religion in Primitive Society. By EDWARD NORBECK. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. xi, 318 pp. $5.50.

This is the first book designed specifically as a text in primitive religion since Lowie's *Primitive Religion* (1924, revised edition 1948). As such, it will meet a very real need, since the increased interest in the subject on the part of both anthropologists and sociologists seems to be paralleled by increasing enrollments in undergraduate courses. Norbeck's book is also noteworthy as a thorough and very systematic survey, from the point of view of an anthropologist, of the major trends in the study of religion during the last thirty years.

The first half of the book is a description of "recurrent aspects" of religious behavior, such as conceptions of the supernatural, unusual psychological states, and characteristics of religious leaders. Norbeck's attempt to take the middle road between vague generalizations and endless examples is only partially successful, but considering the great mass of material to be summarized, it is difficult to imagine a really ideal treatment of topics of this kind.

The second half of the book begins with a discussion of the methodology of functionalism, since, as Norbeck stresses, practically all of the studies of primitive religion made during the last thirty years have been based on functionalist assumptions. There follows a consideration of the many functions which have been attributed to religious behavior: the integrative function of ritual, the anxiety-reducing function of religious beliefs, and many others. Throughout this part of the book there is an undercurrent of healthy skepticism as to whether the listing of latent positive functions of religious behavior exhausts the possibilities of analysis, and a number of pertinent questions are raised concerning the problems connected with verify-

ing functionalist interpretations or deciding between conflicting interpretations. There is also occasion in these chapters to deal with such problems as the relationships between religion and ethics, sorcery and social control, and religion and curing. A consideration of change in religious systems is limited largely to a discussion of nativistic movements.

As a text, this book is probably overly concise. In many cases, one of the numerous readers now available will be required to provide supplementary material. What one misses most, however, is some recognition of the anticipation with which students enter a course on primitive religion, and some catering to their expectation of exotic and wonderful things to come.

SETH LEACOCK
University of Chicago

Men at Work. By WILLIAM FOOTE WHYTE. The Irwin-Dorsey Series in Behavioral Science in Business. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, and Richard D. Irwin, 1961. x, 593 pp. $7.95.

At a time when so many social scientists are either theorists or methodologists, and so do not feel bound to master any substantive body of knowledge, it is a comfort to find a man like W. F. Whyte who has stuck to one subject, in his case the behavior of men in, for the most part, American business. Only by working at a subject doggedly, year after year, shall we succeed in attaining that cumulative knowledge we so often complain we have not gotten. This book represents the culmination of Whyte's long years of work in the field—the present culmination but not, surely, the end.

Even within its field it differs from several books that have come out recently, such as A. H. Rubenstein and C. H. Haberstroh, *Some Theories of Organization* (Irwin-Dorsey, 1960), which offer scraps of organization theory, scraps of statistical decision-making, interspersed with scraps of empirical research. Whyte's book is not of this nature. Though the reader will find no reference to the theory of games, he will find a comprehensive survey—comprehensive so far as we can ever be comprehensive—of the actual behavior of Americans at work.

Beginning with the relations between culture, community, and business, Whyte goes on to consider the effects of physical, technological, and economic factors on the behavior of individuals, work groups, and the total organization. He then deals with the union in the plant and with the process of management, including the behavior of foremen, and winds up with a discussion of "staff" activities: maintenance, engineering, control, and personnel. Since the book puts together the results of many years of work, it relies at many points on Whyte's earlier research, reported in more specialized books, and on the research of men whose points of view are similar to his own, such as Leonard Sayles and Melville Dalton. Call them "interactionists" if you wish, but the word covers a multitude of different and unequal virtues.

Whyte gives unity to his book by stating his findings in terms of a single set of concepts: interactions, sentiments, activities, and symbols, some of which are especially familiar to this reviewer. But he never uses his concepts in a rigidly systematic way. Nor, though he states his findings as generally as he can, does he ever suggest that they hold good across the board. Propositions about the relations between two variables in specifically industrial behavior seldom hold good unless other variables take, to speak very roughly, certain values. In most chapters Whyte supports his general discussion with detailed reports on particular situations, his justification being that, if no generalization holds good across the board, it is important to bring out the circumstances within which a generalization does hold good occasionally.

The book is presented as a textbook, with an apparatus of collateral readings and questions for discussion. But it is more than that. Unlike some textbooks, there is no guff in it: its most marked quality is an admirably sober good sense. I recommend it to anyone who is interested in what actually goes on within the walls of a plant. Above all, I recommend it to any young man going into American industry who is ready to think about the problems he will encounter. For though no generalization will cover every case, this book will still help him to think about any case, even the most unusual.

GEORGE C. HOMANS
Harvard University

Der gerechte Lohn: Eine industriesoziologishe Analyse. By WILHELM BALDAMUS. Volkswirtschaftliche Schriften, Heft 53. Berlin and München: Duncker and Humblot, 1960. 85 pp. DM 9,60, paper.

In an increasing number of German socioeconomic publications one encounters the question: Can sociology contribute to an understanding of problems in the field of industrial relations, particularly the fields of industrial conflict and wealth distribution? In the present work, this question is asked by a sociologist rather than a political economist, and in his answer, Baldamus attempts to show how "sociological methodology" affords a new basis for wage theory and policy.

The incentive to undertake such a study came from observations made by Baldamus in post-war England where persistent full employment had brought the question of "social justice" to the forefront of discussion. Since the *Bundesrepublic* of Germany had achieved a phenomenal economic recovery and had attained full employment, Baldamus believed his English observations might have practical implications for Germany. It appeared to Baldamus that in an era of full employment when inflationary pressures dominate, the cost impact of wage adjustments loses significance as a cause of industrial conflict. Instead, the major point of conflict is the determination of a "just" wage to compensate a worker for his *Arbeitsmuehe* (pain cost of labor).

Baldamus maintains that "norms" for a "just" wage depend upon the type of plant in which the worker labors, the product produced, and the over-all social class relevancy of the workers. These "norms" not only establish wage differentials among various groups of workers, they also account for employer profits. From his "exact analysis" of the production process, the author derives the "law" of *Grenzparität* (marginal productivity) by which *Arbeitsmuehe* is equated to the value of the workers' product. Baldamus concludes that when properly applied the "law" of *Grenzparität* is a surprisingly reliable basis for the "just" distribution of income. In doing so, he arrives at approximately the same ethical conclusions reached by J. B. Clark, the American economist, who argued in 1890 that since wages determined in the market place were equated to the marginal product value produced by labor, they were "just" distributions of income. Baldamus has added to his own argument an element of *Arbeitsmuehe* and thereby identified himself with even earlier economists

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF
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Managing Major Change in Organizations: An Undeveloped Area of Administration and Social Research. By FLOYD C. MANN and FRANKLIN W. NEFF. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1961. 99 pp. $3.00, paper.

This monograph is based, in part, upon two seminars organized by the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior in the Spring of 1959. At these seminars, executives from a number of large companies and governmental agencies met with social scientists to discuss problems associated with management of large-scale change. The major portion of the report consists of a summary of four case studies along with the implications of each for handling introduction of change. Also included are a brief section summarizing some insights growing out of the conference and a concluding chapter in which a conceptual framework for the analysis of planned change is presented.

The case studies are judiciously selected and illustrate a wide variety of problems which may result from the introduction of change in an organization. Both in the discussion of the case studies and in the concluding section, some sound and detailed advice is given which should prove useful to any one responsible for administering a program of planned change. The major points of emphasis are that an organization must be viewed as a system of interdependent parts, that there is a need for a thorough understanding of the factors affecting the change process, that people should be kept informed about the change, and that, under certain specified conditions, they should be allowed to participate in the decision to change.

The conceptual framework presented in the concluding section of this monograph leaves much to be desired as do all our present models for analyzing social change. It is difficult to see how translating the case study findings into Lewinian "force fields" and "unfreezing, moving, and refreezing" equilibria adds much to the presentation. Moreover, the Lewinian framework is essentially social psychological and, as such, leaves important gaps in the specification of problems which may result from the introduction of major changes in large-scale organizations. Much more attention is given to interpersonal relations in the change process than to intra-organizational or interorganizational relations. Unions are mentioned scarcely at all, although it is not difficult to conceive of situations in which union-management relations might have an important bearing upon adjustment to change.

For the most part, however, this monograph illustrates the fact that good social scientists may be of considerable help to practitioners of various sorts in spite of the current limitations of conceptual models in the social sciences.

WILLIAM A. FAUNCE
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Social Problems in America: Costs and Casualties in An Acquisitive Society. By HARRY C. BREDEMEIER and JACKSON TOBY. Foreword by SAMUEL A. STOUFFER. Illustrations by JOHN GROTH. New York; London: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. xvi, 510 pp. $6.75.

The authors, in setting out to discuss social problems in America, first solve two problems

for themselves very successfully. The first problem, as stated in the preface, is the inability of most sociologists "to write six hundred pages of scintillating exposition." Accordingly the "meat" of their book consists not of tables, charts, graphs, and exclusively factual reports and surveys, but rather of an array of case materials drawn from a wide range of highly literary sources: fiction, drama, the law courts —as well as the purely academic. These materials have one thing in common, however. They are all vivid and interest-holding. When looked at through the sociological spectacles provided by the authors, they lend conviction to Comte's argument that sociology is the integrating science par excellence.

The other problem of the authors was the providing of a coherent theoretical sociological framework (the spectacles) for the problems field. It is refreshing for the reader not to be confronted in the table of contents with the usual list of chapters on race prejudice, industrial conflict, crime, illiteracy, divorce, etc. Instead, Bredemeier and Toby offer in Parts One and Two a slim, but succinct, theory of the genesis of problems in any society. In outline, they point out that man is plastic, symbol-oriented, and dependent on other men, through symbols and values, for his own self-evaluation and gratification. He strives to feel adequate, worthy, and secure. In Part Three, they deal with the principles of this striving in America, viz., "Materialism," "Self-Reliance," "Competition," and "Negotiated Exchange." When he fails, man is frustrated and may react in any of a number of possible problem causing ways. The treatment of these problem causing adjustments to frustration, dealt with in Part Four, is actually an adaptation of Merton's classic statement on the subject. According to Bredemeier and Toby, man may either (1) accept defeat by (a) withdrawing or (b) submitting, or (2) refuse to accept defeat by: (a) relentless self-reliance or rejection of self-reliance, (b) relentless bargaining or rejection of negotiated exchange, (c) relentless competition or rejection of competition, or (d) relentless materialism or searching for new meaning. In the final chapter the authors consider the prospects for reducing the high casualties that result from all of these ways of striving.

At the end of each chapter is an excellent summary and a pertinent annotated bibliography. The print is large and the spacing pleasing. Instead of the popular news-photograph type of illustration, there are a few well-chosen and well-executed pen sketches. In general, *Social Problems in America* is "adequate" and "worthy" and so should be "secure."

Douglas Rennie
Southern Illinois University

Contemporary Social Problems: An Introduction to the Sociology of Deviant Behavior and Social Disorganization. Edited by Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet. New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961. xiii, 754 pp. $6.95.

This is a superb book. It is well written, well organized, intellectually stimulating, and sums up a large body of theory and research. Furthermore—although this is simply *lagniappe*—the book attests to the progress of sociology, for it is perfectly clear after reading these chapters that no one could pretend to understand problems such as mental disorder, suicide, or divorce without the aid of modern sociology. We have been saying this for some time as professional sociologists, it is true, but seldom has it been demonstrated so effectively.

The introduction discusses briefly the nature of social problems, the viewpoint of sociology, and the major features of our society which contribute to our ills. There then follows a section on deviant behavior with separate essays about crime, juvenile delinquency, mental disorders, drug addiction, suicide, and prostitution. Section Two is entitled "Social Disorganization" and complements the discussion of deviation from the norms by a discussion of conflict among norms; our catalogue of problems is extended to include population, race, family disorganization, work, the military establishment, community disorganization, transportation, and disaster. The book concludes with an epilogue relating the study of social problems to sociological theory.

There are many dangers in this sort of venture, of course. All too often the contributors to edited volumes do not seem to have heard of one another. They are apt to structure their individual pieces in totally different ways and the essays may range widely in quality. In this case, however, the separate essays have been integrated successfully; they all follow a roughly similar plan, and they are all written with exceptional competence. In addition, I think that postponing the major theoretical discussion to the end of the book is a wise move. A protracted conceptual and theoretical analysis *before* the presentation of more concrete material frequently leaves the student with the feeling that he has heard a violent quarrel in a foreign language. He knows something is going

on, but the meaning, the point of it all, escapes him—and he escapes us.

Other virtues of this book should be mentioned briefly. Social reactions to problems are discussed systematically, as well as the problems themselves, thus broadening our vision. Jargon is kept in its proper place: not discarded, not used as a set of vague synonyms, but employed as a means to clarity. No attempt is made to unscrew the universe with an all-embracing theory of social problems. Instead, with wisdom and modesty, limited theory is applied where it can be effective.

If, at times, these essays seem to domesticate evil (to "routinize the extraordinary," as Arnold Feldman once said of sociology in general) it is done to aid our understanding. The reforming spirit which contributed so largely to the birth of sociology—and which, I think, will continue to shape our discipline—need not be diminished by the cool detachment of this book. Rather, if social problems are to be solved other than by accident, it will be made possible by the kind of analysis contained in this book.

GRESHAM M. SYKES
Dartmouth College

Welfare in America. By VAUGHN DAVIS BORNET. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. xi, 319 pp. $4.95.

In *Welfare in America,* Bornet is concerned with questions of social policy, some of which are of major importance. The explicit purpose of the book is "to bring into focus issues that have divided our people." The author proposes to accomplish this by means of an "entirely independent evaluation." If the term "focus" is used to mean enhanced clarity, then it must be stated that this objective is not attained. Neither is the bold claim for complete "independence" of judgment, if by the latter it is implied that the study is devoid of *prior* policy commitments or strong personal predilections.

Attention is given to topics such as the characteristics and desirable functions of tax-supported and voluntary health-welfare agencies in our society, fund raising and coordination in the private health-welfare sphere, and fee-charging by social welfare agencies. There is also an appraisal of social work and social workers, particularly in respect to questions of professionalization and to positions taken on matters of social policy. The emphasis throughout is on issues, problems, and the evaluation of policies and practices. This content is treated in a somewhat variable manner: the range is from that of a patronizing, benevolent mentor to that of an angry, self-righteous polemicist.

The commentary that does manage to emerge from the welter of highly charged argumentation, "indictments," "acquittals," "awards," and discursive discussion is relatively innocent of sociological (one might even say social science) sophistication. One looks in vain for that type of informed analysis found in some other recent studies in this field. Nor does the author demonstrate familiarity with such works.

In a number of respects Bornet's approach seems to be cut from the same cloth as, in C. P. Snow's words, those "natural Luddites" who "have never tried, wanted, or been able to understand the industrial revolution, much less accept it." Thus, it is hardly surprising that the book assumes a "residual conception" of the function of social welfare services. As a matter of fact, the treatment of the concept of social welfare is so loose and superficial that the terms, social workers (an occupational group) and social welfare (a field of activity) are often used in an interchangeable manner.

Among other areas in which many of the arguments presented appear to be defective, or at least inadequate, are fee-charging by voluntary welfare agencies (the reviewer agrees with several of the key conclusions reached in this area but finds many of the arguments unsound), the role of public welfare in our society and the motives and behavior of its supporters, partisan politics and social welfare, health insurance, and the interpretation of the significance of certain religious factors in the approach to social welfare.

In addition to these substantive defects, the volume suffers from a number of rather serious technical difficulties, including frequently repetitious writing and poor organization. Also, the lack of documentation is surprising in a book published by a university press. Quotations have no citation as to source, and we even have an instance of a quotation from an unnamed work by two unnamed researchers (pp. 86–87).

In conclusion, it is this reviewer's judgment that *Welfare in America* could profit greatly from thorough rethinking and rewriting.

HERBERT BISNO
University of Oregon

Behavioral Approaches to Accident Research. By ASSOCIATION FOR THE AID OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN. Foreword by LEONARD W. MAYO. New York: The Association, 1961. viii, 178 pp. $1.50, paper.

In 1960 the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children sponsored a conference on behavioral approaches to accident research. This book consists of papers and commentary pre-

sented at the conference. (There are contributions by Ethel J. Alpenfels and Arthur B. Hayes, III, Solomon E. Asch, Urie Bronfenbrenner, John A. Clausen, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Martin Deutsch, Nelson N. Foote, Bernard H. Fox, Alfred M. Freedman, James J. Gibson, Herbert H. Jacobs, John MacIver, Anatol Rapoport, Edward A. Suchman.) The Association's interest in accident prevention is quite understandable—accidents are the leading cause of death and disablement among children of most ages.

Accident research has been dominated by safety experts, physicians, insurance companies, etc. It is the Association's view that the time has come for more comprehensive and penetrating research; the hope is that behavioral scientists ultimately can make a major contribution to accident prevention.

The heart of the book, from the standpoint of contributions by behavioral scientists, consists of papers by Gibson, Alpenfels and Hayes, and Foote. Each of these papers is well worth reading. Gibson's use of the concept "margin of safety" is especially clarifying, and it is nicely related to his experimental work on "visual cliffs." Deutsch urges that studies should be made of the functions of "mishaps" in children's exploratory behavior and also of the distribution of disciplinary practices in relationship to the frequency of accidents. Alpenfels and Hayes emphasize an anthropological approach to understanding accidents, and their analysis of the relation between miniaturized playthings and accidents is very cogent; it may be that this analysis has some experimental applications. Foote's paper draws on his insights into interpersonal relations, and it contains a timely reminder that some individuals, groups, and institutions have a vested interest in maintaining (not abolishing) hazards to life and limb.

The first section of the book consists of papers by Jacobs and Suchman followed by a discussion by Fox. These pieces explain why it is so difficult to do adequate research on accidents: there are very tricky problems which arise both at the level of conceptualizing what ought to be meant by the concept "accident" and methodological pitfalls having to do with making reasonable statistical inferences from data on accidents.

The summary discussions of the conference and of possible future developments in accident research are by Bronfenbrenner, Asch, Cottrell, Clausen, and Rapoport. As is to be expected, these men have interesting and worthwhile things to say about the possibilities of applying the behavioral sciences to the understanding of accidents.

The main difficulty with this book is that a good deal of it seems to consist of hastily written first thoughts rather than careful analyses. This is probably inevitable when behavioral scientists are asked to take up a new problem, but it is a shortcoming, nevertheless.

Omar Khayyam Moore
Yale University

National Policies for Education, Health and Social Services. Edited by James E. Russell. Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961. xxxviii, 551 pp. $10.00.

National Policy for Economic Welfare at Home and Abroad. Edited by Robert Lekachman. Preface by Horace Taylor. Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series. New York: Russell & Russell, 1961. xii, 366 pp. $7.50.

The two conferences on which these volumes report were held in 1954 in observance of the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Columbia University. The subject matter considered in *National Policies for Education, Health and Social Services* covers: (1) Policies for Universal Public Education, (2) Policies for Higher Education, (3) Meeting the Health Needs of the Nation, (4) Social Services and the Free Economy, (5) Income Security for a Free People, (6) Religion in Education, and (7) Academic Freedom.

A number of those who considered policies for universal education felt that Federal financial aid to the States for elementary and secondary education seemed inevitable. William G. Carr contrasts the enthusiasm with which Congress has provided Federal funds for highways with its reluctance to consider doing the same for education.

The discussions of the group which considered health needs of the nation reveal a remarkable willingness to sweep problems under the rug. The group was not convinced that there was any shortage of physicians and seemed unconcerned that "if one were to assume that all economic barriers and all the barriers due to ignorance were removed, . . . then indeed our system [of medical services] would break down and the demand could not be met." Their basic conclusion was apparently that almost all problems related to the health needs of the nation should be dealt with at the local level.

In contrast to the report on health needs, the papers on social services and the free economy are typical of the willingness to grapple

with problems which is demonstrated throughout this volume generally. Benjamin E. Youngdahl and George F. Davidson discuss the needs for various types of social services and attempt to define the proper relationship of governmental and private programs. William Haber shows how the financing and organization of social services in this country have been influenced by unique institutional and cultural factors characteristic of our society. He points out that American experience in this area is relatively brief, and that the social security and social service pattern in this country is still evolving, so that "it is perhaps too early to create an American Beveridge Report."

Marion B. Folsom's paper on the financing of income security provides a refreshing contrast to the intemperate attacks on the financing of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance which appear all too frequently. He summarizes the considerations regarding reserve versus pay-as-you-go financing and effectively disposes of the notions that reserves are a myth and that reserve financing involves double taxation. Richard A. Lester observes that it is not possible to determine the proper level of social insurance benefits by objective means. He points out that the answer depends upon one's economic and social philosophy and "will vary also with the kind of economy . . . and with the traditions, history, and culture of the society in question." The significance of the individual setting in influencing the pattern of development of income maintenance programs is illustrated in papers by Pierre Laroque and Barbara Wootton, both of whom provide valuable insights based on foreign experience.

In general, the group rejected the allegation that income security programs tend to conflict with individual freedom. The contrasting point was made that without a minimum of economic security there can be no real freedom.

Running through much of the conference report was the theme of balancing and reconciling governmental action and individual liberty. Robert M. MacIver, in his address at the conclusion of the conference, emphasizes that an either-or approach leads to a false antithesis, arising in part from the confusion of values with the means for achieving them. By way of illustration he says: "Free enterprise is a virtue; very well, let us inquire honestly whether social security diminishes or extends its range. . . . Education is also a high value: let us consider how its development can best be made compatible with any needful governmental aid." This sort of pragmatic approach, marked by serious and thoughtful investigation of means for achieving desired goals, was generally followed by participants in the conference. The results are well worth reading.

In *National Policy for Economic Welfare at Home and Abroad,* W. S. Woytinsky refers to leisure as a resource and notes that the ability of men to use their leisure is among their most valuable skills. Moreover, an increase in leisure time "raises the people's demands for home comforts and the demand of the community for recreational facilities, including facilities which can only be provided by public authorities, such as recreational areas, public parks, beaches, and hunting and fishing grounds." Increased leisure thus calls for growing emphasis on recreational services, and affords a new opportunity for large scale investments, public and private.

The reader cannot help but be reminded as he reads this book that the conference on which it reports took place in 1954. I hasten to add, however, that this does not seriously detract from the over-all value of this interesting collection of articles.

WILBUR J. COHEN
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Values and Ideals of American Youth. Edited by ELI GINZBERG. Foreword by JOHN W. GARDNER. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961. xii, 338 pp. $6.00.

Collected in this volume is a set of papers presented at the White House Conference on Children and Youth. There are twenty-three contributors representing religion, medicine (mostly psychiatry), the social sciences, education, foundations, and social action agencies.

Part I of the book, entitled "Development and Adaptability," comprises six papers dealing with the biological, medical, and sociocultural conditions and the associated strains and stresses affecting the growth and the search for identity in the late adolescent and young adult. The general thesis seems to be that youth has had it too easy; yet that youth, situated as it is in our heterogeneous urban conglomerates, is confused by an economy of abundance and an accelerated technological change. Among the specific areas discussed are: religious development, child rearing practices and the changing family, changing sexual behavior, and the prospects of higher education for youth.

Part II is designated "Problem Areas." The six papers in this section concentrate on the community and intergroup behavior, with special emphasis on the stresses and strains (e.g., juvenile delinquency) relative to youths in our disadvantaged minority and marginal

groups—Negro, Puerto Rican, agricultural migratory worker. There is a short paper on the legal aspects of pornography and youth, and a rather interesting summary of data on the automobile and youth.

Part III contains papers on "Values in Transition," one-half of which are prepared by theologians and churchmen. Precisely what the values and ideals of American Youth are remains pretty much a mystery in this section, as well as in the others. However, the traditional democratic-Christian value orientation is assumed to be basic, with a denigration of materialism and conformism. The authors, especially in Part III, are all against the other-directed person and all for the inner-directed individual, an interesting case of the diffusion and hold of the Riesman typology.

The continuity of papers in this volume is primarily spatial. Moreover, most of the articles are written on a high level of abstraction and generality, a defect stemming from the wide diversity of authorship and also from the relative paucity of data presently available on American youth. Quite a few of the papers lack documentation and the documentation given by the social scientists tends to be repetitive, reflecting again the limitations of our current data. There is apparently a contemporary need for youth studies corresponding in amount and intensity to those done in the late thirties.

In this volume, there seems to be a rather paradoxical view, as I see it. Youth is disoriented, dissatisfied, and searching for new meanings. Meanings, however, are acquired through identification with the older generation, but the older generation, it is contended, is also disoriented and confused. Youth, indeed, is in a sad plight!

The book is intended for the enlightened layman, who after studying the volume may come out with all sorts of interesting bits of information which may nevertheless leave him somewhat confused. The sociologist, if he is not as addled as all the rest, is already knowledgeable on all the issues presented in this volume.

OTTO H. DAHLKE

Concord College

Scandinavian Students on an American Campus. By WILLIAM H. SEWELL, and OLUF M. DAVIDSEN. Foreword by RALPH L. BEALS. Sponsored by Committee on Cross-Cultural Education, Social Science Research Council. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. ix, 134 pp. $3.50.

This book reports one of several studies initiated by the SSRC's Committee on Cross-Cultural Education in their concern with the effects of cultural exchange, particularly among college students. The data are open-ended interviews with forty Scandinavian students at the University of Wisconsin 1952–54, supplemented by teachers' rating forms, advisers' evaluations, and grade records. Six "outcome variables" are investigated in detail: participation in American life, changes these impressions undergo, open-mindedness about adopting American traits or practices, and satisfaction with sojourn. The analysis undertakes not to describe the population in terms of these "outcome variables" but rather to ask which (of some 33 descriptive categories) correlates with them. The answer is that consistently high correlations are obtained with age, English language facility, prior contacts with the country, favorable advance impressions, and relatively high SES—in short, with predisposition to the United States and to fit into the campus social situation. In common with other studies of foreign students' reactions to the United States, this research finds a U-curve of adjustment. Most students from foreign lands report an initial impression of virtually any aspect of American life that is more favorable than their final impression, but their final impression is still more favorable than any equivalent evaluation made in the middle of their sojourn.

The researchers are excellent craftsmen, and the study is skillfully executed. Yet, after reading the tables, the discussion, and above all an appended composite interview—said to be a sort of montage of typical interviews, I wonder if the most meaningful findings of the research may have been overlooked.

Take the U-curve, mentioned above, for example. That it is found to exist is surely interesting and important. But there is no attempt to analyze its significance. The data suggest to me, at least, that the standards students bring to bear when they make their early judgments are probably replaced by other standards when they make their later judgments. (Not a bad definition of education.) Similarly, the points of description the students converge upon as salient for their sojourn seem to cluster around certain key values: fairness and justice, cleanliness, respect for individual privacy and individual variability are the ones that struck this reviewer. Yet the text is not allowed to tell this story that comes out so clearly in the appendix.

Why is it that when reading research reports in sociology it is so often necessary to reanalyze them to grasp their significance? It could, of course, tell more about the reader than about the research, but it could also be

because so often we (and I include myself), immersed in the manifest content of our data, fail to do *the facts* that violence which must be done if they are to be treated analytically as indicators of important variables. (In this study, for example, the "outcome variables" are more precisely *topics* of interest.) The present authors perform this violence freely when it comes to stratification measures and even to certain personality traits ("personal flexibility" is a case in point). But they still measure "satisfaction with" (the sojourn in this case) for its own sake, as if doing market research on "satisfaction with Brand X." Is this satisfaction an index of morale? Of acculturation? Of a successful educational experience? What *is* a successful educational experience to be measured by? These are the kinds of questions with which we must come to grips if our field is to move beyond highly competent inventorying.

ROSE GOLDSEN

Cornell University

Organizational Measurement and Its Bearing on the Study of College Environments. By ALLEN H. BARTON. Introduction by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1961. ix, 82 pp. $2.00, paper.

Impressed by the paucity of organizational measurements that readily lend themselves to research on higher education, The College Entrance Examination Board commissioned Allen Barton to write a monograph collating and systematizing the possible dimensions by which organizations in general, and institutions of higher education in particular, vary.

For this endeavor, Barton introduces a twofold system of classification. The first is methodological in nature, focusing on the logic of organizational measurement. Here, he distinguishes among several classes of measures: additive (e.g., mean IQ), distributional (e.g., range in IQ), relational (e.g., sociometric choices), integral (i.e., characteristics of the organization as a whole), and contextual (i.e., characteristics of the organization's setting or environment). The second entails consideration of general substantive categories of organizational analysis: inputs, outputs, environments, social structure, attitudes, and activities.

Barton then proceeds to draw upon educational studies and others for illustrating those measures which can be classified by this dual system. Thus, a study of changes in attitudes toward Negroes among students in Southern and Northern universities is classified as contextual and environmental; studies of authority structures are classified as relational and social structural.

The result is a rather fascinating collection of diverse studies, organized in a systematic fashion and accompanied by a number of astute comments on research problems and possibilities that might well serve as a blueprint for future research.

There are, nevertheless, several shortcomings of this monograph. The first, to be blunt, is that the content is a little thin. Many significant researches on higher education (Keniston's work on department ratings, *The Academic Marketplace,* the Gouldner-Hughes-Riesman work on localism and cosmopolitanism, the studies that classify schools in terms of curriculum, to mention a few) simply are not mentioned in these pages. Secondly, the classification of substantive organizational dimensions, while adequate as pegs upon which to hang studies, is not an exhaustive set—nor was it intended to be.

A somewhat more surprising shortcoming is the sterility of the methodological classification. Given the exciting developments in the methodology of contextual analysis at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, more should have emerged from classifying the measures in terms of the scheme advanced. Perhaps the underlying problem is that the classification is important for analyzing relationships between variables, not for classifying single variables. Thus, for instance, if one wishes to measure the "quality" of a private school, endowment (integral) and mean student IQ (additive) will produce rather similar rank orders of schools, and if measurement is the only goal, it doesn't matter that the measures are logically different. If, however, the measure is to be correlated with some dependent variable (say, incomes of graduates) and the relationship interpreted, some knotty methodological problems arise for which the Barton classification scheme is helpful. Because, however, the monograph considers single variables instead of relationships, many of the distinctions drawn appeared to be logical exercises rather than illuminations of research problems.

These limitations, while important, should not detract from the clarity of the writing, the interesting information in the monograph, and the fact that Barton, unlike most of us, made a serious attempt to apply a systematic classification scheme to the important and complex organizational problem of college environments.

JAMES A. DAVIS

National Opinion Research Center

University Adult Education: A Guide to Policy. By RENEE PETERSEN and WILLIAM PETERSEN. A Project Planned and Directed by WARREN ROVETCH. Foreword by ROLAND R. RENNE. Introduction by CYRIL O. HOULE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. xx, 288 pp. $5.50.

This book—the product of three hands and with forewords from two others—has disturbed at least one of its participants; it should seriously trouble all those who are interested in what passes for educational theory and research. An enormous amount of time, trouble, and money—notably the last—has gone into its making; what benefits are likely to result probably will be wholly ancillary and, in fact, inconsequential.

The two main authors, the Petersens, apparently have found it necessary to read every line that has been written and look up everyone who has spoken about "university adult education" in the last two decades or so. In consequence, their bibliography runs to 34 pages; their footnotes to possibly another 31 pages; and they express their acknowledgments to 65 individuals. They come to the conclusion—as though all these heroic labors had been necessary to demonstrate it—that the formulators and shapers of adult-education policy have concerned themselves with the trivial, the curious, and the downright silly. They, unhappily, do this solemnly, instead of in a spirit of good, clean, and savage fun; in fact, they fall into the jargon of the schoolmen themselves, for they tell us, for example, that there are four kinds of "extension" of which three are "functional extension," "substandard extension," and "conversion." They end up by saying—which is what any intelligent person could have told them—that university adult education should be *college-level education* (italics theirs), with status and decent salaries for staff and proper standards for measuring the performance of students.

The really complex problems of serious adult education they bypass. How are we to get back into the educational process all those men and women who as young people dropped out somewhere along the journey? How shall we test their capacity to resume? How shall we handle the transfer problem—from community colleges, industrial institutes, the vast congeries of schools the defense departments run? What about credit for TV courses? How to accelerate the educational progress of people who have lost so much time (advanced standing, achievement tests, terminal examinations)? And what to do about the hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of women who, having reached their thirties and with another forty years of life expectation before them, have the brains and the leisure (on a part-time basis) to start their educations as adults? How make it possible for them, within flexible and imaginative university structure, to add to those skills the nation needs so sorely—to become school teachers, nurses, technicians, applied mathematicians?

Instead, the three authors succumb to the very temptations they have found the besetting sins of their colleagues: they have two long chapters on adult education in foreign affairs (with all sorts of vague allusions to "power" and "nationalism") and one on the extension movement in the land-grant colleges (whose only preoccupation is with an ever-dwindling rural population). There is more sound sense in the few pages of reflections and ruminations—without benefit of "research"—about adult education in the occasional essays of the late Sir Richard Livingstone than in all the burdensome tons of print the three authors have read and discussed.

LOUIS M. HACKER

Columbia University

Action For Mental Health: Final Report of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health. By the JOINT COMMISSION ON MENTAL ILLNESS AND HEALTH. Letter of Transmittal by KENNETH E. APPEL and LEO H. BARTEMEIER. New York: Basic Books, 1961. xxxvii. 338 pp. $6.75.

The Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health was established by Congress in 1955. It received $1,250,000 of public funds and a mandate "to survey the resources and to make recommendations for combating mental illness in the United States." The Commission itself, its officers and staff, and its Advisory Committees and Consultants included eminent persons in psychiatry, public health, education, and the behavioral sciences. Ten important surveys were undertaken of which six have been published and four are in preparation. The volume under review summarizes and interprets the previous surveys and other data, and it also sets forth a broad program of action in a series of recommendations to Congress.

From its comprehensive studies the Commission concludes that, in comparison with other illnesses, there is a great lag in knowledge about, understanding of, and treatment for the mentally ill in the United States. This is so because this illness, more than any other, suffers from a "fundamental pattern of social

rejection." Fundamentally, it is the nature of the illness itself, with its unpredictable, demanding, and even threatening behavior, that underlies the pattern of rejection. And this pattern in turn results in fewer dollars for research and patient care and a widespread public dissociation from the illness and its victims.

Thus, the burden of responsibility is thrust upon psychiatrists, of whom there are too few, and upon mental hospitals which are generally understaffed, overcrowded, and conveniently separated from the community. The fact that there are many competing theories of etiology and treatment, no one of which seems more valid than the others, only serves to compound further the problem and confuse the public.

Stemming from its analysis, the Commission makes recommendations that are far-reaching, expensive, and no doubt controversial. It is impossible here to deal with them in detail, but their flavor can be communicated. In "Pursuit of New Knowledge," basic research has top priority, and the Commission seeks an expanding role of the federal government in the support of research scientists, research centers, and universities. Under the title of "Better Use of Present Knowledge and Experience," the Commission recommends, among other things, fully staffed mental health clinics for every 50,000 of population, and a wider use of competent, well-trained nonmedical personnel in therapy. In terms of cost, it is recommended that public expenditures on mental patient services be doubled in the next five years, and tripled in ten years, through a series of gradual steps of federal and state financing. Congress is also urged to establish immediately an expert committee to begin work on new standards of patient care and the types of enabling legislation required to put the proposals into effect.

There is much more in this book than can be covered in a brief review. The principal point is that it is the most provocative and comprehensive analysis of the problem of mental illness now available. Moreover it is well organized and clearly written—virtues which make it all the more unfortunate that the Commission did not see fit to give the author (or principal author) due credit. Nevertheless, the Joint Commission performed a superb task in a relatively short time. The American people clearly received an excellent return for their initial investment. Still to be learned is whether or not they are willing to follow up with even greater investments in the future.

EDMUND VOLKART
Stanford University

Mental Health in the United States: A Fifty-Year History. By NINA RIDENOUR. Introduction by WILLIAM C. MENNINGER. Published for the Commonwealth Fund. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. xii, 146 pp. $3.50.

This is a "capsule history" of the mental health movement and its forms of organization from 1908–1958 in the United States. As a history, it supplements Albert Deutsch's classic, *The Mentally Ill in America*, and also Paul Lemkau's good accounts of county versus state care in the 1800's. The opening date refers, of course, to Clifford W. Beers' organization of the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene; and there is a Chapter 9 on International Mental Health Organization beginning with Beers' attempt in 1919 through the International Committee for Mental Hygiene to establish the world-wide movement that held its first International Congress on Mental Hygiene eleven years later, in 1930. World Mental Health Year, 1960, the World Federation for Mental Health, the WHO Mental Health section, and other movements are described in this chapter, thus mitigating an American provincialism in such an international field as psychiatry. The author unduly neglects the impact of social science orientations, even the smatterings offered in one of the books listed as useful: *One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry*. Yet in Chapter 14 a brief listing of advances mentions such flexible patterns as "open door" hospitals, day and night hospitals, voluntary commitments and community facilities of many kinds. The author does not mention "social psychiatry," Dr. Joshua Bierer's innovation in the 40's of day hospital, night hospital, the open door, and additional experiments in group and therapeutic club functions. Neither does she mention T. A. C. Rennie's work in vocational rehabilitation services (though such a book appears in the same Commonwealth series). The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry is fully discussed, but not the various psychoanalytic movements which certainly belong to these same decades of the first half of the twentieth century. In a Chapter 11 on the Helping Professions, one learns about Mary Jarrett and psychiatric social work; the efforts of nurses, aides, and clergymen; but again nothing of interdisciplinary epidemiological and etiological studies, Rennie's work in the New York City Community Mental Health Board, the Baltimore studies of Lemkau and associates, or the crucial work going on in cross-cultural research in the 40's, 50's, and today.

Nevertheless, many features are excellent and make the volume indispensable: Chapter 8 on military psychiatry, Chapter 10 on legal protection or forensic psychiatry, and Chapters 12 and 13 on Public Education, Public Relations, and Citizens' Organization are unusual innovations in a book of this sort, done with a sure hand. Dr. Ridenour, a clinical psychologist and organizational expert in this area of mental health writes clearly and incisively.

MARVIN K. OPLER

University of Buffalo School of Medicine

Patients' Views of Medical Practice—A Study of Subscribers to a Prepaid Medical Plan in the Bronx. By ELIOT FREIDSON, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1961. 268 pp. $3.75.

This is an exploratory study of the attitudes and behavior of patients who have had experience with more than one type of medical practice. Specifically, three modes of organizing practice were studied: (1) the Montefiore Hospital Medical Group in which the insurance principle of prepayment was combined with the practice of medicine in organized, multiphysician associations; (2) the Family Health Maintenance Demonstration, an experimental plan within the Montefiore Group, in which everyday health service was provided by a team composed of a physician, a public health nurse, and a social worker instead of by an individual family doctor; and (3) the "solo" practice of the traditional private physician.

Unlike most studies of medical care which have concentrated on the patient and viewed his behavior as a product of personal characteristics, this study has as its conceptual framework social structural analysis. The author views medical care as involving a system of relationships which include not only the patient, but the doctor, the organization of medical practice, and the patient's community life as well. Unfortunately, the patients provided most of the data, through questionnaires and interviews, about the doctor and professional practice as well as about themselves. The absence of extensive materials from the physicians results in a bias which the author recognizes, but which cannot be overlooked.

The most interesting findings concern the patients' evaluation of medical service. Good health care, they felt, requires both technically competent treatment and an interest in the patient by the physician. The "solo" practitioner was rated as more likely to provide personally satisfying care than the doctors in the Montefiore Group, but not able to administer as competent technical service. The Family Health plan, on the other hand, provided both technically good and personally satisfying care. The behavior of many Family Health patients, however, differed from their stated attitudes. From the professionals' view, patient cooperation left something to be desired. Even more striking, a significant proportion of patients used the services of an outside physician while they were active members of the Family Health project: 15 per cent for surgical operations or child delivery and 37 per cent for other types of services.

The reasons for this behavior as well as for the dissatisfaction of patients in the Montefiore Group seemed related to the organization of practice. Group practice provided service of a higher technical quality than much "solo" practice, but its bureaucratic nature insulated it more from the patients' personal needs. Therefore, patients in group practice frequently "shopped around" for a doctor who would satisfy these needs and they paid less attention to his technical competence.

Both health practitioners and sociologists should find this book extremely valuable. Not only does it raise fundamental issues about medical practice, but it contributes to our theoretical knowledge of the relationship between social structure and professional practice.

JEROME K. MYERS

Yale University

The Management of the Doctor-Patient Relationship. By RICHARD H. BLUM. Foreword by JOSEPH SADUSK and ROLLEN WATERSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. (Blakiston Division), 1960. xiv, 304 pp. $8.50.

Medical historians of the future may point to the rediscovery of interpersonal relationships between physicians and patients and their significance to medical diagnosis and treatment as one of the most important contributions to medical progress in the mid-20th century. In *The Management of the Doctor-Patient Relationship* Richard Blum, a psychologist, addresses physicians with a set of essays on human relationships which he characterizes as "a why-do-it as well as a how-to-do-it book."

There are many very fine sections in which Dr. Blum provides a useful synthesis of historical, cultural, social-class, and psychological considerations in tracing forces that contribute to the ways in which patients define illness, and to the variety of beliefs, values, and attitudes that may help explain their responses to illness and their relationships with physicians. With equal effect, Blum considers the physician's response to his patients, identifying the

roles which stereotype, bias, and ethnocentrism may play. This volume has much appeal and value in those sections in which the author makes good use of sociological, anthropological, and psychological literature in supporting his basic thesis.

Unfortunately, a generally well-written and potentially valuable book is blighted by numerous attempts to "fill in the gaps with assumptions." For example: "The patient who files an unjustified suit will be dependent, emotionally immature, extreme, rigid and authoritarian, incapable of accepting adult responsibility, and quick to suspect and to blame others for his frequent troubles." (P. 105). Equally distasteful to this reader is a preoccupation with the problem of avoiding malpractice suits.

ROBERT STRAUS
University of Kentucky Medical Center

The Caricature of Love: A Discussion of Social, Psychiatric and Literary Manifestations of Pathologic Sexuality. By HERVEY CLECKLEY. New York: Ronald Press, 1957. x, 319 pp. $7.50.

This is a curious book. It is curious in that it contains dozens of errors of grammar, spelling, typography, dates, as well as misattributions of reference, etc., most of which have been corrected in ink in my review copy. And it is curious in the way in which the argument proceeds.

The author, a professor of psychiatry and neurology at the University of Georgia, has written a polemic. His targets include all who view sexual deviation in terms other than perversion. His fire is concentrated most heavily on the poet and writer—Whitman, Wilde, Lawrence, Verlaine, Gide, Proust, Wylie, and others—who directly or by implication assert the normalcy or superiority of sexual behavior different from the conventional, on the assumption that "Though few in number and exclusive in taste, such groups frequently attain considerable influence in determining esthetic standards." He blasts those psychiatrists and psychoanalysts whose use of such Freudian-derived concepts as bisexuality, instinct-inhibited-in-their-aim, and the normal homoerotic component of the libido, would seem to give comfort to the enemy.

His method is essentially simple, and is clearly revealed in this comment on the Kinsey data concerning the incidence of male homosexuality: "As regards the report itself, I need only say that the statistics very unrealistically reflect homosexuality as it appears in psychiatric practice and in the ordinary experiences of life itself." Thus, to paraphrase (but not, I think, unfairly) Cleckley: Love is undefinable, and at any rate is more a subject for the expression of prejudices than for evidence. However, a pair of male homosexuals cannot really be in love with one another because never in my psychiatric practice have I seen a happy homosexual. And, besides, would any parents want their son to be so attached to another man?

Surely, the problem which Cleckley raises deserves more thorough and serious treatment than this. For the sociologist, perhaps the most instructive result of reading this book would be the revelation of just how impoverished the argument can be in the absence of an informed consideration of the structure of norms in society.

SHELDON STRYKER
Indiana University

Paul and Mary: Two Case Histories from "Truants from Life." By BRUNO BETTELHEIM. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor Book), 1961. xxx, 445 pp. $1.45, paper.

Paul and Mary is much more than the title would indicate, since it contains much more than two case histories from *Truants From Life*, first published in 1955. The other two case histories contained in the parent book, "John" and "Harry" are excluded, but the original introduction and the description of the school are retained, with very minor changes to explain the difference from the parent book. The original Appendix, which included a section on writing case histories, statistical material concerning the children and their parents, and some rather slight discussion of the possible etiological factors in childhood schizophrenia is included. Added to the material reprinted from *Truants from Life* is a very short introduction, which indicates that *Paul and Mary* is a book primarily intended for parents. In a few pages, it discusses the plight of parents in the modern world and tells a few details of the recent life of *Paul and Mary*. Paul did not finish college and "is maintaining himself adequately at white collar work." Mary married, only to be divorced, and is working as a nurse's aid in a hospital. Mary apparently married a most disturbed man.

The book presents in a lucid and vivid manner how these two schizophrenic children behaved, the course of their treatment, and how they gradually began to overcome some of their difficulties. The two case histories show the kinds of distorted relationship such children have with themselves and with others, and

the almost incredible devotion and endurance of the staff of the Orthogenic School.

Three criticisms, perhaps minor, might be mentioned. First, in my judgment, too much material is given about the lives of the counselors. It is not the business of the general public to hear about the neurotic conflicts of living and identified persons. Second, it is probable that the relation between these conflicts and the need and ability to work with such disturbed children is much more complex than Bettelheim makes it appear. Third, Bettelheim's therapeutic aims seem to be of an almost overwhelming nature. Given the degree of disturbance of these children, more modest goals might have been sought, and then there might have been a more realistic appraisal of the futures of Paul and Mary.

An impressive and interesting difference between therapy of neurotic and psychotic children can be deduced from this book. Neurotic children can work through in classic analysis the trauma resulting in this disturbance. Psychotic children must *live* them through—and on the way must have experiences to correct the early deficits in relationship and development. For the neurotic child, individual therapy can therefore suffice. For the psychotic child, a total therapeutic milieu is needed, for only this can afford the kind of emotional nourishment which he requires, and which must be a prerequisite for later therapeutic enlightenment.

Sidney Axelrad
Queens College

Juvenile Vandalism: A Study of Its Nature and Prevention. By John M. Martin. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1961. ix, 145 pp. $6.50.

In this report of his dissertation research, Martin has prepared a slender, readable, and provocative volume on juvenile vandalism that is filled with interesting case material. The focus of his interest is 29 juvenile vandals —three per cent of the 1,571 new cases brought before the Bronx Children's Court in New York City in 1955. From intensive interviews of the boys and their families and supplementary reports from schools and agencies to which the boys were known, the author has obtained a number of penetrating findings and observations concerning both the vandals themselves and their acts.

After developing typologies of both vandals and acts of vandalism, Martin, in a final chapter, presents an exposition of the crimogenic character of contemporary American society. If one grants, as this reviewer does, the crucial role of the culture as well as the individual need, one must agree with Dr. Martin and many other students of the problem that both the general and the specific proposals for preventing delinquency have in the main been ineffective.

Martin ends with a plea for a revival of interest and concern for the deviant youth *in the neighborhood in which he lives.* He is not advocating a rearrangement or coordination of existing individual group services. On the contrary, he calls for a fresh approach from the ground up in which the trained worker is the enabler and the servant of the resident forces. In Martin's opinion, an attack on the problems which the neighborhood identifies as pertinent is the first step in dealing constructively with the tensions of intergroup conflict, the fertile breeding ground for most forms of delinquency.

Martin begins and ends his study modestly. He claims only to have raised leads for further testing. In this reviewer's opinion, his approach is long overdue.

Sophia M. Robison
Howard University

Pioneers in Criminology. Edited by Hermann Mannheim. The Library of Criminology No. 1. Published under the auspices of The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. Chicago, Ill.: Quadrangle Books, 1960. xi, 402 pp. $7.50.

Essentially a reproduction of the series "Pioneers in Criminology" published in *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* between 1954 and 1959, this book contains descriptions and analyses of the criminologically significant contributions of seventeen men selected as pioneers in the field of criminology.

The term criminology was used in the broadest possible sense in the editorial selection of the pioneers. Included are persons identified with the classical school of criminal law, jurists dealing with the problems of modern criminal law, men generally known as the founders of both anthropological and sociological criminology, a specialist in criminalistics, a prison architect, and an early representative of extramural treatment in "corrections." The series is preceded by a 35-page introduction by Hermann Mannheim, the editor, and is concluded by a summary statement by Clarence Ray Jeffery. The authors of the individual articles hail from the United States, England, continental Europe and Australia, so that the book represents a truly international undertaking also in this respect.

On the whole the *Series* and the book are an important contribution to the current criminological literature. The main contribution, however, lies not in the original monographic findings concerning the 17 pioneers. Most of these are well-known figures, about whom much has been written, and one could hardly expect these brief articles to contribute much that is new. But there are some new perspectives on the old familiar subjects from the vantage point of modern research and theory. The main merit of the book lies in bringing together the theories of early criminologists in the form of brief monographs and making these readily accessible. As Jeffery points out, ". . . criminologists in particular have been negligent in their treatment of the historical development of ideas and theories." This book helps considerably to fill this gap.

The unifying perspective on the contributions of the pioneers is provided in the editor's introduction and Jeffery's summary. This perspective must needs be a very general one, since it endeavors to bring together in a meaningful fashion the contributions on widely divergent topics by persons from a variety of fields. Both Mannheim and Jeffery resort to the concept of the "positivist school" as the unifying link. The reviewer questions the usefulness of this concept as the analytical tool for comprehending the contribution of the pioneers. Historically speaking, several of the men discussed had nothing at all to do with the positivist school. Beccaria and Bentham, for instance, lived long before the positivist movement began. Even if these two were included as the point of departure, or for contrast, several others have nothing to do with the positivist point of view. For instance, Charles Doe's role is limited to the issue of mental abnormality and criminal responsibility. The attempt to subsume all this under positivism seems somewhat artificial and results in many instances in a forced squeezing of the topics into the positivist frame of reference, by now mostly outgrown by modern social science. Jeffery resolves this problem more fortunately than Mannheim; he identifies the positivist school as an attempt to apply scientific methods to the study of the criminal and uses the term primarily in this very general sense. Mannheim, on the other hand, goes into much greater detail in identifying positivism and its variations and thus is led into much more artificial constructs in an effort to fit the content of the volume into this concept. While this might be of interest to a specialist in the history of criminological thought, the contemporary student with more general interests will hardly find it profitable to follow Mannheim's analysis in all its ramifications.

The book suggests itself as excellent supplementary reading matter in any substantial course in criminology. For a graduate survey in criminology, it should be a must. It also should find a place as a handy reference book on the shelf of the professional criminologist.

PETER P. LEJINS

University of Maryland

Custom: An Essay on Social Codes. By FERDINAND TÖNNIES. Translated by A. FARRELL BORENSTEIN. Introduction by R. HEBERLE. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, 151 pp. $4.00.

In 1909, 22 years after the publication of the first edition of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tönnies' small volume, *Die Sitte*—which Borenstein has now translated as *Custom*—appeared. In this work, as in most of his other writings, Tönnies used as his central analytical tools *Gemeinschaft*, which has its social psychological underpinnings in natural will *(Wesenwille)*, and *Gesellschaf* . based upon rational will *(Kürwille)*. As Tönnies states several times in the volume, and as Rudolph Heberle stresses in his helpful introduction, custom has three aspects: first, there is the actual behavior; second, there is the norm that prescribes or proscribes conduct; and third there is the will, the aspect to which Tönnies believes he makes the greatest contribution. He maintains that the sociologist must occupy himself with social will, the "thou shalt" or "thou shalt not" aspect of behavior. Custom for Tönnies rises out of *Gemeinschaft*-like behavior in which relationships, especially among the common people, are permeated with natural will. Usages, customary law, and religious ethics like customs, are *Gemeinschaft*-like and resist change; legislative law, fashions, manners, conventions, and public opinion are *Gesellschaft*-like and subject to frequent and rapid change.

Although Tönnies is convinced of "the inner necessity of the process" that weakens the "folk and their *gemeinschaftlich* cooperative life," in his own writings he does not "suppress a sense of the tragic in the course of things." He notes that as *Gesellschaft*-like civilizations develop, what Becker (1951 and 1960) calls "sacralization" takes place. "One longs to return to nature, [and] homespun . . . style and form . . . are discovered." (P. 135.) These flurries, according to Tönnies, do not solve the problem. "The spirit of *Gesellschaft* remains the same: it cannot jump over its own shadow . . . reorganization of the economic foundations" is

necessary. He believes that a new kind of *Gemeinschaft* which combines state- and co-operative-socialism can regenerate Western society. Possessing the courage of his convictions, he condemns Russian Communism and German Nazism as they later arose and attempted to create their own brand of what some called *Gemeinschaft.* The book concludes on a sanguine and challenging note: A new lawbook of morality which does not hold itself bound to custom has . . . become necessary. . . . And reason . . . must cease being merely a scientific, analytical power. Rather it must develop into the . . . *Gemeinschaft* . . . the 'height of human potential . . .'. (P. 146.)

CHARLES P. LOOMIS
Michigan State University

Culture in History. Essays in Honor of PAUL RADIN. Edited by STANLEY DIAMOND. Foreword by ABRAM LEON SACHAR. Paul Radin: An Appreciation by CORA DUBOIS. Published for Brandeis University. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. xxiv, 1014 pp. $15.00.

Paul Radin did not live to see the publication of these many essays written to honor him on his seventy-fifth birthday. And several of the most distinguished contributors—Clyde Kluckhohn, A. L. Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, Robert Redfield—are now dead. A special sadness must thus go with the essays. It is good that so many of them are clearly best efforts, making *Culture in History* a fine tribute to a man whose scholarship has had great consequences.

The great range of Radin's scholarship is well matched by the fifty-two contributions to the book that honors him. The primitive world view, approaches to culture, ritual, religion and myth, history, social theory and law, and language form the main sections of the book. These describe fairly well a good many of Radin's own interests. Cora DuBois has prepared a sensitive review of Radin's life and work. Richard Werbner compiled a ten-page bibliography of his writings.

By linking modes of thought and conduct with social types, Radin developed some leads towards a social anthropology of knowledge. In *Primitive Man as Philosopher* he offered his famous identification and contrast of the thinker with the man of action. In *Primitive Religions* he compared the religious formulator seeking inner satisfactions with the outgoing religious type seeking outer securities and accomplishments. In *The Trickster* he expounded on the primitive transformer and culture hero. In response in part to some of Radin's portrayals, many of the articles in *Culture in History* contribute to the social anthropology of knowledge. Robert Redfield, Stanley Diamond, Kurt Goldstein, Walter Goldschmidt, Joseph Campbell, Stanley Edgar Hyman, and John Leddy Phelan have brought together some exciting commentaries on primitive intellectual social types and other moving figures in society. Diamond's account in "Plato and the Definition of the Primitive" of the Greek poet as trickster and of his necessary banishment from The Republic is particularly intriguing. In a knowing paper on "The Dialectic of Christianity," Hyman points to the shamans and other primitive religious leaders that have been brought into Scripture. And Kurt Goldstein's examination of the concept of "Primitivity" as assigned to the mentality of simpler peoples and of brain-damaged or other disoriented persons brings out his profound comprehension of the social function of reflection and of the reflective thinker.

Other papers by A. Irving Hallowell, Leslie A. White, Clyde Kluckhohn, David Bidney, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Thalia Phillies Howe, John Howland Rowe, Åke Hultkrantz, and Joseph Greenberg comment on the world view of various peoples and make other analyses of primitive thought, myth, and literature. Hallowell's elegant portrayal of "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View" is an especially informing record of the significance of persons in the general outlook of a people. Using four of Radin's Winnebago myths, Claude Lévi-Strauss provides a neat demonstration of his technique of myth analyses, revealing the social undertones of myth. David Bidney offers a thoughtful commentary on "Paul Radin and the Problem of Primitive Monotheism."

Then there are papers that fit thought, myth, and values to objects, practices, and social structure. These include an astounding account by Katharine Luamalo of the extreme emphasis on "The Native Dog in the Polynesian System of Values," and a beautiful description of a life ceremony, "The Gotr Ceremony of the Boro Gadaba," by Karl Gustav Izikowitz, in which the relevance of ritual to social situation is made plain.

Not all of the essays, of course, stress knowledge and its social location and organization. Two insightful contributions on method must be mentioned: Robert H. Lowie's "Empathy, or 'Seeing from Within'" and Huntington Cairns' "The Data of Legal Theory." And three papers of particular interest to sociologists are included: a sophisticated demonstration of modern evolutionary inquiry by Irving Goldman on

"The Evolution of Polynesian Societies"; a theoretically advanced statement by Morton H. Fried "On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State"; and Maurice Stein's good remarks on "Anthropological Perspectives on the Modern Community."

The comprehensive views of several scholars are included among the essays. Gene Weltfish in "The Anthropologist and the Question of the Fifth Dimension" discusses with some force how the study of material culture can serve as "a focus for arriving at a unified field of anthropology through a synthesis of epistemological and ethnohistorical approaches." This is balanced by Earl W. Count's "Myth as World View: a Biosocial Synthesis." Both of these papers, which can be read as suggestions on how to work in social science, could be of some use to sociologists who are looking for improved ways to study modern cultures Another comprehensive treatment—Eric H. Lenneberg's "Language, Evolution, and Purposive Behavior" —could modify drastically the happy accounts of language as learned behavior that are so simply set forth in many textbooks.

Culture in History is the first *Festschrift* brought out by Brandeis University. It is a monumental achievement.

EDWARD ROSE
University of Colorado

The Papers of Maurice R. Davie, Edited by RUBY JO REEVES KENNEDY. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961. v, 311 pp. $5.00.

After taking his Ph.D. at Yale University in 1918, Maurice R. Davie began his Yale teaching career in 1921 and retired forty years later During these years, as the image of William Graham Sumner faded into the background, Maurice Davie came to typify sociology at Yale He made a substantial contribution to sociology at his alma mater, to the profession generally, and to the advancement of scientific knowledge. The present volume includes some of his significant writings concerning immigration, minority groups, the urban community, and other topics.

One who had never known Davie could get something of the quality of the man from examining this volume. "The Pattern of Urban Growth" appeared in 1937 at a time when the concentric circles theory of urban distribution of population and resources was still widely held. Davie, without once raising his voice above a normal conversational pitch, does a thorough demolition job on this theory by the simple expedient of marshaling the facts. Another facet of that personality is seen in "The Negro and the War" (1943), a cancelled radio broadcast. He was asked to delete the following sentence from his prepared script: "Perhaps no single incident has done more damage to Negro morale than the gratuitous insult to the race by the American Red Cross in first refusing to accept the blood of Negro donors and then in segregating it, for no scientific reason whatsoever." (P. 267). He took the position that the facts were correctly stated and stood his ground. His action doubtlessly hastened the end of the strange policy to which he referred. Davie's ever-present eagerness to get the facts is seen, for example, in his "Propinquity of Residence before Marriage."

The volume contains an excellent preface by Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy and a bibliography of Davie's writings. It will be a useful reference source to persons interested in the history of sociology during the past forty years.

Although this is a summing-up volume, there is a strange irony in its publication, for Maurice Davie gives every appearance of continuing his vigorous career for many years.

HUGH CARTER
National Vital Statistics Division

The Image of the Future: Enlightening the Past, Orientating the Present, Forecasting the Future. Volume One: The Promised Land, Source of Living Culture. Volume Two: Iconoclasm of the Images of the Future, Demolition of Culture. By FRED. L. POLAK. Translated by ELISE BOULDING. European Aspects Series: A collection of Studies Relating to European Integration Published under the Auspices of the Council of Europe. Series A: Culture, No. 1. Leyden, Netherlands: A. W. Sythoff; New York: Oceana Publications, 1961. 456, 376 pp. $12.50.

It must be said at once that this is a book of prophecy rather than a work of scholarship. The author claims to know exactly what is wrong with our Western societies: they have lost the right relationship to the future. And as men live more by their hopes than by their achievements, we cannot be surprised that things go from bad to worse. "There are hardly any new constructive and no generally accepted idealistic images of the future at the present time," and this dire situation has arisen "for the first time in the three thousand years of Western civilization as a whole." Now, utopias are not idle dreams; they are, on the contrary, the vital breath of societies: "The greatest impact of the utopian idea in the course of history has taken place through its fertilizing

effect on social idealism." Thus, if we are on the move, and wish to remain so, we need utopias almost as much as we do the daily bread. But "our contemporary culture disqualifies just those qualities, devalues just those values, and makes unthinkable just those thoughts and ideas which would be vitally necessary in giving new life to our culture." Polak wants to do what he can to change this state of hopelessness. "The task before us is to reawaken the almost dormant awareness of the future," and to this objective the work before us is dedicated.

The basic thesis is an interesting one and a fine book could be written about it. But this work has many and serious shortcomings. First of all, it is not focused on its subject. Indeed, it is so diffuse that it discusses almost everything that is even remotely connected with its theme. The author confesses that he does not like definitions, and the attitude evinced in this remark is only too noticeable. We find him ranging over the whole field of religion, philosophy, literature, art, and politics, and even beyond. But it is impossible for a man adequately to know all these subjects, and for this reason there are many statements which betray a lack of the necessary information. There is talk of "nationalistic ideas in Dante's *De Monarchia*," but it is a universal empire that the poet strives for; the Huguenots are called "chiliasts," whereas in reality they were characterized by a particularly down-to-earth political attitude; of the medieval serf it is said that "he was liable to death at the whim of his feudal lord." Conditions were different in different countries, but in England, for instance, the Crown alone could execute a man even for a serious crime. In a work of this size, some errors are unavoidable and should be forgiven. But there are far too many in these pages.

Another aspect which forces itself on the reader's attention whether he likes it or not, is the style. Here are a few examples quoted verbatim: a "laughing mirror" of social life like Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* "pickles the spirit of the times in vinegar and throws it at the screen of history in disgust." "Felled and split by the executioner's axe, the tree of the Renaissance is empowered through its bitter fate to bring forth, in addition to its glorious creations, its strange and often forbidden fruit of utopian images of the future." "The leitmotiv of [men's] current swan song has become that the source of this pernicious decline is the poisonous mushrooming of science." And then there are the pleonasms. There is not likely to be another book which is so full of them. Here is a selection: retrospectively projected back; the momentary present; classless equality; esoteric mystery; positive optimism; negative pessimism; the ultimate and final state; a social ethics for man in society; existential existence; and so on, and so on. This mode of expression is part and parcel of the prophetic complexion of the book. It is meant to heighten its tone, but one simply cannot help feeling irritated by it.

Further sources of irritation are the innumerable misprints which disfigure these volumes: for instance, motion for emotion; principle for Principe; Advertists for Adventists; preserve for persevere; competent parts for component parts; etc., etc.

In closing this review, I find it impossible not to express keen regret that the author, whose idealism should be freely acknowledged, has not seen fit to check his intuitions by those sober scholarly techniques without which even the best endeavor is unlikely to succeed.

WERNER STARK

University of Manchester

Mathematical Thinking in the Measurement of Behavior: Small Groups, Utility, Factor Analysis. By HERBERT SOLOMON (Editor). With contributions by JAMES S. COLEMAN, ERNEST W. ADAMS, HERBERT SOLOMON. A Study of the Behavioral Models Project, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. 314 pp. $7.50.

Developments in Mathematical Psychology: Information, Learning, and Tracking. With contributions by R. DUNCAN LUCE, ROBERT R. BUSH, J. C. R. LICKLIDER. A Study of the Behavioral Models Project, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. vi, 294 pp. $7.50.

Neither of these works can be thoroughly understood without a sound grounding in mathematics at least through calculus. *Mathematical Thinking in the Measurement of Behavior* contains three essays by James Coleman dealing with the mathematical study of small groups, a survey of Bernoullian Utility Theory by Ernest W. Adams, and a survey of mathematical models in factor analysis by Herbert Solomon. In the piece on small groups, an attempt is made to explicate the symbolic or mathematical systems implicit in the word descriptions of much small group research. While the greater part of this may be beyond the grasp of most sociologists, even the mathematically unsophisticated reader can derive benefit from sections such as those dealing with

the formalization of qualitative propositions and model building. The objective of Adams' article on utility theory is to present a relatively nontechnical introduction to this subject, and it does so with a fair measure of success. Solomon's competent analysis of various factor analytic models will be most suited to those trained to understand the mathematical bases of these methods.

The second book, *Developments in Mathematical Psychology*, probably will be of less interest to most sociologists. This volume is also divided into three parts. The first of these (by R. Duncan Luce) deals with selective information theory, including a large section on the behavioral applications of information theory in the realm of psychology. The second paper is a survey of mathematical learning behavior by Robert Bush. Here the tools of mathematics are brought to bear on the problems of acquisition, extinction, discrimination, and so on, which comprise the field of learning theory in psychology. The third article by J. C. R. Licklider analyzes quasi-linear operator models in the study of manual tracking.

KENNETH POLK
University of Oregon

Markov Learning Models for Multiperson Interactions. By PATRICK SUPPES and RICHARD C. ATKINSON. Stanford Mathematical Studies in the Social Sciences, V. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960. xii, 296 pp. $8.25.

In the short space of fifteen years, two mathematical theories of behavior have been introduced and captured the imagination of many students: the mathematical theory of games and statistical learning theory. Suppes and Atkinson report a series of experiments that combine these theories in the context of still another postwar development: the experimental study of small groups. In their phrase, "the aim of this book is to apply a mathematical theory of behavior (learning theory) to small-group experiments that closely resemble game situations."

Two introductory chapters provide the motivations for their models together with their detailed description in terms of explicit axioms, observable and unobservable random variables, and the necessary parameters. The following nine chapters report the outcome of small group experiments designed to test the proposed models; variation from chapter to chapter is largely in terms of the type and degree of interaction between the two (sometimes three) members of the group. A final chapter summarizes the results and includes extensions of the models (without data) to cases of social conformity and economic ologopoly.

The general model under consideration is intended to describe the process of learning, by which is meant "any systematic change in behavior." Partly because of the remarkable predictive power of these models, it is hard to argue with the authors' claim that "in statistical learning theory we have a theory with the same sort of 'feel' about it that theories in physics have." Game theory, on the other hand, appears to be of no value as a predictive (as opposed to a normative) theory.

Unfortunately, these investigations make no real contribution to an understanding of social processes, except insofar as they help clarify the nature of the psychological "atoms" that would be treated on an aggregate level by the sociological model builder. As an example of model building, however, the book is of great value. The strategies of model building and testing are explicitly discussed at one point or another in the presentation. Although much of the mathematics is not easy, it is fully discussed and explained, especially in the early chapters. In view of the immense amount of work reported here, it seems somewhat unfair to wish that the authors had organized the presentation differently, but the nonspecialist would be better served by a more systematic assembly of conclusions and critical or strategic comments, and their greater separation from the mathematical and statistical developments.

ROBERT H. SOMERS
University of Michigan

L'Unité des Sciences Humaines. By GUY PALMADE. Organisation et Sciences Humaines (1), Collection dirigée par JEAN-CLAUDE FILLOUX. Paris: Dunod, 1961. vi, 357 pp. 39 NF.

The author of this attractive book is a psychologist who thinks that the social sciences are of immense practical importance, that they have developed rapidly in the twentieth century, and that their practical value and their development will be greatly enhanced if there is established a set of common concepts which can become the basis for empirical work and theoretical formalization in all the several social science specialties. In this book, the author, who mentions having been influenced by organization theory (March and Simon), Margaret Mead, communication theory, cybernetics, and the mathematical theory of games, as well as by psychology, proposes a set of such common concepts: operation, information, conduct, characterization, interaction, complemen-

tarity, etc. The largest part of the book is devoted to setting forth these concepts and showing their usefulness in psychology; a smaller part shows some of their applications in social psychology, the sociology of work, legal sociology, and economics. The unity of the social sciences, of which the title speaks, is said to be manifested in these common concepts and their multiple and "trans-specific" applications. Unlike some who preach unity in the social sciences, the author is aware of the dangers of reductionism and of the advantages of specialization.

For those concerned with such problems in social science, an effort of this kind is always interesting, though not always new or convincing. Palmade's book is interesting, not least of all because it is not what one expects from France these days; it will not seem so new to some Americans as it may to some French social scientists; and it will, alas, be convincing only when it becomes more than an occasion for illustration, when it becomes an actual vehicle for empirical synthesis or research. One man's set of concepts and/or deductive propositions are another man's formalism until their usefulness is demonstrated on empirical data, either through the reordering of old data or the collection of better data. Perhaps the author and his colleagues in French social science are about to show us, through research or reinterpretation, how useful this interesting set of concepts can be. Work of this kind would be highly welcome.

Bernard Barber
Barnard College, Columbia University

Can Science Save Us? By George A. Lundberg. Second edition. New York; London; Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961. 150 pp. $2.75.

Having already achieved the status of a classic in its earlier edition, and deservedly so, this book remains an important work because in a clear and forthright style, comprehensible to any educated reader, it demonstrates the indispensability of social science as an area of specialization and effectively demolishes the standard arguments against it: "only physical scientists can achieve laboratory control;" "what the social scientist finds is *necessarily* determined by his motives;" "human nature is too unpredictable and complex to be studied;" etc. Climaxing the specific refutations of these hidebound slogans is the author's formidable question, "What alternatives do you propose that hold greater promise? If we do not place our faith in social science, to what shall we look for social solutions?"

While this book deserves unstinting praise as an apologia for the social sciences, it is in this reviewer's opinion somewhat less meritorious as a methodological guide to the already committed professional. "Science" is an ambiguous and emotion-loaded word. Although the author makes repeated use of it, he does little to safeguard against its semantic deficiencies. He seems sometimes to use it as a synonym for "demonstrated truth" and at other times to designate a generalized method of investigation. As the former, it is an unilluminating neologism, and as the latter, it is empirically questionable. That "there are valid principles and *methods* of sampling, correlation, probability computation, and logical inference to which nearly all scientists subscribe," can hardly be challenged, but the belief that these principles and methods may legitimately be *prescribed* as uniformly suitable independently of the nature of the reality being investigated is empirically contradicted by physical science experience, as anyone cognizant of the differences among the Maxwell-Boltzmann, the Bose-Einstein, and the Fermi-Dirac statistics could testify—to cite only a single example. Consequences of this misunderstanding are especially apparent in the author's discussions of values. Thus, in suggesting that to determine people's values "we observe their behavior, including their verbal behavior," Lundberg appears to ignore the dimensions of "meaning" and "understanding." Movements of another primate that are indistinguishable from those of a human being would in very few cases constitute identical behavior. Do the utterances of a parrot constitute verbal behavior, as that term applies to humans?

Finally, in keeping with the pragmatic orientation suggested by the book's title, Lundberg appears to find the locus of social problems in a lack of knowledge as to the means of gratifying whatever widespread values currently prevail. At the very least, this tends to obscure the extensive problems emanating from not only the empirical, but the logical, incompatibility of values that are simultaneously possessed by the same persons.

It is hoped that the high proportion of discussion necessarily devoted to justifying the negative criticisms in this review will mislead the reader neither as to the basic soundness of the book nor the reviewer's high regard for its author.

Albert Pierce
San Fernando Valley State College

Statistical Reasoning in Sociology. By JOHN H. MUELLER and KARL F. SCHUESSLER. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. xv, 442 pp. $6.25.

As the most recent of a number of treatises on elementary statistics intended exclusively for sociologists, this book compares most favorably with its predecessors. It is an unusually comprehensive and well-written presentation of the subject. All the concepts and definitions are clearly explained. Not only are the relevant operational steps of each statistical technique very well explained and illustrated, but also, as implied by the title of the book, the statistical rationale behind the technique is stressed. Moreover, all of the illustrative material contains data of general interest to students of sociology.

The topics covered are somewhat standard, with the exception of a section devoted to the Coefficient of Association, or Yule's "Q," the presence of which the reviewer notes with approval. The topical sequence is not entirely orthodox: a chapter upon the analysis of qualitative variables occurs before one upon techniques for correlating quantitative variables. Inasmuch as the latter techniques are more complex than the former, this makes considerable pedagogical sense.

No single treatise on elementary statistics can possibly be regarded as a palliative for all our basic problems of pedagogy and empirical research in sociology. The present volume is no exception. For example, one might wish that the authors had included discussions of such commonly utilized nonparametric tests as the Kolmogorov-Smirnov one- and two-sample tests and the Wilcoxon test. Furthermore, it is possible that students will become bored with the first portion of the book, which contains a very detailed discussion of descriptive statistics. However, no book yet in print is likely to be more useful to students of elementary statistics in sociology.

JUDSON B. PEARSON
University of Colorado

Soviet Society: A Book of Readings. Edited by ALEX INKELES and KENT GEIGER. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co.; Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1961. xii, 703 pp. $7.50.

It is easy, common, and correct for reviewers to criticize many symposia for sacrificing depth for breadth, neglecting important phases or contributions, and interlarding inconsistent interpretations without due attention to analysis and possible synthesis of views. Inkeles and Geiger have made a tremendous effort to overcome these usual lacks with 73 selections from a wide range of writers, covering topics as diverse as "Natural and Human Resources," in the first three readings, to "Beyond the Containment Policy" as number 73 in a five-selection finale on "A Forward Look"—a section that also includes "Russia and Western Civilization" by Arnold Toynbee, and "The Future of Communist and World Society" by N. S. Khrushchev (an author represented earlier by selection number 30, his "The Crimes of Stalin"). Between these are treatments of "stages of social development," the "system in perspective," nineteen items on "ideology and power," eleven on "economic life," ten on "mind and the spirit," and fourteen on "everyday living" (an omnibus heading that includes social welfare, the family, social stratification, nationalities, and "Types of Soviet Men").

Still, one must note: Many of the selections are indubitably, perhaps inevitably, sketchy. Despite the multiplicity of offerings and the inclusion of a few translated from the Russian, a considerable literature in languages other than English is almost wholly neglected, though the editors are clearly well acquainted with it and could have included some translations. Finally, a goodly number of selections are quite out of date, yet not important enough from a historical or other standpoint to deserve inclusion when no space is found at all for selections from so important a work as Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, or from such important German writings as Boris Meissner's *Das Ende des Stalin Mythos* (which is mentioned once *en passant*) or Klaus Mehnert's *Weltrevolution durch Waltgeschichte*. To a certain extent, the value of including any specific author is a matter of judgment, but a better balance of viewpoints might have been achieved through more attention to sources in other languages. This also would have made the collection more valuable to the American or English reader who ill-acquainted as he often is with the works in these other languages needs both the understanding and stimulation that can be afforded by such treatments from varying linguistic and cultural perspectives.

These are problems that to some extent no symposium can avoid. For example, had German contributions been included, a criticism might have been launched against the exclusion of some items that are in the editors' impressive array. Inkeles and Geiger are to be applauded for having done an excellent job in gathering and publishing so varied an assortment as they have. It should be most useful,

both as a text and for the general reader. Their own analyses do much to overcome, in part, the truncated nature of some selections and to supplement the trenchant quality of others with well-chosen words about alternative interpretations.

The coverage is so broad as to defy summary. One hesitates even to try to call attention to notable highlights among the selections, for there are so many. Nevertheless, those not previously acquainted with Bell's "Ten Theories in Search of Soviet Reality," MacRae's writings on Soviet ideology, Inkeles' own penetrating analyses of public opinion, Jasny's and Nove's analyses of the economic situation, will do well to read these parts if they do not find time for all 73 selections. Yet none of the 73 is unworthy of perusal. Whatever the lacks, this is, in sum, a superior work of its genre.

JOSEPH B. FORD
San Fernando Valley State College

The Red Executive: A Study of the Organization Man in Russian Industry. By DAVID GRANICK. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor Book), 1961. xiii, 294 pp., $1.45, paper.

An economist by training, Granick has also become a sociologist, for he is interested in the Soviet economic system, where the functions of prices and markets have been largely replaced by an administrative system. Economic decisions, as a consequence, are the more influenced by social structure, cultural values, and the personalities of Soviet industrial managers.

The main focus of the book is on the factory manager and his role in the Soviet economy, but the scope of discussion is very broad. Many other topics are treated more than incidentally —labor, the organization of the factory, how the Soviets struggle to achieve a balance between centralized control and local initiative, the rate of industrial growth, and the role of international trade in the cold war. Also, Granick comments liberally on Soviet education, public transportation, living standards, and so on. This is all made very rich and interesting by comparisons with American counterparts. Sometimes he finds unsuspected parallels. In Chapter 12, for example, American stockholders are found to stand in relation to the board of directors of the American corporation in much the same way as the rank and file of the Soviet Party membership to the Party Praesidium. In both cases, the first-named constitute the ultimate source of legitimacy, render facilities or services, receive appropriate rewards, and are separated from the ... groups (minority stockholding families or group and regional and factory party committees).

Comparative analysis is fine. We need muc more of it, of the kind Granick has contributec The thing to watch out for is the tendency t search so hard for paralells that the substantia and pervasive differences between the societie in question get left out or assimilated by th similarities. Sometimes, although rarely, Granic falls into the trap. For instance, the Praesidiur of the Soviet Communist Party is not well con ceived as ". . . little more than the ultimate con ference table at which conflicting interest group reach compromises," and it certainly is stretch ing things to dismiss the Soviet secret polic even today when they are less powerful, as "detective agency."

The subtitle is an unfortunate one, for as read the book, the red executive does *not* hav the personality and goals of an "organizatio man." (See Chapters 3 and 8.) All in all, how ever, this is an excellent book, with good infor mation, incisive and bold analysis, and an eas epigrammatic style.

KENT GEIGER
Tufts University

Guatemala: The Land and the People. B NATHAN L. WHETTEN. Caribbean Series, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Pres 1961. xvi, 399 pp. $6.00.

Nathan Whetten's *Rural Mexico* has bee extremely useful to countless students. Th present volume on Guatemala is cast in esser tially the same mold. It is a rural sociologic survey of the demography and major soci institutions of the society. Its seventeen cha ters are divided into five parts: "Land an People"; "Making a Living"; "The Level c Living"; "Social Institutions"; and a final brie chapter entitled "The Outlook." As in the Mex can study, this volume is strongest where dea ing with statistical materials. In more descrip tive material the chapter on the agrarian refor is commendably well balanced, although it share with the rest of the volume a lack of intere in the extra- or supra-national factors at wor in the national development. The review of die and nutrition is one of the few in English c the extensive work of the Institute of Nutr tion of Central America and Panama. The cha ters on both local and national government sa almost nothing of the informal structures, an the one on the family reflects the rural sociolo gist's astructural handling of this material. Th quality of many chapters is determined in pa by the availability of statistical materials.

The volume makes no theoretical or interpre

semblage of data, with no explicit attempt to handle controversial material or deal with varying interpretations of the Gutemalan social situation. Students of the area will find the book well worth having, and others wishing a review from the rural sociological standpoint will find a very competent work.

RICHARD N. ADAMS
Michigan State University

Sex Ways—In Fact and Faith: Bases for Christian Family Policy. Edited by EVELYN M. DUVALL and SYLVANUS M. DUVALL. New York: Association Press, 1961. 253 pp. $3.95.

The Duvalls have edited a sixteen-chapter volume which served as a backdrop for the 1961 North American Conference on Church and the Family. In the main, the book deals with facts and opinions about various aspects of sexual behavior both within and without marriage. In addition, the topics of early marriage, mixed marriage, divorce and remarriage, and proposals for strengthening family life are each discussed in separate chapters.

Each chapter has a bibliography, many of which could serve as a ready reference to the central items on the topic under discussion, as each author has attempted to draw upon pertinent research in summarizing the subject assigned to him for analysis.

Some of the better chapters are those by Lee Burchinal on early marriage, Jessie Bernard on divorce and remarriage, Lester Kirkendall and Arthur Gravatt on teenage sexual attitudes and behavior, Wardell Pomeroy on masturbation, and Ruth Smith on voluntary sterilization.

THEODORE B. JOHANNIS, JR.
University of Oregon

A Sociological Almanac for the United States. Edited by MURRAY GENDELL and HANS L. ZETTERBERG. New York: Bedminster Press, 1961. viii, 88 pp. $4.50.

Undergraduate and graduate students in sociology will find this almanac one of the most useful and convenient sources of ready information available on the American scene. Hans L. Zetterberg provides a most interesting and revealing introductory essay which serves well as "strings around the tables" and Murray Gendell gives some very good suggestions in his brief essay on "How to Read a Table." These tables present many statistical impressions of American society; some thirteen tables are devoted to human resources, twelve tables are concentrated on the body politic, thirteen tables depict the American family, twenty tables cover the general area of social economy, science and education are examined in fifteen tables, religion and art are presented in seven tables, and, finally, the community and ethos are analyzed in some ten tables.

This teaching aid and sourcebook ought to bring up-to-date many of the tables in current sociology textbooks. Furthermore, it ought to save the lecturer many tedious hours he might otherwise have to devote to the task of trying to present statistical tables to restless students. The editors are to be congratulated for their determined effort to use a very wide selection of statistical sources of information outside of government publications. In later editions it is hoped that the editors will be able to present a closer and more complete portraiture of the American society.

EDWARD C. MCDONAGH
University of Southern California

BOOK NOTES

Morale Factors in Industrial Management: The Examination of a Concept. By GEORGE SINGER. New York: Exposition Press (Exposition-University Book), 1961. 155 pp. $6.00.

Despite its title, this small book says little about "industrial management." It does examine some aspects of morale noted by others, although most of the sociological literature apparently was overlooked or ignored. Moreover, inadequacies of discussion and style are particularly noticeable throughout the author's own study of attitude, work behavior, status, and personality variables, as observed in 44 workers in one factory. Measurement was undertaken largely by means of questionnaires and interviews, sometimes utilizing debatable procedures (e.g., "leading" instructions and "loaded" questions). A 45-variable correlation matrix was prepared, from which seven factors were ex-

tracted. Thus, for Singer, morale involves the following diverse elements: "general, wide and consistent expression of dissatisfaction, with good behavioral adjustment to the work situation; personality integration; company loyalty; satisfactoriness (lack of); intrinsic job satisfaction (lack of); insecure sensitive young worker preoccupied with his own affairs; group morale (low/end)." Several of these factors are probably familiar to most; the remaining factors are more puzzling than revealing.

DONALD L. MILLS
University of Alberta, Calgary

Studies in Human Ecology. Edited by GEORGE A. THEODORSON. Evanston, Ill. and Elmsford, N.Y.: Row Peterson and Co., 1961, xiii, 626 pp. $8.50.

The growth and development of human ecology has been replete with its defenders, its critics, and its contributors to theory and research techniques. It has been over a decade since a textbook bringing together existing knowledge has appeared in the field of human ecology. Professor Theodorson's attempt to present, for the first time in one volume, the major contributions from the various fields of social science is an appreciated effort.

The author has integrated in this reader pertinent ecological studies from geography, anthropology, and sociology within each of the five parts: "Classical Human Ecology," "Current Theory and Research," "Cross-Cultural Studies," "Human Ecology as Human Geography," and "Regional Studies." The reviewer feels that this is an outstanding text in the field of human ecology today because (1) it brings together for the first time the major works of anthropologists, geographers, and sociologists, (2) it presents an up-to-date history of the various approaches to human ecology that have appeared during the past fifty years, and (3) empirical studies are adequately represented in each part of the text.

AUBREY WENDLING
San Diego State College

The Family, Society, and the Individual. By WILLIAM M. KEPHART. Editor's Introduction by M. F. NIMKOFF. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. xii, 690 pp. $6.75.

This work evidently represents an attempt to meet simultaneously the need for a text for the growing number of courses in marriage and the family reflecting a "functional" orientation, as well as for those courses with the more traditional "institutional" emphasis.

Coverage ranges from an unusually thorough consideration of the historical antecedents of the American family pattern to an extensive discussion of premarital sex codes and the physiological aspects of sexual relations. The familiar orthodox middle-class values are stressed in respect to the latter.

Kephart, in his effort to deal with so many diverse areas—"biological, historical, legal, religious and other institutional and personal-interactive factors," essentially fails to evolve a theoretical unity. He acknowledges his focus to be the "family field" rather than the "family proper," a focus which is apparently meant to provide the rationale for so wide a selection of subject matter but which results in the substitution of a loose sociological perspective for reasonably rigorous theoretical analysis.

The erudition displayed in this work is enormous. One reads fascinating accounts of the Mormons and the Oneida Community as illustrations of experimental family patterns and of the Amish, Italian, and Negro family organizations, although one wonders about the cursory treatment of the Negro family in view of the pervasiveness of the problem. It is difficult in many instances to establish the relevancy of much of the material even within so wide a limit as the "family field." Actually, Professor Kephart has written a survey of a broad area that crosses many disciplinary lines and as such the work has a certain usefulness. It is questionable, however, whether instructors in the field, no matter what their instructional emphasis, will want to sacrifice a thorough institutional analysis or functional orientation to broad coverage.

HOWARD W. BORSUK
Florida State University

Society and Culture: An Introduction to Sociology. By FRANCIS E. MERRILL. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961. xii, 619 pp. $7.95.

In this new edition of *Society and Culture,* the material and references have been updated so as to draw upon the major researches of the past five years. There has not been, in this process, any sacrifice of the many strong features that made the original book one of the recognized leaders in the highly competitive field of introductory texts. As before, the book is characterized by comprehensiveness, lucidity of style, and a conceptual foundation that is definite as well as consistent.

The one flaw of the present volume is the addition of two new chapters on social research and research techniques by Pauline Young.

Both chapters stand badly in need of editing. They yaw so suddenly from the extremely vague and general to the extremely minute and particular that they must serve as a source of confusion for any student. Their emphases are misleading and they fail to serve as an adequate overview of this complex field. They suffer the additional misfortune of being juxtaposed with 565 pages of Professor Merrill's measured, interesting style and carefully selected examples.

William W. Vosburgh
Bryn Mawr College

Social Science: An Introduction to the Study of Society. By Elgin F. Hunt. Second edition. New York: Macmillan Co., 1961. xx, 887 pp. $8.50.

The second edition of this work is a substantial improvement over the first which was published in 1955. Three new chapters—on methodology of the social sciences, the role of culture, and social change in relation to social problems—fill some notable gaps. Also improving the book is a lengthy chapter on social stratification. Much of the quantative material has been updated. At the end of each chapter are lists of twenty to thirty questions for review and discussion as well as lists of books and articles for further reading. Some fifty illustrations and two dozen tables are employed to give graphic emphasis to the text material.

The weaknesses of this book are the same as those to be found in any other introductory text attempting to cover the social science water front. The emphasis on basic concepts in each of the disciplines is commendable. Yet, there are so many—and so little opportunity to develop any one in detail—that this may confuse the student rather than clarify for him the elements in any particular social science. Moreover, with the abandonment of general education social science courses and a new emphasis on introductory courses in sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology, books of this type are less likely to be in demand—a trend that to this reviewer is all to the good.

Wilson Record
Sacramento State College

Introductory Sociology. By Robert L. Sutherland, Julian L. Woodward, and Milton A. Maxwell. Sixth Edition. Chicago; Philadelphia; New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1961. xi, 399 pp. $6.00.

When a veteran textbook like this reaches its sixth edition, there is not much that a reviewer can usefully say except to list and assess the changes made since the fifth edition. As the authors (who now include Milton A. Maxwell) point out, this revision is the most extensive yet. It involves a shorter book, the sections cut being those on culture, personality and social change. The treatment of culture is still longer than the average for introductory sociologies, emphasizing as it does more archeological than social anthropological aspects. On the other hand, the sections on society, structure and function, stratification, population, ecology and community have been expanded. Particularly in regard to population, there is a wealth of concrete data from official tables and charts. There are new materials on technology, small group research, mass communications, bureaucracy, race relations, education, and philanthropy. All these contribute to making the book up-to-date and topically informative as well as being, as it always has been, a sound treatment of the sociological approach to society. The extensive illustrative reading materials have been retained on the authors' belief that "student interest is the major factor in student learning." Their book, in my opinion, should amply justify their belief.

Douglas Rennie
Southern Illinois University

The Evolution of Man: A Brief Introduction to Physical Anthropology. By Gabriel Ward Lasker. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. xvi, 239 pp. $3.50.

As the subtitle suggests, this book is brief. Nevertheless, an astounding amount of accurate information has been compressed into these relatively few pages. On the whole, its meatiness will not interfere with its readibility for those who are interested in human evolution but who are not specialists in this field of inquiry.

Students of sociology will undoubtedly find this book both useful and authoritative. Recent developments pertaining to the study of the origin and nature of life, man's place in nature, primate behavior, fossil man, human genetics, race, and human growth are skillfully woven into a single theme of human evolution. Dr. Lasker has had professional experience in the genetical and anatomical as well as the anthropological aspects of the central topic.

Unfortunately, for the instructor in physical anthropology, Lasker has chosen to direct his book to a less sophisticated audience, and the pressing need for an up-to-date textbook of the caliber of E. A. Hooten's *Up from the Ape,* therefore, remains. This deficiency is not the

fault of the author, but one may question the omission of any reference to the study of constitutional types and the work of William Sheldon. Typographical errors or errors in fact are few, and the only one which disturbs the reviewer is the confusion of *opisthion* with *opisthocranion* on page 200.

BERT A. GEROW

Stanford University

Introduction to Social Welfare. By WALTER A. FRIEDLANDER. Second Edition. Foreword by HERBERT BLUMER. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961. xii, 589 pp. $7.50.

In this new edition of his widely used text, Friedlander has updated the content, "tightened up" the writing, and made the entire treatment more compact. However, the scope and basic organization remain relatively unchanged, providing coverage of the concept of social welfare, the historical development of social welfare services, the social work processes, social welfare programs and practices, and the professional aspects of social work.

The advantages of the revised edition are essentially those of the previous volume. The author once again manages to include a very broad range of well-organized topics and, as before, the descriptive material is rich as well as authoritative. However, certain of the same limitations that appeared in the first edition also characterize the present edition (and most of the competitive texts as well). The most important of these deficiencies is the lack of a systematic conceptual framework. In addition, the treatment of various theoretical problems is cursory and subordinates analysis to description. Yet, even with these limitations, the second edition of *Introduction to Social Welfare* appears to be the best of the presently popular introductory texts.

HERBERT BISNO

University of Oregon

Emotional Factors in Public Health Nursing: A Casebook. Edited by ABRAHAM B. ABRAMOVITZ. Prepared by the Wisconsin State Board of Health. Foreword by IONE ROWLEY. Introduction by LOUIS H. ORZACK. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961. v, 171 pp. $4.00.

This is called a "casebook" and constitutes an attempt to introduce students in public health nursing to some of the more recently developed social science concepts that relate to patient care within family and community context. It is prepared by a team consisting of a public health nurse, a sociologist, and the Director of the Division of Child Guidance in the Wisconsin State Board of Health. In an early chapter, certain principles of "basic human needs" and interpersonal relationships (eleven in number) are listed and briefly discussed by the editor. The principles are expressed primarily in terms of underlying dilemmas that confront individuals, such as "striving to identify oneself with others versus differentiating oneself from others" or "seeking fulfillment of individual needs and desires versus accepting cultural, moral, and religious values and principles." Then nine case histories, carrying accounts of verbal communication between nurse and patient or a member of the patient's family, are reported and appraised. The discussion of the cases is in a didactic or homilectic style with lessons drawn in a loose, generalized manner. The book may serve a useful purpose as a generalized "model" and inspiration to beginners in public health nursing. No claims are made for the discovery of, or systematic search for, new insights into human behavior. It is simply a beginner's handbook.

LEO W. SIMMONS

Columbia University

Newer Dimensions of Patient Care. Part 1: The Use of the Physical and Social Environment of the General Hospital for Therapeutic Purposes. By ESTHER LUCILE BROWN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1961. 159 pp. $2.00, paper.

This small, paperbound volume is the first of a two-part report on the author's recent studies of patient care in general hospitals in the United States. The intention of the author is to suggest directions for the reader to look in attempting to discover the psychosocial needs of patients. A conscious effort is made to discuss the customary things and everyday practices and attitudes characteristic of hospitals in comparison with the home and community.

Brown has drawn heavily for support from the organization and architectural design of Veterans Administration and other federal hospitals in making her criticisms of how other general hospitals do not provide specific facilities for ambulatory patients. In general, the author has done a commendable job in weaving the findings of the social sciences into her recommendations for better care of hospitalized patients. In addition, a number of anecdotes from novels, journals, and other sources are generously sprinkled throughout the book to highlight specific points made by the author.

Although the intended audience for this volume is nonsociological, sociologists interested

in the social structure of hospitals or medical sociology would benefit from reading this little book.

Leo G. Reeder
University of California, Los Angeles

Language and the Discovery of Reality: A Developmental Psychology of Cognition. By Joseph Church. Foreword by Robert B. MacLeod. New York: Random House, 1961. xviii, 245 pp. $4.00.

There is no field of intellectual endeavor more difficult to deal with than language. There is no academic work more difficult to evaluate than that concerning language. Psychologist, sociologist, philologist, philosopher, artist—to whom does language rightly belong?

Professor Church attempts to present a psychology of language that takes some account of other disciplines. The result is provocative, artistic, and confusing.

Approximately the first half of the book is devoted to a description of how (Church thinks) language develops in the infant and child. His emphasis is not on the formal aspect of language as such, but on language as the psychological bridge between the child and reality. There are many challenging, and flowery, statements herein, but an uncomfortable dearth of data.

The second half of the book is devoted to an elaboration of the above theory of the psychological function of language in its many facets of human behavior. The term *function* is applied here advisedly. While given specific use only on occasion (e.g., "Words do not have meanings, but functions."), it nevertheless provides—for those attuned to the concept—an underlying current of meaning throughout the entire volume.

Elisabeth Ruch Dubin
University of Oregon

Cybernetics or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine. By Norbert Wiener. Second Edition. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press; New York; London: John Wiley & Sons, 1961. xvi, 212 pp. No price indicated.

Cybernetics is a new scientific discipline of fundamental importance to the study of open systems—be they mechanical, biological, or social. One of the pioneering works in this field was Norbert Wiener's *Cybernetics,* now published in this second edition. This revision is most welcome for, in addition to new material contained in two supplementary chapters, the many typographical errors that plagued the first edition have been eliminated. The new chapters are contributions to the study of learning, self-reproducing, and self-organizing systems. These recent developments in cybernetics have special significance for the psychologist and sociologist. This volume, already a classic in the field, is essential reading for the mathematically sophisticated student of cybernetics. The reader should be warned that the treatment is heavily mathematical and for this reason I do not recommend it as an *introduction* for anyone who is not well grounded in the mathematics of harmonic analysis. For one whose training has been in sociology the best avenue of approach is by way of the writings of Karl W. Deutsch, W. Ross Ashby, and Colin Cherry. After working his way through Ashby's *An Introduction to Cybernetics,* the reader will be in a much better position from which to dip into this provocative and important book.

Mervyn L. Cadwallader
San Jose State College

Family Spending Patterns and Health Care. By Ashley H. Weeks. With the assistance of Leah Glass, Dorothea Hubin, and Howard Kaplan. Foreword by Odin W. Anderson. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. vi, 140 pp. $3.[illegible].

Ashley Weeks and his associates have undertaken in this volume to analyze the relationship between family expenditure patterns and amount of family income on the basis of questionnaire data collected from four hundred native-born, white Protestant intact families living within the Hackensack, New Jersey limits. These families were sampled from available Protestant church rolls. The special focus of their analysis is, as the title would suggest, on family expenditures for health care.

Among other things, it is found that ninety per cent of families had some form of health insurance even though few saved specifically for health care. More surprising, perhaps, is their finding that utilization of the services of a physician did not vary markedly by income level. Most families, regardless of income, sought the services of a physician only after illness struck. If any member saw the doctor regularly it would be the child rather than the adult.

For the reader with an interest in this topic, the book provides a wealth of data neatly summarized on pages of tables, but it is only fair to caution that the task of systematically integrating these data still remains to be done.

Theodore B. Johannis, Jr.
University of Oregon

The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation. By JAMES HARVEY YOUNG. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xii, 282 pp. $6.00.

The patent medicine industry in America has, among other things, contributed greatly to the development of the advertising agency, newspaper advertising, outdoor advertising (and the disfigurement of our landscape), the medicine show, and the themes employed by high-pressure salesmen. These effects, as well as many others, are well documented in Young's historical account of medical quackery in this country from early colonial days to the passing of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. Unfortunately, as Young points out in his Epilogue, the anti-quack legislation of 1906 and subsequent years has failed to check the growth of medical quackery. Existing Federal and state legislation is hardly a match for the ingenuity of the vendors of panaceas. Regulatory agencies are understaffed and underfinanced. Penalties are so small that they are often regarded by the quack as part of the price of doing business. And—of more direct interest to the social scientist—neither education nor the growth of scientific medicine has been able to counter the powerful appeals of quick cures, which are the stock in trade of the quack.

RAY HYMAN

University of Oregon

The Impact of the Professional Engineering Union: A Study of Collective Bargaining Among Engineers and Scientists and Its Significance for Management. By RICHARD E. WALTON. Foreword by JAMES J. HEALY and E. ROBERT LIVERNASH. Boston, Mass.: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1961. xiii, 419 pp. $5.00.

With the ratio of engineers to workers increasing in industry, unions have an interest in engineers as a potential force in the labor movement. Business management has an interest in whether engineers form unions and how the unions function when they are formed. The engineers themselves have the problem of deciding whether to form unions (which many regard as inconsistent with their professional role) or to accept without resistance the reduced status which big unions and big management tend to assign them.

A broad outline of the courtship and struggle among these three groups is to be found in Walton's book, which is based upon field interviews with union and management officials in eleven companies, each employing 500 or more engineers. The book provides a useful appraisal of the influence of unions upon salary administration, merit evaluation, hiring, promotion, lay-off and other personnel procedures. To the sociologist the book is disappointing; he would like to see this type of study done with a clearer statement of the human issues and a systematic collection of data bearing upon these issues. But the book was not written primarily for sociologists and it does undoubtedly make a useful contribution to the understanding of an important and controversial area.

JOHN B. KNOX

University of Tennessee

Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of the Elim Tabernacle, Christian Science, and Christadelphians. By BRYAN R. WILSON. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961. ix, 397 pp. $5.75.

The author shares in the general dissatisfaction among sociologists of religion with the classical formulations of the church-sect typology and of the processes of change in sects over time. In particular, he is concerned with accounting for the persistence of sectarian characteristics over several generations in the three groups he has studied and for the appeal of sects in contemporary society.

Despite the author's undoubted interest in theory and his several provocative contributions to the understanding of sectarianism in England today, the book does not pursue systematically any clearly defined theoretical problem. The data are so arranged that point-by-point comparisons among his sects are possible, but no explicit hypotheses are entertained and little formal rationale is offered for the rubrics under which the data are presented. Still, the book is a valuable addition to the rather short supply of detailed and insightful comparisons of religious groups.

BENTON JOHNSON

University of Oregon

La Déchéance de la Puissance Paternelle en Belgique: Essai d'Analyse Sociologique. By A. RACINE, C. SOMERHAUSEN, CHR. DEBUYST, G. LEJOUR, G. RENARD, et L. DE BRAY. Bruxelles: Centre d'Étude de la Délinquance Juvénile, 1960. 360 pp. 300 Fr., paper.

This study, made in 1957 by the Belgian Center for the Study of Juvenile Delinquency under the auspices of the Minister of Justice,

was prompted by the fact that in contrast to the decline in juvenile delinquency during the years following World War II there was a notable increase in the forfeiture of paternal rights (*déchéance de la puissance paternelle*). Why? What to do about it? The present investigation, based on court records, was designed to answer these questions.

Forfeiture of paternal rights is a legal measure against unworthy or seriously defaulting parents for the protection of minor children; it is based on a law of 1912. There are two forms: one automatic and the other, limited and discretionary.

The statistical analysis describes the distribution of cases by community; by occupation, education, income, and housing of parents; by personality of parents (intelligence, mental health, and alcoholism); and by family structure. The effects on children of the conditions that led to forfeiture of parental rights are also discussed along with an evaluation of the legal procedure involved.

A set of recommendations for preventing and ferreting out the conditions giving rise to forfeiture of parental rights is offered, running the gamut from aid to unmarried mothers, preparation for marriage, marriage counseling, family planning, better housing, treatment for alcoholism, and regulation of credit. Suggested also are police surveillance—especially of houses of doubtful morality, better reporting of cases by interested parties, improved legal practices, and improved social services of all kinds.

This study, while undoubtedly of great value as a fact-finding project and as a social work document, is scarcely a sociological analysis. It never probes into the underlying structural factors giving rise to the conditions that make for forfeiture of paternal rights.

JESSIE BERNARD
Pennsylvania State University

Education and Attitude Change: The Effect of Schooling on Prejudice Against Minority Groups. By CHARLES HERBERT STEMBER. Preface by JOHN SLAWSON. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1961. xvii, 182 pp. $4.00.

This study tests the hypothesis that the amount of formal education is inversely correlated with amount of prejudice toward minorities.

It is based on a re-analysis of data covering a 20-year period in the files of the major polling agencies and a few other studies in which education of respondents and their attitudes toward and ideas about minorities were elicited. The data are uneven and not always directly comparable, but the author has used them judiciously.

The study shows the relationship between the two variables to be infinitely complex, but it lends no support to the belief that education as it is practiced in America provides effective immunization against false stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination.

JOEL V. BERREMAN
University of Oregon

Attitudes Toward Racial Integration in Connecticut. By HENRY G. STETLER. Prepared for the Commission on Civil Rights of the State of Connecticut. Hartford, Conn.: Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, 1961. x, 50 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This research report is in the idiom of Stetler's previous studies of racial integration in public housing and of private interracial neighborhoods. Like these it is long on data, short on theory and broad generalization, reflecting both the limitations and advantages of its format and sponsorship. It should be useful not only as a repository of Negro and white attitudes in Connecticut but also as a check on research done elsewhere in the urbanized North. In the main it provides information on the local impact of the Southern school desegregation drive, general and specific attitudes towards racial integration in Connecticut, and data on contact between Negroes and whites in Connecticut. Let us hope that Stetler continues to present these reports every few years for a long time.

BULKELEY SMITH, JR.
Mount Holyoke College

Studies in Personnel and Industrial Psychology. Edited by EDWIN A. FLEISHMAN. Dorsey Series in Psychology. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1961. xi, 633 pp. $7.00.

This selection of readings contains 66 articles drawn primarily from the psychological literature. The emphasis throughout is on research investigations presenting quantitative results. As might be expected, the great majority of these offerings originally appeared in one of three journals: *Journal of Applied Psychology* (26 per cent), *Personnel Psychology* (24 per cent), *Personnel* (20 per cent).

The coverage is comprehensive, with considerably more space devoted to industrial social psychology and organizational behavior than has been characteristic of comparable collections. Consumer research is not represented, but perhaps it should not be in a book with "personnel" in the title. The field of labor relations is not represented either, an omission which this

reviewer considers unfortunate. Nevertheless, the book contains a number of first-class selections. Whatever unevenness of quality exists between the various topic areas, and there is some, does not reflect on the editor's skill, but rather is indicative of the state of knowledge in these fields. The book, over-all, is a good one.

JOHN B. MINER

University of Oregon

Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior. By JOHN C. GLIDEWELL (Editor). Foreword by RAYMOND FELDMAN. Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference on Community Mental Health Research, Social Science Institute, Washington University, 1960. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1961. xv, 253 pp. $8.50.

A spirit of idea exchanging was the basis for bringing the authors of this volume together in the second of an annual series of workshop-type conferences conducted by the Social Science Institute of Washington University.

The first section, entitled, "Research Findings and Interpretation," is composed of five reports. Section II, "Impressions and Comment," includes three commentaries on Section I. Section III, "Comment, Evaluation and Suggestion" is composed of six papers partially related to the other sections and partially made up of new material.

Among the many problems in this field to which these authors give their attention are the following: (1) The great need for more research on actual behavior of children via experimental studies. (2) Excessive use of questionnaire data and a paucity of naturalistic observation. (3) Altogether too much use of expressed opinion in maternal attitude research. (4) A crying need for accuracy of definition of what is being measured.

Anyone doing research on child development and socialization will find valuable insights and suggestive data in this volume. It is written by scholars on a frontier of knowledge and contributes significantly although unevenly to the enlightenment of their peers.

ELISABETH RUCH DUBIN

University of Oregon

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(PHILADELPHIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION). *Ends and Means of Urban Renewal.* Papers from the Philadelphia Housing Association's Fiftieth Anniversary Forum. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Association, 1961. 98 pp. $2.00.

QUEEN, STUART A., ROBERT W. HABENSTEIN, JOHN B. ADAMS. *The Family in Various Cultures.* (Second edition.) Chicago; Philadelphia; New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1961. 314 pp. No price indicated, paper.

RAY, DONALD P. (Editor). *Trends in Social Science.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. 169 pp. $4.75.

RIEFF, PHILIP. *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor Book), 1961. xxvi, 441 pp. $1.45, paper.

ROGERS, ANNA C. *Graphic Charts Handbook.* Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961. iv, 189 pp. $6.00.

ROGOW, ARNOLD (Editor). *The Jew in a Gentile World: An Anthology of Writings About Jews, by Non-Jews.* Introduction by C. P. SNOW. Epilogue by HAROLD D. LASSWELL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1961. xvii, 385 pp. $5.95.

SCHNEIDER, DAVID M. and KATHLEEN GOUGH (Editors). *Matrilineal Kinship.* Berkeley; Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1961. xx, 761 pp. $11.75.

SEIDENBERG, RODERICK. *Anatomy of the Future.* Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. 173 pp. $3.50.

SHANKS, MICHAEL. *The Stagnant Society: A Warning.* Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1961. 236 pp. 95 cents, paper.

SHOTT, JOHN G. *Progress in Piggyback and Containerization.* Foreword by DEWEY ANDERSON. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Institute, 1961. iv, 67 pp. 50 cents, paper.

SOSIN, JACK M. *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760–1775.* Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961. xi, 307 pp. $6.50.

SOYA, CARL ERIK. *Seventeen: A Novel of Puberty.* Translated from the Danish by CARL MALMBERG. New York: Paul S. Eriksson, 1961. ix, 369 pp. $5.00.

SUNDKLER, BENGT G. M. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa.* Second edition. Preface by EDGAR H. BROOKES. Published for the International African Institute. New York; London; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1961. 381 pp $4.80.

TATE, MILDRED THUROW and ORIS GLISSON. *Family Clothing.* New York; London: John Wiley & Sons, 1961. ix, 412 pp. $8.75.

TUCKER, ROBERT C. *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. 263 pp. $5.50. ($1.75, paper.)

TUMIN, MELVIN M. *An Inventory and Appraisal of Research on American Anti-Semitism.* New York: Freedom Books, 1961. v, 185 pp. $4.00 ($2.75, paper).

(U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, FOREST SERVICE). *Outdoor Recreation in the Upper Great Lakes Area: Proceedings of a Seminar on Research Needs.* St. Paul, Minn.: Station Paper No. 89. Lake States Forest Experiment Station, 1961. vi, 104 pp. No price indicated, paper.

(UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION). *Contributions to Scientific Research in Management.* The Proceedings of the Scientific Program following the Dedication of the Western Data Processing Center, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, January 29–30, 1959. Preface by GEORGE W. BROWN. Los Angeles, Calif.: Western Data Processing Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1961. viii, 172 pp. $2.50.

VALENTINE, C. A. *Masks and Men in a Melanesian Society: The Valuku or Tubuan of the Lakalai of New Britain.* Social Science Studies, Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Publications, 1961. 76 pp. $3.50 ($2.75, paper).

VINCENT, CLARK E. *Unmarried Mothers.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. x, 308 pp. $6.00.

WALKER, BARBARA K. and WARREN S. WALKER (Told to and edited by). *Nigerian Folk Tales.* New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961. x, 113 pp. $4.00.

WEDECK, HARRY E. *Dictionary of Aphrodisiacs.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. 256 pp. $10.00.

WYLIE, RUTH C. *The Self Concept: A Critical Survey of Pertinent Research Literature.* Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961. xiii, 370 pp. $4.50.

WYNES, CHARLES E. *Race Relations in Virginia 1870–1902.* Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1961. ix, 164 pp. $5.00.

YAUKEY, DAVID. *Fertility Differences in a Modernizing Country: A Survey of Lebanese Couples.* Foreword by ANSLEY J. COALE. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xviii, 204 pp. $4.00.

ZEIGLER, HARMON. *The Politics of Small Business.* Introduction by ROBERT E. LANE. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961. vii, 150 pp. $3.25.

Notice to ASA members and *Review* subscribers planning to attend the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, Washington, D. C., September 2–8, 1962, at the Shoreham Hotel:

> Registration is now open. A registration fee of $10 is payable directly to the Secretariat of the International Sociological Association, 116 rue des Flamands, Louvain, Belgium. (U. S. checks acceptable.) Payment of this fee also entitles the registrant to attend the American Sociological Association meetings, August 30 to September 2. *The closing date for registration for the International Congress is June 1, 1962.* There is a $15 fee for late registration for the International meeting.

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

IN MEMORIAM

DEAN JOHNSON (1912–1961)

Dean Johnson, Professor of Sociology at the University of Arkansas died on June 7, 1961, following a sudden illness. He came to the University in September, 1959. He was Assistant Professor from 1949 to 1952 and Associate Professor from 1952 to 1955 at Florida State University. During 1955–56 he was Assistant Director and from 1956–59 Associate Director of the Marriage Counseling Service and Graduate Training Program at the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

In January of this year Prentice-Hall published his book, *Marriage Counseling: Theory and Practice*. Shortly before his death, he was named a Fellow of the American Association of Marriage Counselors for "outstanding contributions to the field of marriage counseling." He held the high regard of his colleagues and students. Professor Johnson was unsparing in time and energy devoted to counseling students. His students spoke of him with warm enthusiasm.

STEPHEN STEPHAN
University of Arkansas

TRAINING FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH IN SOCIOLOGY *

ROBERT M. MARSH
Cornell University

To the extent that sociologists have concentrated upon the study of Western, industrial society, particularly that of the United States, and anthropologists upon the study of primitive societies, an important third group of societies has been neglected: the large, agrarian societies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—yesterday's historical civilizations, today's underdeveloped societies and new nations.[1] Thus, although many sociological propositions are stated as universals, in the sense that the relationships betwen the variables presumably hold in any society, such relationships have usually been observed or tested *only* in our own society. Because the primitive societies do not have complex systems of stratification, large-scale formal organizations, etc., anthropological studies often fail to provide the comparative evidence necessary to test presumably universal sociological propositions. It follows that a major task ahead of us is the systematic comparative testing of these propositions with data from major societies other than our own, especially the national societies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

To what extent does American graduate training in sociology take this task seriously? One index of this is the proportion of *cross-national* doctoral dissertations in sociology, i.e.,

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY DEALING WITH SOCIETIES OTHER THAN THE U.S., BY SOCIETY OR REGION, 1950–1960

	Dissertations	
	N	%
Europe excluding U.S.S.R.	40	23.0
Central America—Caribbean	23	13.0
China-Japan-Korea	18	10.0
India-Pakistan-Ceylon	14	8.0
Near East and Middle East	12.5	7.0
Canada-Alaska	11	6.0
U.S.S.R. (Russia)	10.5	6.0
South East Asia	10	6.0
Australia-Philippines-New Guinea	9	5.0
South America	8	5.0
Africa	7	4.0
Israel	6	3.4
"International" in general*	6	3.4
Total	175	99.8%

* Comparison of two or more societies, or international problems in general.

* The following people have read this paper and made useful suggestions: R. O. Blood, B. Barber, R. Freedman, W. J. Goode, G. E. Lenski, J. Useem and H. L. Wilensky.

[1] There are some exceptions to this. Among the earliest American sociologists, Sumner, Ross, Thomas, and Park engaged rather extensively in studies that involved non-Western societies. Also, since World War II, a few sociologists, and a larger number of those on the fringe of sociology, have turned their attention to cross-national data. See *An International Bibliography of Sociology*, Paris: UNESCO, vols. 1–8, 1952–1960, and *Current Sociology*, Paris: UNESCO, vols. 1–8, 1952–1959. These contain special issues, devoted to bibliographies on stratification and mobility, bureaucracy, urban sociology, electoral behavior, and the social implications of technical progress.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF 1950–1960 SOCIOLOGY DISSERTATIONS, BY INSTITUTION AND BY PER CENT CROSS-NATIONAL

		1950–60 Sociology Dissertations	
Institution	Total No.*	Per Cent of Sociology Dissertations That Are Cross-National	Per Cent Cross-National per Institution
New School for Soc. Res.	29	28%	4%
Harvard	101	26	15
Michigan State	43	23	6
Cornell	90	20	10
Univ. Calif. (Berkeley)	26	19	3
Columbia	216	17	20
Catholic University	40	12	3
Pittsburgh	34	12	2
Wisconsin	72	11	4
Chicago	169	10	10
Michigan	50	10	3
Pennsylvania	63	8	3
Univ. Southern Calif.	53	8	2
New York University	82	7	3
State U. of Iowa	41	7	2
North Carolina	63	6	2
Yale	49	6	2
Penn State	32	6	1
Univ. Wash. (Seattle)	41	5	1
Illinois	27	4	1
Louisiana State	26	4	1
Ohio State	64	2	1
Minnesota	68	1	1
Total	1,479	(average) 12%	100% (N=175)

* The total number of dissertations for each institution in this table exceeds the figures which appear in Matilda W. Riley, "Membership in the American Sociological Association," *American Sociological Review,* 25 (December, 1960), p. 919. This discrepancy suggests that many sociology Ph D.s do not belong to the American Sociological Association.

American dissertations the data for which come from societies *other than the United States.* Lists of dissertations completed between 1950 and 1960 are provided in the *Index to American Doctoral Dissertations.*[2] In cases of ambiguity where the dissertation titles mention only conceptual categories, not the country, the titles were checked against *Dissertation Abstracts.*[3] The number of cases in which the country cannot be ascertained is thus small, and it is assumed that this number varies randomly from one sociology department to another.

In the *Index,* 85 institutions are listed as having produced at least one Ph.D. in sociology between 1950 and 1960. However, only the 23 institutions which produced 25 or more doctorates during the decade will be discussed.

There is a double imbalance reflected in the 1479 dissertations produced by these 23 institutions: first, only 12 per cent indicate in their titles that they deal with data from any society other than the United States (175 out of 1479); second, as Table 1 shows, almost one third of the "cross-national" dissertations deal with societies that are most like the U. S.—Canada and the societies of Western Europe. Only eight per cent of these 1950–1960 dissertations dealt with societies other than the U. S., Canada, and Western Europe.

Table 2 reveals the variations among the 23 major institutions in the percentage of cross-national dissertations.

Six institutions have among their sociology dissertations a higher-than-average percentage (i.e., higher than 12 per cent) of cross-national

[2] *Index to American Doctoral Dissertations,* Ann Arbor, Michigan; University Microfilms, Inc. Compiled annually for the Association of Research Libraries, this Index lists all dissertations accepted in partial fulfillment for a doctorate, regardless of whether the dissertation itself had been published or will be published in the future. The number of institutions which report in this Index varies from 106 in 1950–51 to 189 in 1959–60.

[3] *Dissertation Abstracts* (formerly *Microfilm Abstracts*), Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, vols. 10–21, 1950–1960.

dissertations: New School for Social Research (28 per cent), Harvard (26 per cent), Michigan State (23 per cent), Cornell (20 per cent), University of California at Berkeley (10 per cent), and Columbia (17 per cent). The remaining 17 institutions have only an average or lower productivity of cross-national dissertations. Of all cross-national dissertations (N=175), 35 per cent were done at two institutions —Columbia and Harvard.

Additional data suggest that this situation in graduate training in sociology is not wholly typical of the other social sciences. Of 790 Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowships awarded between 1952 and 1959, only four per cent went to sociology majors; 24 per cent went to history, 20 per cent to political science, 11 per cent to anthropology, 10 per cent to economics. Of the social science disciplines, only geography (three per cent), psychology (one per cent) and law (one per cent), received fewer awards than sociology.[4]

[4] The Ford Foundation, *Directory of Foreign Area Training Fellows,* 1952–1959, New York, 1960, p. v. These awards cover Asia, the Near East, Africa, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe.

Why are some sociology departments and some social science disciplines more oriented than others toward cross-national studies? These are important questions in the sociology of science, and they deserve attention in future research.

Ideally, if sociology is truly "the science of society," then the best studies in any given sub-field (e.g., stratification, formal organization) should as likely be based upon data from other major societies as upon U. S. data. This goal is worth striving for, and worth institutionalizing more in our graduate training, for, as Weber and others have shown, comparative analysis constitutes the structure of a quasi-experiment, and thereby contributes to the advancement of the essential scientific character of our field. Quasi-experimental conditions can often be approximated by viewing the same dependent variable in two or more societies "matched" in all (or most) respects except the independent variable or experimental stimulus. And even when these conditions cannot be met, many commonplaces of the U. S. textbook can be shown to be simply not true, or only partly true, when confronted with even a few cross-national data.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

1962 ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

District of Columbia, American University, Washington, D. C.; May 12. President John C. Scott, American University.

Eastern, Warwick Hotel, Philadelphia; April 7, 8. President Alex Inkeles, Harvard University.

Midwest, Hotel Savery, Des Moines; April 12–14. President Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota.

Ohio Valley, Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing; May. President Wilbur Brookover, Michigan State University.

Pacific, Sacramento Inn, Sacramento; April 5–7. President Robert A. Nisbet, University of California, Riverside.

Southern, Watterson-Sheraton, Louisville, Ky.; April 12–14. President Meyer F. Nimkoff, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

Southwestern, Statler-Hilton, Dallas; April 20, 21. President Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University.

Other Meetings, February and March. **American Psychopathological Association,** February 23, 24; Park-Sheraton Hotel, N.Y.C. **University of Missouri** under contract with Office of Naval Research; Conference on "The Propositional Structure of Role Theory," March 1, 2; Columbia, Mo.; Info.—Prof. Bruce J. Biddle, Social Psychology Laboratory, University of Missouri. **British Sociological Association,** "Problems of the Affluent Society," March 28–30; Royal Pavilion, Brighton, England: Info.—Skepper House, 13 Endeleigh St., London, W.C. 1. **American Association of Psychiatric Clinics for Children,** March 21; Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles **American Orthopsychiatric Association,** March 21–24. Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles. **American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama,** March 24–26; Hotel Commodore, N.Y.C.

The Argentine Sociological Association, founded in 1960 to promote high scientific and professional standards in sociology, organized a symposium with the University of Buenos Aires last September around the following four-part program: I—Conference on schools and sociology departments of Latin American universities; II—Stratification and Social Mobility in four cities (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and Santiago) presented by groups working on comparative research projects; III—Seminar on Argentine Economic and Social Development including contributions from economists and historians, which was a first step in interdisciplinary cooperation among Argentinian social scientists; IV—Symposium in Social Psychology. Participants included **Luis A. Costa Pinto, Manuel Diegues, Jr., Jose Arthur Rios, Antonio R. Muller,** from Brazil; **Isaac Ganon, Aldo Solari, D. J. Gar-**

mendia, from Uruguay; Luciem Brams, *Guillermo Briones, Eduardo Hamuy, from Chile; J. A. Silva Michelena from Venezuela; and Gonzalez Casanova from Mexico.* Papers contributed to the symposium were published and are available from the Argentine Sociological Association. Officers of the Association are Gino Germani, President; Torcuato Di Tella, Secretary; and Jorge P. Graciarena, Jorge Garcia Bouza, Enrique Butelman, and Norberto Rodriguez Bustamante, Members of the Directive Committee. In 1961, the Association affiliated with the International Association.

The Bureau of the Institut International de Sociologie will hold its 20th International Congress in Cordoba, Argentina, the first time in South America, from September 12 to 18, 1962. The program of the Congress will seek to unite under the central theme, "Sociology of Societies in an Industrial Development," important sociological work carried on in the many fields of specialization. The five main program divisions on the subject of undeveloped and industrially developing societies are: 1) Theory; 2) Methods and Techniques of Research; 3) Sociology of the Social Structures; 4) Population, Stratification, Country-Town Communities, Education, Family, Law, Politics, Economy, and Structures and Economic Fluctuations; and 5) Research on the Economic Development of Latin America.

Requests for further information about submitting papers or attending the Congress should be addressed to Professor Alfredo Povina, President, Organizing Committee, Trejo 241, Cordoba, Argentina.

The Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. invites applications to its summer training program in social science research from students beginning their graduate work in the field. Inquiries should be addressed to Ann Richardson, Assistant to the Director, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The Missouri Sociological Society held its 1961 Annual Meeting at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, on October 14, 1961.

Officers elected for the coming year are David B. Carpenter, Washington University, St. Louis, President; Noel P. Gist, University of Missouri, Vice-President; and Richard L. Brown, Missouri Valley College, Secretary-Treasurer. Members of the advisory council elected for the year are Robert H. Barker, Central College; Oliver C. Cox, Lincoln University; and Oreen Ruedi, Southwest Missouri State.

Nevada State Department of Health. Gwynn Nettler has been appointed senior clinical psychologist in the Special Children's Clinic of the Bureau of Mental Health in Reno.

New York City Health Department. The Social Science Activities Program, a department of the Office of Program Planning, Research, and Development, was established in 1958 under a Russell Sage Foundation grant to explore applications of social science knowledge and research techniques to the problems of public health agencies. Edward Suchman, Director of the Program *(who is on leave until April, 1962, to help establish a similar program in Puerto Rico, also supported by Russell Sage Foundation)* has announced the current list of projects and sponsoring organizations as follows: "Social Science and Public Health," and "Principles and Methods of Evaluation Research," Russell Sage Foundation; "Patterns and Sources of Health and Medical Services," and "Cultural Influences in the Behavior of the Ill," United States Public Health Service; "Social Aspects of Tuberculosis in a Changing Metropolitan Area," New York Tuberculosis and Health Association; "Childhood Accident Research Project," Association for the Aid of Crippled Children; "Evaluation of Child Health Conference Training Program," Children's Bureau; "Evaluation of Hearing Handicap Program," National Society for Crippled Children and Adults; "Study of Dental Assistants," joint project of the United States Public Health Service and the Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine.

Members of the staff are Daniel Rosenblatt, Assistant Director; Helen Hacker, Resident in Accident Research; Lois Alksne, Marvin Belkin, Joseph Greenblum and Donna Smith, Research Associates; and Gail Chinell, Alfred Dean, Martin Keavin, and Martin Goldman, Research Staff.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. "The Nature of Modern Religious Consciousness" will be the program theme of the 1962 Annual Meeting in New York City next October 26 and 27. Persons wishing to prepare empirical or theoretical papers on this theme should submit abstracts before May 1, 1962 to the program chairman, Dr. Peter Berger, 55 Elizabeth Street, Hartford 5, Connecticut.

Adelphi College. **Awarded**—to *Sophia M. Robison,* Research Associate in the Institute of Health, Education, and Welfare, a National Institute of Mental Health grant to direct an exploratory study of the youthful delinquent behavior of men who are now respectable members of society. The major aim of the study, entitled "Career Patterns Project" is to identify the significant variables for setting up a probability sample for nationwide study. **Appointed**—*Robert Endleman,* Co-Director of the Career Patterns Project. **Announcement**—the Co-Directors of the above Project will welcome exchange of ideas regarding their study with scientists who have been or are currently working on related topics of research.

University of Alabama. **Appointed**—*Richard F. Larson* from the University of Notre Dame and *Eugene V. Smith* from Indiana University Extension, Assistant Professors of Sociology;—*Gladys L. Ahrenholz* from the University of West Virginia and *Arnold J. Levine* from the University of Massachusetts, Instructors of Sociology;—*David L. DeJarnette,* Editor of the *Journal of Alabama Archaeology;* —*Morris G. Caldwell,* Editor of the *Alabama Correctional Journal;*— *Asael Hansen,* Editor of the *Journal of the Alabama Academy of Science.*

Elected—*Charles D. McGlamery*, Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Sociological Society for the third year. **Resigned**—*Paul B. Foreman*, to accept a position at Pennsylvania State University.

Other—The Department is now offering the M.A. degree in Sociology and plans are underway to establish a Ph.D. program next September.

University of Alberta. **Announcement**—Sociology has been granted departmental status as of last September. The first graduate degree in sociology was given last term and departmental teaching assistantships have also been awarded.

Appointed—*R. L. James*, Head of the new Department of Sociology;—*Warren Kalbach, Baha Abu-Laban, A. P. Jacoby*, and *Don Mills*, Assistant Professors of Sociology;—*Charles Brant* and *William Stein*, Assistant Professors of Anthropology; —*Earle MacCannell*, Chairman of a committee to study closed circuit and educational television **Other**—*Irving Mitchell* of Denison University and *Richard Hill* of the University of Texas were Visiting Professors of Sociology last summer;—*G. K. Hirabayashi* served as chairman of the Second Annual Indian-Eskimo Institute held in Edmonton.

American University. **Appointed**—*Edwin P. Hollander*, Associate Professor; *Lawrence Krader*, Editor of the International Directory of Anthropologists, and also serves on the editorial board of the Arctic Institute for translations from Russian. **On leave**—*Frank Lorimer* to serve at Princeton University. **Returned to the Department**—*Harvey Moore* after a sabbatical which included field work among the Navaho under a National Institute of Mental Health award for a study of acculturation;—*John C. Scott*, after serving as senior research scientist at the University's Special Operations Research Office where he was chairman of the research team investigating informal communication in several nations; Scott is currently President of the District of Columbia Sociological Society.

Others in the Department—*Austin Van der Slice*, Professor and Chairman; *LeRoy Graham* and *Donald Hartle*, Assistant Professors; *Frederick Seymour*, Associate Professor; and holding part time appointments: *Philip Enterline, Victor Evjen, James H. Fox, Bernard G. Hoffman, Dennis Johnston, Eileen P. Kuhns, Angel V. Palerm, Morris Rosenberg, Clark Tibbitts*, and *Ivor Wayne*.

University of Arkansas. **Appointed**—*Clarence A. Storla*, Associate Professor of Sociology, formerly of Wisconsin State College, River Falls.

Bowling Green State University. **Appointed**—*Harry Theodore Groat*, to the teaching staff at Bowling Green;—*Joseph E. Kivlin*, Instructor at the Sandusky Branch of the University. **Resigned**—*Charles Glenn Swanson*, formerly Department Chairman.

University of California, Berkeley. **Appointed**—*Gino Germani*, Visiting Professor, from the University of Buenos Aires;—*H. V. Muksam*, from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, *Eugene V. Schneider*, from Bryn Mawr, and *Amitai Etzioni*, from Columbia University, Visiting Associate Professors;—*David Heer*, Visiting Lecturer, formerly of the Bureau of the Census;—*James Carey* formerly Professor of Sociology at Golden Gate College, and *Joseph Spaeth*, formerly with the National Opinion Research Center, to the Staff of the Survey Research Center;—*Kingsley Davis*, Chairman of the Department, who is currently President-Elect of the Population Association of America and remains Chairman of International Population and Urban Research. **Awarded**—to *Hanan Selvin*, a National Science Foundation grant to study the use of computers in the analysis of survey data;—to *William Nicholls, II*, a National Institutes of Health grant to study sources of bias and error in health studies;—to *Neil Smelser*, a Faculty Research Fellowship for 1961–63 from the Social Science Research Council. **On leave**—*Reinhard Bendix*, to spend the current year in India on a "Reflective Year" fellowship from the Carnegie Corporation, after completing his term as Chairman of the Department. **Returned to the Department**—*Seymour M. Lipset*, after a year at Yale University as Ford Research Professor of Political Science and Sociology and two months in Poland as a visiting lecturer at the Universities of Warsaw, Cracow, and Lodz; currently, he is serving as Director of the Research and Training Program on Social and Economic Development established by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

Established—A Center for the Study of Law and Society under grants from Russell Sage Foundation and the Meyer Research Institute of Law; *Philip Selznick* is Chairman, and *Sheldon L. Messinger* is Research Associate of the new Center which is a unit within the Institute of Social Sciences directed by Herbert Blumer. **Other**—*Charles Y. Glock* serves as Director of a five-year program of research on anti-Semitism in the United States under a grant from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith;—*Wolfram Eberhard*, at the invitation of the University of Hong Kong, recently conducted a five-day symposium on "Southern China, Southeast Asia, and the Hong Kong Area;"—International Population and Urban Research is planning a series of studies in comparative Latin American demography and hopes to have a great part of the research done by visiting Latin American scholars in Berkeley. Among the topics projected are: Population Growth and Its Implications; Population Distribution and Internal Migration; Fertility; Mortality; Family; Education; Labor Force; Level of Living and Group Differentials; Housing; Agriculture; Industry and Manufacturing; Political Demography.

University of California, Los Angeles. **Appointed**—*Leo Kuper*, Visiting Professor from the University of Natal, Union of South Africa;—*C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze*, Visiting Professor from The Hague, Netherlands where he is Director of Research at the Institute of Social Studies;—*Lewis Yablonsky*, Visiting Associate Professor from the University of Massachusetts;—*Bernard Berk*, Lecturer;—*Lindsey Churchill, Jr.*, Assistant Professor; —*Henry Landauer*, Acting Instructor;—*Samuel J.*

Surace, Acting Assistant Professor;—*Melvin Seeman*, as Advisory Editor to *Sociometry* and *Social Problems*. **Elected**—*Ralph H. Turner*, Editor of Sociometry, who has also been appointed to the Behavioral Science Study Section of the National Institutes of Health;—*Charles R. Wright*, President of the Pacific Chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

Awarded—to *Melville Dalton* for his book, *Men Who Manage*, the Publication Award for 1960 given by the Organization Development Council, New York, and, also, the James A. Hamilton Hospital Administrator's Award for 1961 given by the American College of Hospital Administrators;—to *Oscar Grusky*, a grant by the Division of Research of the Graduate School of Business Administration for continuation of his study of career mobility among professional managers. **On leave**—*Donald R. Cressey*, to serve as Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge;—*Wendell Bell*;—*Harold Garfinkel*.

Cornell University College of Home Economics. **Appointed**—*Joseph H. Meyerowitz*, Research Sociologist for the Cornell Studies on Family Life, formerly of the Institute for Research on Exceptional Children at the University of Illinois.

Hamline University. **Awarded**—to *F. James Davis*, a Hill Foundation grant to study the effects on housing of a freeway construction through a non-white area of St. Paul.

University of Kentucky. **Appointed**—*William N. Stephens*, Assistant Professor of Sociology and staff member of the Bureau of Child Development;—*Felix Moos*, Instructor, formerly a University of Maryland lecturer in Japan and Korea;—*Norman C. Jacobs*, Assistant Professor and staff member of the East Asian Studies Program;—*Ray D. Zinser*, Visiting Lecturer in Sociology. **Promoted**—*Ray P. Cuzzort*, to Associate Professor;—*William M. Bass*, to Assistant Professor. **Awarded**—to *Charles K. Warriner*, a renewed General Research Fund grant to study complex organizations. **On leave**—*E. Jackson Baur*, to spend his sabbatical teaching at the University of Amsterdam under a Fulbright award. **Other**—During the past Spring semester, *Everett C. Hughes* completed his tenure as Rose Morgan Visiting Professor and conducted research on student culture;—*Wayne Wheeler* was Visiting Lecturer in the Department.

Announcement—A special Ph.D. program to train nurses with research interests in community and therapeutic settings has been arranged by the Department under a continuation grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Participants who wish to qualify for a grant up to 3,000 dollars a year may address inquiries to Charles K. Warriner, Program Director.

Los Angeles State College. **Appointed**—*Sethard Fisher*, Assistant Professor of Sociology, formerly of the University of California, Berkeley. **Awarded**—to *Robert Ewald*, a Fulbright lectureship in social anthropology at the University of Arequipa, Peru. **Returned to the Department**—*Samuel Stanley*, after a three-month study Tlingit social organization. **Others in the** I **partment**—*Don J. Hager* (Chairman), *Richc Nahrendorf*, Professors; *Franz Adler*, *Harold Di Robert Fulton*, *Gilbert Geis*, *Esther Penchef*, *K Wallace*, Associate Professors; *Kay Baily*, *Herm Loether*, *Paul Rowan*, *Ralph Thomlinson*, Assista Professors of Sociology; *Hal Eberhart*, *Louis Far* Assistant Professors of Anthropology.

Louisiana State University. **Appointed**—*Wa frid J. Jokinen*, Chairman of the Sociology Depar ment, Head of Rural Sociology, and Director of the Institute of Population Research;—*M. Lee Taylor*, Assistant Professor;—*George S. Tracy*, Instructor;—*Alvin L. Bertrand*, Coordinator of Rural Sociology Research. **Promoted**—*J. V. D. Saunders*, to Associate Professor, who was recently Visiting Lecturer at the Mexico City Inter-American Program of Advanced Studies in Applied Social Studies; he is currently Chairman of the Governing Committee of the Graduate Program in Latin American Studies and contributing sociology editor of the Library of Congress's "Handbook of Latin American Studies." **Elected**—*Alvin L. Bertrand*, President of the Southwestern Sociological Society and also, President-Elect of the Southern Sociological Society. **Awarded**—to *Vernon J. Parenton*, a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship to study recent social changes among the French-speaking peoples of Louisiana and Eastern Canada compared to France.

To Retire—*Fred C. Frey*, in June, 1962, who served as first Head of the Sociology Department, was one of the founders of the Rural Sociological Society and a past president of the Southern Sociological Society. **Other**—A study of social change in Cameron Parish in response to Hurricane Audrey sponsored by the Institute of Population Research and the Disaster Research Group of the National Academy of Sciences is being completed by Frederick L. Bates and Vernon Parenton with the assistance of George Tracy and Charles W. Fogelman, and Robert H. Pittman of McNeese State College.

Mankato State College, Minnesota. **Appointed**—*Esther Ceterski*, Instructor in Sociology, formerly of the University of Wisconsin;—*Leonard Pasierb*, Instructor in Sociology and Social Work, formerly of Trinity University, Texas. **Other**—*Ray Cuzzort* from the University of Kansas served as Visiting Professor last summer.

Michigan State University. **Announcement**—New or fairly recent used books in all university studies are urgently needed by the newly established University of Nigeria at Nsukka and may be sent to: Dr. George H. Axinn, Coordinator, University of Nigeria Program, A-4 Wells Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing. The Nigeria Program is cooperating with the Agency for International Development in this project.

University of Minnesota. **Appointed**—*Gregory P. Stone*, Associate Professor to develop courses in medical sociology and the sociology of mental health;—*Roy G. Francis*, Research Director of the

Tri-County Mental Health Board. **Awarded**—to *Murray Straus*, a National Institute of Mental Health grant for research on the origins of business career motivations;—to *Marvin Taves*, a United States Public Health grant to study health needs and resources in Morrison County. **On leave**—*Reuben Hill*, to serve as Fulbright lecturer on the family at the University of Louvain where he will carry out a replication of the Detroit Area Survey on the urban family as part of a research training program; last September he participated in the Sixth International Seminar on Family Research at Opatija, Yugoslavia; he is currently Chairman of the Family Sociology Section of the International Sociological Association which now operates the seminars.

Other—The Department of Sociology received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to train sociologists for research in the field of mental health;—*Edward Gross* completed the organization of a training program for civil servants and government officials in Alberta, Canada and has begun an extended research on salaried professionals;—*Arnold Rose* served as American Specialist for the United States State Department lecturing in European countries last summer.

University of Missouri. **Appointed**—*Howard A. Rosencranz*, Assistant Professor, formerly of Michigan State University;—*H. Clyde Wilson*, Assistant Professor, formerly of Texas Technological College;—*Bevode McCall*, Associate Professor, formerly engaged in consumer and advertising research for private corporations;—*Robert L. McNamara*, Chairman of the Rural Sociology Department;—*Raoul Anderson, Brian McCall, Norman Friedman*, and *Roy Wright*, Instructors in Sociology. **Promoted**—*Robert F. G. Spier*, to Associate Professor, who last year was in the Netherlands as a NATO fellow to conduct research in technological change and, this year, has been awarded a National Foundation grant to develop teaching aids in physical anthropology. **Awarded**—to *Bruce J. Biddle*, an Office of Naval Research grant to continue work in role theory; Biddle plans to hold a conference in March of specialists in role theory and is completing both a two-year study of the public school teacher in Kansas City and a monograph on the status of role theory for the Office of Education;—to *C. T. Pihlblad* and *Noel P. Gist*, Community Studies, Inc. faculty fellowships for research on vocational aspiration and social mobility of Kansas City youth; Pihlblad, with Robert McNamara, has also participated in a planning program and conference for research in aging under the sponsorship of Community Studies, Inc.

On leave—*Robert W. Habenstein*, to conduct a study at Community Studies, Inc. on urban kinship systems in collaboration with Allan Coult under a National Institute of Mental Health grant. **Returned to the Department**—*Herbert L. Lionberger*, who served as research consultant for the Indian government programs of agricultural development and family planning supported by the Ford Foundation. **Resigned**—*Lee Hearn*, to join Stephens College as instructor. **Retired**—*Charles E. Lively*, as Professor Emeritus; in October the establishment of a Lively award was announced.

University of Nebraska. **Appointed**—*Bernard C. Rosen*, Associate Professor, formerly of the University of Connecticut, who will continue his work on achievement motivation in the United States and Brazil under a National Institute of Mental Health research grant;—*Otto Hoiberg*, as head of the Youth Wing of the University's Kellogg Center for Continuing Education. **Promoted**—*Richard Videbeck*, to Associate Professor, also, recipient of a Faculty Research Fellowship last summer. **Retired**—*Joyce O. Hertzler*, Professor of Sociology, who will continue studies dealing with the sociology of language and maintain an active association with the Department.

Others in the Department—*Alan P. Bates* (Chairman), *James M. Reinhardt*, Professors; *Nicholas Babchuk*, Associate Professor; *Richard Kurtz*, Research Associate.

North Dakota State University, Fargo. **Appointed**—*William P. Hawkinson*, Associate Professor, formerly of the University of Iowa. **Elected**—*Courtney B. Cleland*, President of the North Dakota Social Science Association. **On sabbatical leave**—*Seth Russell*, to participate in a project at the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults in Chicago.

Northern Illinois University. **Established**—A Department of Sociology and Anthropology, in September, 1961, offering Bachelor and Master degrees in Sociology and a sixth-year Certificate of Advanced Studies. *Waldo W. Burchard*, Head of the new Department, was formerly Head of the Department of Social Sciences. Members of the Staff are *Clyde B. Vedder, James G. Martin, Harold E. Smith, Morris Freilich, Barbara A. Kay*, and *David H. Howard*.

Oregon State University. **Announcement**—Oregon State College is now officially the Oregon State University. **Appointed**—*George C. Fetter*, Associate Professor, recently head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at American University, Beirut. **Promoted**—*John G. Curry*, to Assistant Professor. **Retired**—*Glenn A. Bakkum*, Professor and former Head of the Department.

University of Pittsburgh. **Appointed**—*John H. Sloss*, Research Associate in medical and hospital administration at the Graduate School of Public Health, formerly Administrator of the Centerville Clinic of California, Pennsylvania.

Rutgers University. **Established**—A Ph.D. program with specialization in various fields, including criminology, urban studies, industrial relations, and political sociology. Experience is provided through external laboratory facilities, or internships and through an internally controlled sociology laboratory within the University. Fellowships, assistantships, and internships are available.

Appointed—*Edward G. Wellin* and *Earl Rubington,* Visiting Associate Professors in the Graduate School;—*Selden D. Bacon,* Professor in the Graduate School;—*Asakant Nimbark* and *Emily Alman,* Instructors at Douglas College;—*Jackson Toby,* Acting Chairman of the College Department of Sociology;—*Bernard Goldstein,* Acting Chairman of the Research Program at the Institute of Management and Labor Relations;—*Harry C. Bredemeier,* to membership in Brookings Institution seminars on social and economic problems;—*Mary L. Bach,* guest lecturer in the School of Nursing at the University of Minnesota for the summer. **Awarded**—to *Ludwig Geismar,* a National Institute of Mental Health grant for comparative family studies;—to *Charles H. Stember,* a grant from the American Jewish Committee for a study of anti-Semitism in world politics;—to *George Masterton,* a U.S. Public Health Service contract for a study of attitudes toward fluoridation;—to *Bernard Goldstein,* a U.S. Public Health Service grant for a study of in-plant medical programs.

Announcement—The Center of Alcohol Studies, for many years at Yale University with the Laboratory of Applied Biodynamics, will be relocated this spring at Rutgers University in New Brunswick and will be renamed the Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. A National Institute of Mental Health grant will finance the Center's transfer from New Haven and most of the operation costs for the next six years. Seldon D. Bacon is Director of the Center.

Southern Illinois University. **Appointed**—*Myrl Alexander,* Professor and Director of the newly established Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, formerly Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Washington, D. C.;—*L. Keith Miller,* Assistant Professor in the graduate program, formerly of Washington University;—*Herschel E. Aseltine,* Lecturer in Sociology, formerly of Elmhurst College;—*Charles R. Snyder,* to direct a graduate research training program on drinking behavior and alcoholism; recently he completed a project on the effects of alcohol on higher-order problem solving with John Carpenter, Omar Moore, and Edith Lisansky of Yale University and a book on drinking patterns with David J. Pittman of Washington University; currently he is serving as Program Chairman of the Society for the Study of Social Problems.

Awarded—to *Herman Lantz,* a research grant from Harvard University to continue research on social structure and the development of resignation in the community;—to the research project on family stress factors and child behavior conducted by *Melvin Brooks, Herman Lantz,* and *Douglas Rennie,* an additional 16,000 dollars by the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare. **Other**—*Peter A. Munch* spent the summer in Scandinavia under a research grant for a study of culture and lectured at the University of Oslo.

Vanderbilt University. **On leave**—*Edward McDill* to work on adolescent subculture studies under a Social Science Research Council research fellowship at Johns Hopkins University's Department of Social Relations. **Other**—*Wayland J. Hayes* participated in a conference on the changing American population organized by the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University;—*John Mogey* participated in the Sixth International Seminar on Family Research held in Yugoslavia last September which was sponsored by the Yugoslav Council for Child Welfare;—*Emilio Willems* served as consultant to a conference on social problems in Latin America caused by industrialization which was held in Muenster last November at the invitation of the Rektors of the West German universities.

Western Kentucky State College. **Appointed to the Sociology Staff**—*Leon L. Czikowsky,* formerly head of the Sociology Department at Piedmont College;—*Harold R. Hepler.*

Western Reserve University. **Elected**—*Marvin B. Sussman,* President-Elect of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and also, President-Elect of the Ohio Council on Family Relations. **Other**—Five projects with budgets totaling 110,000 dollars a year are under way in the fields of family, community, and health under the general supervision of Marvin Sussman. The project directors are *Eleanor K. Caplan, Sherwood B. Slater, Jack A Spanagel,* and *Alan J. Crain.* **Others in the Department**—*Newbell N. Puckett,* Chairman; *E. Gartly Jaco,* Visiting Associate Professor; and *Henry M. Busch, William Lawrence, Irving Rosow, Richard A. Schermerhorn, Ruth Rautenstrauch, Frank Theriault,* and *Orie Vande Visse.*

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ARTICLES

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

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OPERATIONALIZING A CONCEPTUAL SCHEME: THE UNIVERSALISM-PARTICULARISM PATTERN VARIABLE *

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An operational definition of universalism-particularism is suggested that distinguishes this pair of concepts from the other pattern variables and pertains to social structures of role relations rather than to personality dispositions or to cultural symbols. Whether universalistic or particularistic standards govern the orientations of a group of people toward one another is inferred from the pattern of distribution of these orientations. The development of such empirical procedures for operationalizing Parsons' abstract concept is a first step in translating his theoretical framework into a substantive theory of social structure.

ONE of the five distinctions Parsons and Shils draw in their refinement of Toennies' *Gesellschaft-Gemeinschaft* ichotomy is that between universalistic nd particularistic standards in the orientaons of people.[1] Cognitive evaluation inolves discriminating between objects by pplying the same standard universalistically) all of them, as in using a yardstick or ıaking scientific judgments. In cathectic valuation, however, the particular relationhip between actor and objects serves as the articularistic standard for discriminating etween objects, as in a person's feeling of lentification with the symbols of his own ulture.[2] This general distinction is applicale to orientations toward all kinds of ob:cts, but of primary interest is its signif:ance for people's orientations to "social bjects," that is, to other people.[3] The crucial difference is whether the orientations of people toward one another are governed by standards that are independent of or dependent on the particular relations that exist between them. The former, universalistic standards are illustrated when all candidates for a job are judged solely on the basis of merit; the latter, particularistic standards are exemplified by nepotism in hiring practices or by a mother's love for *her* children.

While such illustrations make the abstract theoretical concepts more vivid and concrete, they are misleading inasmuch as they blur the distinctiveness of the analytical concepts, specifically, the distinction Parsons and Shils make between universalism-particularism and the four other pattern variables. Only one of several relevant differences between judging candidates on the basis of merit and either nepotism or maternal love is that between univeralism and particularism. A second difference is that merit judgments are oriented to the other person's performance or achievement, while nepotism entails an orientation to his ascribed qualities—kinship status. A third

* I want to acknowledge the helpful comments of ımes S. Davis, Otis Dudley Duncan, David Gold, obert W. Hodge, and Elihu Katz, as well as financial assistance from a Ford Foundation grant.

[1] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, *Toward General Theory of Action,* Cambridge, Mass.: ˈarvard University Press, 1951, pp. 76–88.

[2] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System,* Glencoe, l.: The Free Press, 1951, p. 62.

[3] When Parsons originally introduced this distincon it clearly referred to people's orientations to other people. See Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 185–99, especially p. 192. This essay was originally published in 1939.

difference is that the employer who considers only the qualification of candidates does not express personal feeling or affect in evaluating them, whereas the one who gives preference to relatives or friends does express his emotional attachments, and the mother's orientation to her children, too, is affective rather than affectively neutral. A fourth contrast between considering only the candidates' merit and nepotism is that between the specifically circumscribed role relations in the former case and the more diffuse ones in the latter. Finally, the employer who selects the best qualified candidate acts in terms of his self-interest, whereas nepotism indicates that primacy is given to the interest of the kinship collectively in which a person is involved, and so does a mother's treatment of her children. In short, these examples do not really clarify the distinction between universalism and particularism since they confound it with the distinction made by all the other pattern variables—performance-quality, neutrality-affectivity, specificity-diffuseness, and self-collectivity.

There is, then, the danger that the way universalism-particularism and the other pattern variables are actually used in sociological analysis ignores the particular Parsons-Shils contribution: their refinements of the earlier conception of *Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft*. It is not easy to guard against this danger, because the meaning of these concepts is not unequivocally specified. For example, if employers require candidates for certain jobs to have college degrees, they adopt a universalistic standard. But what standard is manifest in the requirement that candidates be whites? On the one hand, such racial prejudice reflects a cathectic rather than cognitive evaluation, implying a particularlistic standard. On the other hand, however, the requirement that all employees must have a certain skin color does not seem to be any less universal than the requirement that they all must have a certain education, which implies that the former, just as the latter, is a universalistic standard. How do we decide which one it is?

Another problem is posed by the fact that the pattern variables are deliberately formulated so that they can characterize either individual personalities or abstract culture or social systems. As sociologists, we are pri marily interested in the latter, that is, in th actual role relations in social structure rather than in personality dispositions or i cultural symbols. But a definition of univer salism-particularism that is based on th orientations expressed by individuals— whether they are guided by objective stand ards or let their feelings for particular per sons influence their judgments—clearly re fers to personality differences. To assum that adding or averaging such measures c individual characteristics in a populatio furnishes an index of a characteristic of th social sytem surely rests on a naive concep tion of social sytem as being merely the sur total of the psychological traits of indivic uals. And if we substitute for these direc expressions of orientations statements abou how people generally *ought* to be oriented t one another under various conditions, w obtain an index that reflects cultural idea and, again, not the actual structure of rol relations in a social system. But what is th distinctive meaning of universalism-partici larism in reference to a social system?

The objectives of this paper are to preser and discuss an operational definition of un versalism-particularism that (1) can be use in systematic research; (2) clearly differer tiates this one from the other pattern var ables; (3) refers to social systems rath than personalities or cultures; and (4 clarifies the difference between this and re lated concepts, such as that of a unique so cial relationship. In exploring the interre lations between this operationalized patter variable and the four others, attention wi be directed to empirical procedures fo testing hypotheses concerning the relatio ships between pattern variables. In a sens the paper suggests a framework for researc that would help to translate the theoretic scheme and theoretical insights of Parsor and Shils into a substantive, proposition theory of social structure.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

Universalistic standards, according to Pa sons and Shils, are "defined in complete generalized terms, independent of *the pa ticular relationship of the actor's own st*

tuses (qualities or performances, classificatory or relational) *to those of the object.*" Particularistic standards, in contrast, "assert the primacy of the values attached to objects by their particular relations to the actor's properties (qualities or performances, classificatory or relational) as over against their general universally applicable class properties." [4] The specific criterion of differentiation, therefore, is whether the standards reflected in people's orientation to one another are or are not independent of the *relationship between the status attributes* of the actors and those of the objects of their orientations. The operational definition suggested focuses upon this fundamental point and infers whether universalistic or particularistic standards govern the orientations in a collectivity from the actual distribution of orientations among its individual members. A hypothetical example will illustrate the procedure involved.

Let us assume that the members of the American Sociological Association had been asked in a survey to name the twenty outstanding living sociologists in the United States. Both the respondents and the persons named are classified by field of specialization into theorists, methodologists, and specialists in a number of substantive fields, and the distribution of nominations among these categories is analyzed. One possible finding would be that sociologists in all fields name a disporportionate number of theorists as their outstanding colleagues. This would show that being a theorist (or its correlates) serves as a universalistic standard in these evaluations. To be sure, it is unlikely that all choices go to theorists; there are idiosyncratic variations. But the *tendency* to select theorists is universal, that is, independent of the respondent's field of specialization. Another possible finding would be that only theorists name other theorists in disproportionate numbers, whereas methodologists overselect other methodologists, and men in each substantive specialty reveal a similar preference for others in their own field. This would indicate that field of specialization serves as a particularistic standard in these evaluations. For it would show that the reputation of sociologists among colleagues is influenced by the particular relationship between the field of the chooser and that of the chosen rather than by a generic characteristic of a field that is universally acknowledged as important.

In sum, the observed distribution of evaluations furnishes a rigorous criterion for determining whether the independent variable serves as universalistic or particularistic standard for these evaluations (or as neither, which would be manifest in the absence of any distinct pattern).[5] It should be noted that the valence of the evaluations—which ones are predominantly positive or negative—has no bearing upon this discrimination between standards. If sociologists in all fields were found to consider disproportionately few theorists outstanding and to name disproportionately many methodologists or persons in one substantive speciality, or those in several, as outstanding, it would also reflect a universalistic standard. And if for some reasons the sociologists in every field were found to respect colleagues in their own specialty less than those in other specialities, this would also reveal a particularistic standard, albeit an inverse one; that is, complementary needs as well as homophily reflect particularism.

The operational procedure might be further clarified by introducing two empirical illustrations. Caseworkers in a welfare agency were asked which three of their immediate colleagues they considered the best caseworkers.[6] Experience in the agency (or its correlates) served as a universalistic standard in these evaluations: workers with more than one year of seniority were respected in disproportionate numbers by coworkers who had much seniority as well as by those who had little seniority. (See Table 1; the H values presented in alternate columns indicate how much the observed values

[4] Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 82 (italics supplied).

[5] The assumption is that the characteristics in terms of which the members are classified is the independent variable that influences their evaluations of each other, the dependent variable. Cases where the social evaluations influence people's characteristics will not be considered here.

[6] For a full exposition of these cases and others briefly referred to later in the text, see Peter M. Blau, "Patterns of Choice in Interpersonal Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (February, 1962), pp. 41–55.

TABLE 1. INFLUENCE OF SENIORITY ON RESPECT

	Seniority of Chosen					
	Less Than One Year		More Than One Year			
Seniority of Chooser	N	H	N	H	Total Choices	Total Persons
Less than one year	11	−.40	41	+.40	52	21
More than one year	23	−.19	58	+.19	81	39
Total choices	34	—	99	—	133	60
Total persons	21	—	39	—	60	—

in a cell exceed or fall short of chance expectation.[7]) Class origin (or its correlates), however, served as a particularistic standard in these evaluations: caseworkers with fathers in manual occupations tended to overselect colleagues who also came from working-class families, and children of non-manual fathers tended to overselect others who shared their middle-class background (see Table 2). Both universalistic and particularistic standards governed the respect these workers accorded one another.

In principle, the procedure involves generating a who-to-whom matrix of people's evaluations of each other in which both the respondents and the objects of their evaluations are classified in terms of certain attributes.[8] Any factor by which people can be characterized may be used for this classification, and more than one may be used simultaneously. All relations among persons that meet a given criterion of evaluation or orientation, such as naming another as a respected colleague, are entered into the matrix. The operational criterion of a universalistic standard is that the disproportionately high (or low) frequencies appear in parallel columns; the operational criterion of a particularistic standard is that these frequencies appear in the major diagonal.[9]

[7] See James S. Coleman, "Relational Analysis," *Human Organization,* 17 (Winter, 1958–1959), pp. 28–36. The equations for determining H are: if A is greater than E, $H=(A-E)/(M-E)$; if A is smaller than E, $H=(A-E)/E$; where A is the number of actual, E the number of expected, and M the maximum number of choices in a cell. Hence, H is the proportion of the maximum possible deviation from the expected frequency that is achieved by the observed deviation from expectation. The maximum possible for a cell is the total number of choices made in a given row (thus, for the upper-right cell in Table 1, M=52). The expected value in a cell is the product of this number of *choices* in the *row* and the number of *persons* in the *column,* divided by the total number of persons in the sample (for the example, $E=52 \times 39/60=33.8$). Although 60 respondents were asked to make three choices each, the total is only 133, because some made fewer than three choices, and because choices of persons not interviewed are not included.

[8] Ideally, enough cases should be available to permit a matrix larger than 2 x 2 and still leave sufficient expected cases in each cell for reliable inference.

[9] If the table is constructed differently from those we have presented, the implications of various visual patterns will, of course, change. Thus, if the headings in Table 2 were "Same as Father" and "Different from Father," particularism would be

TABLE 2. INFLUENCE OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION ON RESPECT *

	Father's Occupation of Chosen							
	Manual		Non-Manual		Father Deceased			
Father's Occupation of Chooser	N	H	N	H	N	H	Total Choices	Total Persons
Manual	59	+.17	18	−.06	6	−.28	83	39
Non-manual	17	−.35	20	+.33	3	−.25	40	15
Father deceased	6	−.08	3	+.07	1	.00	10	6
Total choices	82	—	41	—	10	—	133	60
Total persons	39	—	15	—	6	—	60	—

* Respondents were asked to state what their father's occupations were when they were growing up.

IMPLICATIONS

The question that must be raised about an operational definition is: what are the specific parameters of the theoretical concepts presumably measured that are implied by it? In effect, the implications of an operational definition specify—refine or distort, as the case may be—the characteristics of the analytical concept.

The operational criterion suggested does not indicate whether a certain orientation is universalistic or particularistic but whether a factor that influences it does so by acting as a universalistic or particularistic standard for it. An orientation is typically influenced by a number of factors, some of which may act as universalistic and others as particularistic standards. Moreover, the operational criterion does not show that a given variable, say seniority, constitutes one or the other standard in a collectivity, since it may be a universalistic standard for some orientations and a particularistic one for others (as was, indeed, the case for seniority in the welfare agency). Universalism-particularism is a dimension of the standard that underlies an orientation in a collectivity rather than of the orientation itself, and the same characteristic does not necessarily serve as the same standard for different orientations.

By the very nature of the operational criterion, universalism and particularism so defined necessarily refer to the standards implicit in the role relationships of a social system,[10] not to the standards that guide the motives of individuals, and not to the ideal standards of the culture. The claim that we are dealing here with attributes of social structure, rather than those of culture or personality structure, rests on a certain conception of social structure or system. The study of social systems might be conceived as being concerned with the economic, political, and other basic institutions in a society, and not with the actual orientations and observable patterns of conduct of people. Or it might be conceived as including only the macroscopic analysis of the relations among various groups in a society and not with the microscopic analysis of the social relations between individuals in these groups. In terms of either of these conceptions, it would not be correct to state that universalism-particularism as previously defined is a characteristic of social systems. But a more analytic conception of social system includes under it the interrelationships among all attributes of collectivities that cannot be reduced to attributes of persons, such as suicide rates, status differentiation, the distribution of orientations in a group, or the resulting structure of role relations. In terms of this conception, which views social systems as only analytically distinct from culture or personality systems, the operational criterion clearly pertains to social systems. For the criterion specifically indicates the standard on which the actual distribution of orientations in a collectivity rests. It does not show whether cultural norms legitimate universalistic or particularistic standards under given conditions, nor does it tell us whether the individuals making the evaluations are motivated by universalistic or by particularistic considerations.[11]

The motivational standards that govern the orientations of individuals do not necessarily correspond to the social standards implicit in the distribution of these orientations in a collectivity. Even though individuals make rational judgments on the basis of objective criteria, their collective evaluations might rest on a particularistic standard. Thus, the hypothetical finding that the members of a discipline tend to respect others in their own field of specialization in disproportionate numbers indicates that a particularistic standard underlies these evaluations, but it does not show that the respondents are irrational or biased in their judgments, since we do not know what considerations have motivated their decisions. For example, the tendency to overselect colleagues in one's own field might be due to the fact that these are the only persons about whose work one knows enough to

manifest in a pattern of plusses in parallel columns rather than in the diagonal.

[10] The pattern variables are abstract, formal standards underlying role relations, which must be distinguished from the substantive norms to which we usually refer when we talk about roles and role expectations.

[11] But parallel criteria that do refer to cultural norms or to the dispositions of individuals could be developed.

make intelligent judgments. It is also possible that men in different fields employ different standards in choosing their outstanding colleagues—theorists might judge others by their conceptual sophistication, methodologists, by their statistical acumen—and although the various respondents rationally and impartially employ an objective standard, the end product is a disproportionate number of ingroup selections. The existence of diverse standards of respect, however, is *a fortiori* evidence that there is not one universal standard. And if diverse standards have the result that the pattern of evaluations is contingent on the relationship between the chooser's attribute and that of the chosen, they reflect, in fact, an underlying particularistic standard. Whether the social evaluations in a collectivity rest on universalistic or particularistic standards, and whether individuals make these evaluations on rational grounds or not, are two independent questions.

Another important distinction is that between the standards reflected in the actual social orientations and role relations in a cellectivity, on the one hand, and the cultural norms that define what standards ought to govern people's orientations to and treatment of their fellows under various conditions, on the other. In most working relations in modern society, for instance, universalism is culturally approved and particularism is disapproved. Actually, of course, many particularistic standards influence working relations; nepotism and the social significance of ethnic and class background are only the most conspicuous examples. But particularism is culturally prescribed for family relations, since the persistence of families would be threatened if, say, mothers were guided by universalistic standards and thus willing to reject their own children in favor of others that are prettier or more intelligent. The prevailing cultural ideals and the personality traits of the members of a collectivity influences, of course, their orientations toward one another, but the standards implicit in the social pattern of these orientations are distinct from either cultural or personality standards.

According to the operational definition, particularism does not mean that the orientations of two persons toward one another have some unique features. Even such general standards as those manifest in a preference for companionship with persons of one's own sex or in the requirement that civil servants must be citizens of the employing country are defined by the criterion as particularistic. This seems to violate our intuitive conception of particularism as denoting that an individual has a distinctive orientation and unique obligations toward one or a few others, for example, his children. But Parsons explicitly states that particularistic standards "may be formulated in terms of a general rule," [12] which implies that they are not unique, although the content of what they prescribe may be, and his discussion of particularism as a basis of social solidarity [13] also indicates that in his view this concept referred to a characteristic that is typical for certain role relationships and not to that which makes one role relationship unique. A man's orientation toward his family is considered to be particularistic because it singles out for special attention the members of an ingroup, rather than persons with a certain attribute regardless of whether it makes them part of his ingroup or not. In this respect, a preference for associates of one's own sex, while admittedly an extreme case, differs only in degree from a preference for one's own ethnic group, or social class, or family, but it differs in kind from a general preference for males, or whites, or upper-class people, or the royal British family. The operational procedure quite properly classifies all four former cases as particularistic, and the four latter, as universalistic, since particularism refers to the fact that people's orientations toward the ingroup differ from those toward the outgroup, whatever the definition of group boundaries. Only in the polar case where the boundaries of the ingroup include merely one person, say a spouse, is an individual's particularistic orientation uniquely different from his orientations toward all other people.

The questions raised earlier whether discriminatory employment practices reveal a universalistic or particularistic standard can

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[12] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System, op. cit.*, p. 63.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 455, and Talcott Parsons, *et al.*, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953, p. 229.

now be answered. If white employers hire mostly white workers, and Negro employers, Negro workers, the standard is unquestionably particularistic. But if Negro as well as white employers were to prefer white employees, the underlying standard would be defined by the criterion as universalistic. This may appear strange, since anti-Negro prejudice in the second example is even more pervasive than in the first. The issue, however, is not how prejudiced people are. A prejudice shared by all, even the minority in question, reflects a universal standard; only a bias confined to the ingroup reflects a particularistic one.[14]

People's orientations to others find expression not only in answers to essentially sociometric questions but also in many decisions, which can be examined, and in their social interaction, which can be observed. There are many types of data to which the analysis proposed can be applied. To cite a few examples: the decisions of faculty members to give fellowships to students; the decisions of fraternity brothers to pledge new students; the decisions of caseworkers to grant assistance to applicants; the votes of jurors concerning the accused; the sanctions a supervisor administers to subordinates; the frequency with which members of a group initiate social contacts with other members. In each case, the actors and the objects of their action would be classified in terms of some variable to determine whether the distribution of positive (or negative) actions reveals a universalistic or particularistic standard.[15]

There are, however, some measures of social relations that would yield misleading results when used in this type of analysis. Let us assume that most students in a high school, regardless of their academic standing, are attracted to and want to become friends of fellow students whose academic standing is high. This would mean that academic standing is a universalistic standard of attraction. But while the company of outstanding students is much in demand, they themselves do not want to become friends with everybody, nor would they have the time to do so if they did want it. Chances are that under these conditions the best students would primarily associate with equally outstanding students, since here preferences are often reciprocal, and other friendships would also usually involve partners of approximately equal academic standing. From this pattern of ingroup association (with the excessive choices in the diagonal of the matrix) one would conclude that academic standing is a particularistic standard of attraction to associates, but this conclusion is false, since we know it to be a universalistic standard. The actual patterns of association among people—friendships, frequencies of interaction, memberships in voluntary associations—often indicate ingroup choices although the relevant social evaluations are governed by a universalistic standard. For this reason, only measures of social evaluations and not measures of extent of social associations may be used to infer whether particularistic or universalistic standards prevail.

Which standard governs significant social

[14] Universalism does not imply that people make rational judgments, just as particularism does not imply that they do not. In terms of reference group theory, the difference between the two situations in the illustration is whether Negro employers are oriented toward Negroes as their reference group or whether they as well as white employers are oriented toward whites as their reference group. If the values of one group are the frame of reference for the members of other groups as well as for its own members, the distribution of orientations in the larger collectivity will be governed by universalistic standards, but if most people are oriented toward their own ingroup as their reference group, particularistic standards will prevail. (For the distinction between ingroup and outgroup as reference group, see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, rev. ed., Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 231–33.)

[15] To avoid errors of interpretation in those cases where the respondents who make the evaluations and the persons evaluated are two distinct groups, care must be exercised to take into account possible processes of selection. Let us assume, for example, that most students apply for admission to colleges in their home state. As a result, a disproportionate number of admitted students in most colleges would come from their own states. But this finding would not indicate that state boundaries serve as particularistic standards for admission policies, since it would largely reflect the actions of the student applicants, not the evaluations of the admission committees. In such cases, a correction for self-selection must be applied. Evidence that these standards are particularistic would require data that show that the proportion of home-state applicants who are admitted is greater than the proportion of admitted out-of-state applicants.

evaluations has important implications for the social structure. Universalistic standards produce social differentiation. If intelligent people, for example, are generally respected, it implies both that intelligence is a universalistic standard for respect and that intelligence helps to create differences in prestige status.[16] Particularistic standards typically produce segregating boundaries in the social structure. Thus, the finding that the members of various religious denominations in a community think more highly of and are more attracted to co-religionists than persons in other denominations would show that religion is a particularistic standard and also that it promotes social divisions among members of the community. This does not contradict Parsons' point that particularism is closely connected with group solidarity.[17] Particularism is, indeed, both an expression and a condition of the solidarity of the subgroup—in the example, the religious denomination—but for this very reason it creates some segregating barriers in the larger collectivity.[18]

FRAMEWORK

Universalism-particularism is a dimension of the structure of role relations in a collectivity which can be observed and interpreted only within the framework of other dimensions. An examination of the dimensions that specify, so to speak, the coordinates of universalism-particularism leads to a consideration of the four other pattern variables of Parsons' scheme.

One condition that must be clarified is the nature of the characteristic that serves as a universalistic or particularistic standard. There are innumerable attributes by which people can be characterized, and these can be classified in many different ways. One possible classification—the one suggested by the scheme of Parsons and Shils—divides variables on the basis of whether they refer to the performance and achievements of a person or to his ascribed qualities—to what he does and can do or to who he is. Is there a consistent relationship between the performance-quality and the universalism-particularism dimension? The data from the welfare agency previously mentioned did not reveal one. They showed, for instance, that some aspects of performance, such as competence, served as universalistic standards of respect, and others, such as how much time and energy caseworkers devoted to checking up on clients, served as particularistic standards of respect. The findings suggest that those differences in performance that reflect differences in values, as many do—for example, whether checking on or furnishing services to clients is more important—constitute particularistic standards of interpersonal evaluations.[19]

A second condition to be specified is the kind of orientations to other people that is under consideration. Are we dealing with answers to sociometric questions, people's decisions concerning others, their actual conduct toward each other, or another form of social evaluation? And how can the orientations indicated by various empirical measures be classified? A fundamental distinction is that between manifestations of respect and expressions of feelings of attraction, and this dichotomy parallels the pattern variable neutrality-affectivity.

The framework presented so far makes it possible to translate the problem of what the interrelations between the dimensions or pattern variables are into a research problem. The basic research questions about the first three dimensions are whether performance or quality characteristics tend to serve as universalistic or particularistic standards for neutral (respect) or affective (attraction) orientations. Evidently, a large number of systematic empirical comparisons under various conditions would be necessary to answer these questions. The research would be guided only by the general hypothesis that the relations between the three dimensions reveal some consistent patterns.

[16] Parsons implies such a nexus between universalism and status of differentiation; see *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[17] See references, footnote 13.

[18] A preponderance of negative orientations toward the ingroup and positive ones toward the outgroup, which might be considered inverse particularism, strengthens the solidarity of the larger collectivity at the expense of the subgroup. The strong identification of parents with children and vice versa, for example, strengthens family solidarity by somewhat weakening intragenerational unity.

[19] See Blau, *loc. cit.*

It is, of course, possible that even this general hypothesis is not confirmed; indeed, preliminary analysis based on data from two studies and involving several hundred comparisons did not reveal any consistent pattern in these terms. Such a negative finding, if confirmed on a larger scale, would direct attention to needed revisions in the theoretical scheme. How can the classification of characteristics into performances and qualities be refined or altered to encompass the regularities observed? What modifications in the dichotomy of orientations are indicated by the empirical findings? Which further conditions should be specified? In brief, the framework for research suggested would furnish a pragmatic test of the utility of Parsons' theoretical scheme, a procedure for introducing required conceptual refinements, and a method for deriving substantive theoretical propositions from it.

The first three dimensions appear to be the most basic, since every single matrix necessarily involves all three of them—a type of *attribute* that acts as a certain *standard* for a given kind of *orientation*. To analyze the relationships among these dimensions and establish generalizations about them, however, requires comparing many matrices. Once such comparisons are made, two further dimensions must be taken into account.

The significance of attributes of people for their evaluations and treatment of one another varies in scope. It may be specific, confined to one aspect of their orientation to others, or diffuse, extending to most of their orientations. The comparison of the impact of a given attribute on several different orientations to other people provides an index of this dimension of specificity-diffuseness. For example, how often welfare workers came to the office late influenced their choice of consultants but none of their other, broader orientations to each other. Workers tended to prefer consultants who were as punctual or as tardy as they themselves. This measure of strict adherence to official rules, therefore, served as a *specific* particularistic standard. How much time workers spent in the field, on the other hand, apparently reflected differences in values of *diffuse* particularistic significance. Workers who were alike on this measure respected one another, preferred to consult one another, felt attracted to one another, and expressed other positive orientations to one another in disproportionate numbers. Similarly, some variables served as specific, and others, as diffuse universalistic standards.[20]

A final dimension to be considered is the compass or inclusiveness of the social system. Reliable generalizations about the structure of role relations must be based on or tested with data from a representative sample of collectivities. Even if we cannot yet achieve such an ideal research design, however, we must take into consideration that the varying conditions in different social systems in all probability exert a distinct influence on people's orientations to each other. The pattern of role relations among freshmen in a high school, for example, may well differ from that among seniors. These differences and the relationships between the role structures in the various classes of the high school constitute new data that characterize the social system of the high school as distinguished from the social systems of its subgroups. Moreover, the social patterns in the different high schools in a community can be compared, and this comparison yields a description of the social system of the community's high school population. Larger collectivities encompass smaller ones, and while the social system of the latter consists essentially of role relations among individuals, that of the former involves primarily the relationships among these role structures in subsystems. The concept of compass of social systems is akin to the self-collectivity pattern variable, not as originally conceived, when it distinguished self-interested from disinterested orientations, but as later redefined, when it came to refer more to the level of system under consideration.[21]

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[20] Specificity-diffuseness as here defined, just as universalism-particularism, refers to the standards that prevail in a collectivity, not to the orientations of individuals. A corresponding measure of specificity-diffuseness in the orientations of individuals could be based on the criterion of whether an individual tends to express only a single one or a variety of positive (or negative) orientations—respect, attraction, and others—to given other persons.

[21] Parsons, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 258–63 and especially Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe, Ill.:

Fictitious research findings will illustrate this dimension. Assume that high schools have been divided on the basis of the average amount of time students spend on academic pursuits outside of school, which may be thought of as an index of academic orientation. Students in all schools are asked which fellow students they would most like to have as friends. In schools with a high academic orientation, the students who devote *most* time to academic pursuits are most popular, that is, they are named in disproportionate numbers not only by others who do equally as much academic work but also by those who do relatively little academic work. This indicates that academic orientation serves as a universalistic standard of attraction. In schools with a low academic orientation, however, the students who devote *least* time to academic pursuits are most popular among fellow students who manifest more interest than they in academic work as well as among those who also have little interest in it. This, too, indicates that academic orientation serves as a universalistic standard of attraction, but here it has a negative rather than a positive valence. In both kinds of schools, then, the prevailing value orientation serves as a universalistic standard for rewarding those individuals who express the dominant value most fully with popularity.

But note what this implies for the larger social system composed of all these high schools. From the perspective of this larger system, academic orientation constitutes a particularistic standard. For a student's popularity in the wider social system does not depend on his having certain academic characteristics that are universally acknowledged as attractive, but it depends on his having the same characteristics that prevail among his fellow students who evaluate him, only in more extreme form.[22] The reason is that diverse and conflicting universalistic standards constitute, in effect, a particularistic standard, as mentioned earlier. Hence, even the influence of a specific attribute on a single orientation to people in a given population cannot be described as either universalistic or particularistic without specifying whether the analysis is concerned with the subsystems into which any larger system can be divided, treating each as a social system, or with the wider social system that encompasses them.

CONCLUSIONS

In the study of the social values and norms that govern role relations in social structures, it is easy to confound traits of personality systems with attributes of social systems. This danger is especially acute for concepts such as universalism-particularism and the other pattern variables developed by Parsons and Shils which are explicitly designed to refer either to the role relations in social systems or to the dispositions of individual personalities or to the norms and symbols of a culture. If we ascertain whether the judgments of individuals are governed by objective cognitive standards or dominated by feelings of attachment to particular persons, we are dealing with psychological differences between individuals. If we seek to go beyond such personality differences by determining what kind of orientation is generally considered to be proper and legitimate in various social situations—one guided by objective criteria or one that rests on personal attachments—we are dealing with cultural norms. To be sure, the psychological orientations of people and the prevailing cultural norms are both related to the actual structure of role relations in a social system, but the former two are not identical with the latter. Attempts to characterize social structures in terms of individuals' psychological orientations or normative ideals involves psychological or culturological reductionism in the study of social systems. Moreover, the fine analytical distinctions between universalism-particularism and the other pattern variables, which are essential for the theoretical scheme, can hardly be preserved in measures directly based on the orientations of indi-

The Free Press, 1955, pp. 142–43. Parsons' illustrations, however, tend to revert back to the self-interest meaning.

[22] This type of finding is related to, although not identical with, what I have called a structural effect, which means that the prevalence of an orientation in a collectivity has an effect that is distinct from any effect of the same orientation of individuals. See Peter M. Blau, "Structural Effects," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (April, 1960), pp. 178–193.

ıals, since these necessarily reflect ad- tures of the analytical concepts.

.n operational definition of universalism- ticularism has been presented that meets ;e problems. It unequivocally refers to al systems (if this term is conceived to ude interpersonal relations), for it can- even be used to characterize individuals, :ultural norms, but only to describe the ıal structure of role relations in a collec- ty. It clearly distinguishes this pair of cepts from the four other pattern varia- :. Besides, it avoids the frequent confu- ı between universalism-particularism, on one hand, and whether an orientation ypical of many social relations or con- d to a few, if not unique. The opera- ıal criterion is derived from a matrix ch shows what influence an attribute of members of a collectivity has on their ntations to or evaluations of one another. attribute is defined as a universalistic ıdard if persons, regardless of their own racteristics, direct a disproportionate nber of their positive (or negative) eval- ions to others with a certain character- :. An attribute is defined as a particular- : standard if persons tend to direct their itive (or, in special cases, negative) luations to others whose characteristics like their own.

This paper has, in effect, suggested a nework of research based on Parsons' oretical scheme. The interrelations be- en the five dimensions of the structure role relations defined by the five pattern iables have been delineated. If empirical data analyzed in terms of this framework would yield consistent and meaningful regularities, the adequacy of the scheme as it stands would have been pragmatically demonstrated. But this is undoubtedly too much to expect on the first try. Even if no such regularities are found, however, the framework serves a function by directing attention to the need for conceptual refinements. Preliminary investigations indicate, for example, that the concepts of performance and quality should probably be revised, partly by operationalizing the subtle distinctions Parsons makes in his conceptual analysis, but also partly by introducing further differentiations between various kinds of performances and qualities. Finally, research carried out within this framework, particularly after it has been appropriately modified, could test hypotheses concerning the relationships between various concepts and thus help transform Parsons' theoretical scheme into a substantive theory of the structure of role relations. Essential for such a theory is that it be able to range from narrower to ever more encompassing social systems. To achieve a systematic theory of social structure, we must start by investigating the structure of role relations in systems small enough for individuals to interact with one another, proceed to analyze the differences and relationships between the various structures of role relations in the larger system, and go on in similar systematic fashion to more and more encompassing social systems.

THEORY, PROBABILITY, AND INDUCTION IN SOCIAL RESEARCH *

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The primary function of the scientist is to develop verified systematic theory. Probability considerations enter into the research process in three basic ways: intrinsically, as postulates in the theory; in auxiliary manner, as a part of the process of observation, including the explanation of errors of observation; and inductively, as a part of the logical structure of verification. The practices of sampling from finite populations, as in survey research, and of randomized experimentation are auxiliary uses of probability. The scope of induction provided in each by the method of sampling is inadequate for scientific purposes. To extend that scope requires the formulation and verification of theory. Statistical inference is inadequate as an inductive policy for logical and pragmatic reasons. The objective of systematic theory suggests the criterion of systematic import as part of a more adequate inductive policy.

MOST social researchers employ probability concepts in their research either explicitly or implicitly whether or not they are aware of it. The chief notable exceptions are those who are proponents of what has come to be called "analytic induction,"[1] a rationale that explicitly excludes certain probability formulations. But these are small minorities in the sociological society. Most of us, in one way or another, are probability oriented in our research. Yet, for all this collective commitment to the use of probability, there is a great deal of confusion and obscurity about its nature and use in research.

The disagreements connected with the use of probability in social research stem from many sources. There is a general failure to recognize the different purposes probability reasoning has served, with the result that critics and defenders of probability often are talking about different things. A perhaps even more important source of difficulty lies in an inadequate understanding of the nature of science and the proper business of the scientist. Without presuming to be definitive, the present paper undertakes to make a contribution to the clarification of these basic issues. We shall discuss briefly some aspects of scientific theory and the verification of scientific hypotheses. In the course of this we shall distinguish three basic uses of probability: intrinsic, auxiliary, and inductive.[2] In a critical analysis of inductive probability we shall introduce the concept of systematic import as a part of the inductive process.

THE DUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCIENTIST

Discussions about science usually begin with a statement to the effect that the purpose of science is to make predictions for the purpose of control. We agree with these objectives, but they do not clearly reflect what we believe is the chief function of the scientist: to create and provide empirical support for a particular means of making predictions, viz., systematic theory. Our contention is that the scientist has a direct responsibility to both these tasks, the creation of theory and the providing of empirical support for theory, and that to fail to meet either responsibility is to fail fundamentally.

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[1] For a description and analysis of this school of thought see William S. Robinson, "The Logical Structure of Analytic Induction," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (December, 1951), pp. 812–818.

[2] The present discussion owes much to Lancelot Hogben, who treated this topic at great length in his important book, ***Statistical Theory***, New York: W. W. Norton, 1958.

SOME ASPECTS OF SCIENTIFIC THEORY

Formal and Empirical Truth.[3] Scientific theory has a formal aspect. It consists of statements of fact in propositional form which are connected by explicit rules. These rules provide an objective, communicable means of operating on some of these propositions to produce additional "lower level" propositions or theorems. The *formal truth* of a theorem rests essentially on a demonstration that it has been generated by a correct application of the rules (has been correctly inferred).

Scientific theory has an empirical aspect, as well. To make the theory "say something" about reality it has to be interpreted or given empirical content. This is accomplished by means of a set of coordinating definitions that are essentially rules for identifying the empirical referents of the theorems. The *empirical truth* of a theorem refers to the judged correspondence of its interpreted assertion with the observed state of affairs. In their narrow conception, operational definitions serve as an important type of coordinating definition.[4]

Generality. The propositions embodied in the theory refer to all instances of the phenomena to which they are linked by the coordinating definitions. By *all* we mean literally those that occurred in the past, those that now exist, and those that may yet occur in the future. That is, the universes to which the propositions refer are always infinite and hence conceptual. Their elements never all exist at one time. Connected with this is the requirement that the coordinating definitions must not contain time or place specifications, except as these factors are variables in the system. For example, a proposition connecting vote with residence must not be interpreted so as to refer only to the voters in a given election who reside at that time in a given community. This conception of the universe and the correlated restriction on the coordinating definitions provide the system with its predictive relevance with regard to future events and its explanatory relevance with regard to events which have already occurred.[5]

Deterministic and Probabilistic Theories. The propositions of a theory can be arranged in a hierarchy based upon their order in the deductive evolvement of the theory. A deterministic theory is one whose propositions at all levels within the hierarchy express universal relationships of the sort "All A is B." A probabilistic theory is one that contains at least one highest level proposition that expresses a probability relationship between some classes of the elements referred to by the theory. The reason that such a proposition must be a highest level one is that probability statements can be *inferred* only from probability statements, so if they appear at all in a theory, they must appear at a highest level.[6]

When probability propositions are so incorporated in a theory, they express a fundamental property of the phenomena to which they refer. To remove this kind of proposition from a theory literally involves reconceptualizing the phenomena itself. We shall therefore refer to probability statements within a theory as *intrinsic* probability and speak of the intrinsic use of probability. It is especially important to maintain a distinction between the intrinsic use of probability and the use of probability to deal with the conditions of observation, which we shall treat presently.

SAMPLING AND EXPERIMENTATION

Discussions about whether sociology can ever be a science and about whether it can be a science without experimentation often center around the competitive advantages of surveys and controlled experiments. In the former, probability considerations enter in the context of sampling from finite, existent populations, and in the latter they enter

[3] For a valuable recent treatment of the logical structure of scientific theories, see Richard B. Braithwaite, *Scientific Explanation*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955.

[4] Cf., Carl G. Hempel, "A Logical Appraisal of Operationism," in Phillip G. Frank, editor, *The Validation of Scientific Theories*, Boston: The Beacon Press, 1956.

[5] These properties of scientific universes are not well recognized. For some discussion of them see Karl R. Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959, esp. Ch. 1, and Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[6] Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, Ch. 6.

in the design and interpretation of randomized experiments. In the typology we are presenting here, these are auxiliary probability applications since they both refer primarily to the process of observation. The present concern is with the implications of each for theory and with the scope of induction they permit by virtue of being sampling procedures.

Sampling from Finite, Existent Populations. The mathematical theory of sampling from finite populations does not require any assumptions about the population sampled except that it remain fixed (or change predictably) during the course of our interest. We do not, for example, have to say anything about the way in which the population came into being. Given its existence and access to it, we can draw samples from the population by a method that has been previously verified to produce sampling distributions with predictable characteristics, and on the basis of this we can make some statements about the population by inspecting the sample. In doing so, we introduce the possibility of the two types of errors with which we are familiar. But it is conceivable that we can avoid sampling altogether by making a complete inspection of the population since it is finite and existent. To see the scientific relevance of a sample from such a population, then, we must understand how to use the information obtained by the complete inspection. It is clear that we must know the scientific relevance of the population itself.

In the context of theory construction we would regard any statement of fact about the population as a proposition deducible from a theory, i.e., as a hypothesis. In addition, since that statement is treated as a hypothesis, the elements to which it refers are designated by the coordinating definitions. Thus, the finite, existent population is interpreted as a collection of instances of the kind referred to by the coordinating definitions. By this interpretation the characteristics of the population become evidence for or against a hypothesis. Without some theoretical context, however, and without suitably generalized coordinating definitions, the statement of fact about the population has as yet no scientific relevance. It is merely a descriptive statement.

If some systematic theory is at issue and if the phenomenon is properly identified, we might resort to sampling as an efficiency measure. The scope of the induction provided by the sampling is, however, limited to the finite set of elements upon which the sampling procedure was employed. There is no procedure for *selecting* a probability sample from the infinite hypothetical universe specified by the coordinating definitions. To extend the scope of the sampling induction to the hypothetical universe requires us to *postulate* explicitly a specific connection between the existent elements and the hypothetical universe.

Since the connection between existing and future cases is a matter of postulation, whether a probability sampling scheme is required in choosing cases to observe depends upon the nature of the theory involved. If the theory is deterministic, the primary concern would be with choosing cases having the appropriate values of the independent variables specified by the theory. There is no need to know the proportionate representation of cases having those values; therefore, there is no need for probability sampling at all. For example, if the hypothesis asserts that all A is B, then any subset of A is also included in B, and so it is a matter of convenience how we chose the subset of A's to observe. If it were our interest to know how many A's there are in the existing population, then, of course, we might choose to estimate this by a probability sampling procedure, but that number itself would have to be somehow consequential for a theory.

If the theory is probabilistic, we would be interested not only in making sure that the cases exhibit the appropriate values of the variables specified by the theory, but, in addition, we would be interested in the proportionate representation of the cases having these values, because it provides sample values of the probabilities at issue. We are obliged therefore to postulate a statistical relationship between the existing cases and the hypothetical pool. By virtue of this postulate a complete inspection of the existing cases would be interpreted as a probability sample of the hypothetical population. A probability

sample of the existing cases would also be appropriate.[7]

It is virtually impossible in most social research to obtain such samples, however, and in practice the usual procedure is to get one's subjects as best one may, being as much concerned about the number of subjects as by the manner in which they are selected. These "convenience" samples are unsatisfactory from both standpoints: the representation of variables and the representation of populations. Unless these samples are huge they will usually not contain enough of the right combinations of variable values to make an adequate test of the theory. In addition, since they are not usually chosen by a randomizing procedure, they cannot be considered as probability samples representative of the existing population.

If we cannot afford both kinds of representation, the present writer feels that it is better to choose our cases so as to be sure to get the right combinations of variable values. Such sampling is termed judgment sampling and is usually eschewed on the advice of statisticians, but there seems to be no practicable way to improve on this in most instances. Such a procedure would greatly facilitate the direct replication of studies by keeping the sample size within reasonable limits and by an explicit statement of conditions, apart from possible selection biases, that would make the studies comparable.

Randomized Experimentation. A fundamental criticism of Mill's methods of experimental inquiry is that to use them to discover the causes of a phenomenon or to prove that a particular factor is the cause of a phenomenon requires the *a priori* assumption that all the possible causes are known and examinable. R. A. Fisher flatly denied the possibility of an exhaustive enumeration of possibly effective factors and proposed a formal argument, based upon the physical act of randomizing treatment, to account for the effects of all relevant factors, known or unknown, that might be present in the experimental situation.[8]

In a Fisherian experiment the experimenter exposes the experimental units or subjects to a pattern of treatment which has been randomly selected by the experimenter from all the possible patterns of treatment to which he might have exposed them. This universe of possible patterns of treatment is, of course, hypothetical in that it exists only symbolically. Once a particular pattern has been applied to a set of subjects its effects cannot (usually) be erased so that the same subjects may be given another selected pattern of treatment. If this could be done, there would be no need to randomize treatment if the objective is to satisfy the form of Mill's canons. The formal argument by which the effects of the randomized and controlled factors are accounted for includes a specification of the form of the functional relationships between the factors and the effects, for example the often referred to "linear hypothesis."

It is also relatively a matter of course to postulate a fundamental, irreducible variation in the experimental units. That is, an intrinsic statistical proposition is postulated, but the variation due to this is not usually separable from errors of observation or other probabilistic errors in conducting the experiment. As a matter of fact, a number of combinations of deterministic and statistical propositions could lead to the same deductions, and which is to be preferred among these is precisely the task involved in constructing any theory.

We see then, that a Fisherian experiment involves a particular theoretical conception. This conception is by no means appropriate to all phenomena, but this fact has been obscured by the great attention paid to the act of randomization.

The scope of generalization or induction that is due to the act of randomization can only be subjects like those used in the experiment and under the conditions of the experiment, whatever they were. If the experimenter cannot provide us with the identifying characteristics of like subjects and of the same conditions, we cannot know

[7] For a discussion of this type of sampling see W. Edwards Deming, *Some Theory of Sampling*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1950, pp. 252–259.

[8] R. A. Fisher, *The Design of Experiments*, London: Oliver and Boyd, 1949.

where to apply the conclusions of the experiment.[9] The scope of the induction can be increased by choosing subjects at random from an existent population of subjects, and by choosing environmental conditions from an existent population of these, but then the induction from sampling would apply only to those finite, existent populations. Predictions to situations other than the sampled existent ones must be made on other grounds. This will require the *explicit* specification of conditions, or the adoption of some assumption to the effect that conditions will be presented (but not by a voluntary act of selection) to the experimenter in a random fashion. This all amounts to the assertion of a complex probabilistic theory which is to be verified by the experimentation. Without such a theory the act of randomization is useless.

THE VERIFICATION OF HYPOTHESES

The Specification of Conditions. In a sense, a theory says everything it has to say all at once, and to make it say something about a specific instance some parts of the theory have to be pinned down. This is accomplished by specifying the values of some of the variables in the theory and thereby deriving a specific consequence.[10] The examples given to illustrate this point are usually taken from physics (the law of freely falling bodies is asserted under the condition that the falling is done in a vacuum; the boiling point of water depends upon the pressure on the water, etc.) but it is possible to find examples from social research. In general, whenever a relationship between two variables is affected by a third variable, that variable becomes a condition for the relationship.

The significance of these remarks is that any test of a theory requires the specification of conditions under which certain results are expected. The researcher must ascertain that those conditions did in fact exist when the test was made, and to do this he must make observations on the conditioning variables. Thus observations enter into the testing situation at two points: the empirical determination of the specified conditions and the empirical determination of the hypothesized results.

Errors of Observation. The fact that the the act of making observations may introduce errors into the testing setting serves to complicate the task of verification. A hypothesis may be mistakenly rejected or accepted because of error introduced either in the empirical certification of the conditions or of the results or both. To deal with this we must learn something about the possible errors that may obscure the phenomena or make them appear different and thereby lead us astray in evaluating our hypotheses.

These errors, if they exist, are as much phenomena to be explained as the events to which they are connected. We proceed in the explanation or errors in the same way we do in the explanation of the phenomena of primary interest, i.e., by the formulation and verification of propositions about the errors. This does not mean that the propositions formed to explain the errors have to be the same as those formed to explain the phenomenon studied. In fact, the explanation of errors may be formally independent of the substantive theory, so that a statistical theory of errors may be employed in the testing of deterministic hypotheses and so on, for all the combinations of types of errors and types of hypotheses. The theory of errors is auxiliary to the substantive theory of primary concern.

The intrusion of errors of observation makes for peculiar difficulties in the process of verification in that the same data are used to disentangle the workings out of two distinct theories. To cope with the complexities

[9] In this connection Cochran and Cox wrote, ". . . agricultural and field experiments are often repeated both at a number of places and for a number of years. . . . In experimental programs of this type, it is usually hoped that the places and years constitute a representative sample of the population of places and years to which the results will be applied. There are obvious practical difficulties in choosing places and years that can confidently be asserted to be such a representative sample, and sometimes little effort is made to ensure that this will be so. The hard fact is that any statistical inference made from an analysis of the data will apply only to the population (if one exists) of which the experiments are a random sample. If this population is vague and unreal, the analysis is likely to be a waste of time, at least from the strictly practical point of view." William G. Cochran and Gertrude M. Cox, *Experimental Designs,* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1950, p. 411.

[10] Popper, *op. cit.*, section 28.

added by the intrusion of errors of observation, we must deal with the fundamental problem of verifying hypotheses in general. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to the brief comments we have already made about these errors and return to the main trend of our discussion.

The Empirical Implications of Deterministic and Probabilistic Hypotheses. The hypotheses tested empirically make assertions about the specific situation being observed. If the hypothesis is deterministic it asserts something of this sort: All A is B. From this we infer that if the instance before us is in fact A, then it must also be B. If, having determined that the instance is in fact A, we observe that it is not also B, we have a clear, logical contradiction of the hypothesis and would, therefore, regard it as false. If the instance is in fact both A and B, we would regard this as *consistent* with the hypothesis, but not as logical proof that the hypothesis is true, because the hypothesis refers to *all* instances of this kind and we have examined only one (or some) of them. From the standpoint of formal proof, nothing is changed if we should multiply the number of instances observed (i.e., enlarge the sample); the hypothesis is only not contradicted.

The testing of statistical hypotheses is even less definitive, for it turns out that they are not even formally refutable on material grounds. A statistical hypothesis asserts something about the proportion of an infinite collection of samples (or elements) that are of each possible sample type, but nothing at all about the order in which they will exist. All that a statistical hypothesis implies about *any particular sample* is that it be one of the logically possible ones, but not which one. For example, to assert that the probability of heads for a given coin is p implies no more about the empirical events than that any sample of tosses of the coin will consist of some proportion (*any* proportion, from zero to one) of heads. Thus, any result, any sample proportion of heads is formally consistent with the hypothesis and none is formally inconsistent with it. If matters were left at this, we should have to conclude that experience is irrelevant to the testing of statistical hypotheses and by virtue of this they would not be acceptable as scientific hypotheses.

It is clear that if statistical hypotheses are to be admitted as scientific propositions, they can be made empirically responsible only by a logically arbitrary decision to regard certain empirical results as consistent and confirming and to regard other empirical results as contradictory and disconfirming, even though all these empirical results are *logically* consistent with the respective hypotheses. The problem becomes one of finding a reasonable plan for determining which results shall be considered contradictory and which consistent and of justifying that plan with respect to scientific objectives.

Inductive Probability. Because of the empirical uncertainty stemming from errors of observation and intrinsic statistical formulations, and because no scientific hypothesis can be established conclusively, the entire process of verification has become regarded as probabilistic. In a broad construction, inductive probability has been construed as appropriate to the verification of any hypothesis, deterministic as well as statistical. This conception leads to statements asserting that it is probably true that all A is B (in the deterministic case) or it is probably true that the probability of B given A is p (in the statistical case).

To the extent that the probability-of-hypotheses conception is primarily an expression of the attitude toward induction that the verification of any hypothesis is always provisional and depends upon future observation, there seems to be nothing seriously objectionable about it. More than this is intended, however, for there is some general connotation that hypotheses are more or less likely to be refuted in the future depending upon the *degree* of verification in the past. This in itself seems reasonable enough, except that the idea has been pursued further by various schemes to quantify the degree of verification in probability terms, and these have been far from consistent with each other, much less universally acceptable.

The Test of Significance. The modern theory of statistical inference, however, while still a probabilistic policy of induction, has avoided the idea of the probability of a

hypothesis in its program of dealing with statistical hypotheses. It concerns itself instead with the *probability of a correct decision* regarding a hypothesis tested.

The rationale of a test of significance is, in effect, this: if we adapt a rule to reject a statistical hypothesis whenever certain of the logically possible results occur and not to reject it when any of the other logically possible results occur, then if we test the hypothesis over and over again *indefinitely* and evaluate it each time by this rule, we should find that we have made the correct decision in a predictable proportion of the tests, provided the hypothesis is in fact true. There will be, then, as many rejections as there are events of the first kinds and as many failures to reject as there are events of the remaining kinds, if the events in fact occur as the hypothesis specified.

There is a fundamental difficulty with the theory of tests of significance. The probability of error is a hypothetical construct referring to a hypothetical population of tests. The empirical interpretation usually given this conception suggests to us that we can attain a desired level of accuracy in deciding the truth of a hypothesis if we test the hypothesis over and over again indefinitely. But this amounts to a commitment to test the same hypothesis forever, regardless of the previous outcomes. Thus the decision to reject or not to reject a hypothesis seems to be no more than to hang a "tag" on the hypothesis and to have no consequence for our future behavior with regard to that hypothesis.

This is patently absurd and not in fact what scientists do. They do not test the same hypothesis over and over again. Rather, a great many hypotheses will eventually be tested various finite numbers of times by a great number of researchers. The argument for tests of significance is that it is the proportions of *these* tests to which the level of significance is referred. Unfortunately this construction does not solve the problem, for it merely exchanges a sample space of tests of a single hypothesis for a sample space of tests of a large number of hypotheses. The latter sample space is a composite of all the separate spaces of the respective hypotheses. The "batting average" associated with the test of significance is still a hypothetical construct referring to an infinite number of tests.

There is another problem associated with the test of significance. The particular level of significance chosen for an investigation is not a logical consequence of the theory of statistical inference. We are free to choose whatever level seems appropriate. To cope with this arbitrariness (from the formal point of view) we are informed to consider a second kind of error, that of failing to reject the hypothesis tested when it is in fact false. That is, we are informed to choose a level of significance that balances the probability of the first kind of error against the probability of the second kind of error by a consideration of the costs attendant upon them and the costs of more sensitive research designs.

In many practical applications, for example the control of quality in manufacturing, the various costs can be expressed in terms of money or time or some such firm criterion. But in scientific research the calculation of costs is more complicated. To be sure we can compute the costs of taking various kinds and sizes of samples, but how are we to compute the costs of making an incorrect decision about a scientific hypothesis? Which should we fear most, rejecting a true hypothesis or failing to reject a false one and thereby rejecting a true alternative? There is as yet no firm criterion of costs and in view of this the levels of significance so often used in sociological research (the 5 per cent and the 1 per cent levels) can hardly be the outcome of objective calculations of costs.

We must be explicit in disclaiming a possible intepretation of our criticism of statistical inference as implying that we abandon probability statements altogether. The fact is that the success of other sciences in using intrinsic and auxiliary probability statements and the promising results of their application in learning theory and small groups research argue against any categorical exclusion of statistical hypotheses in social science.

We can see no alternative to considering the probability of occurrence of certain consequences assuming that a hypothesis tested is true as *relevant* to the decision to regard that hypothesis as true in fact. Still this does

not lead inevitably to the imperative criteria expressed in the test of significance. The precision and empirical concreteness often associated with the test of significance are illusory and it would be a serious error to predicate our actions toward hypotheses on the test of significance as if it were a reliable arbiter of truth.

The Criterion of Systematic Import.[11] Much of social research is informed by the strategy of searching for reliable empirical generalizations which, because of their empirical constancy, must be included as propositions within any theory that might later be formed to deal with the phenomena. In this strategy the test of significance is often viewed as a means of determining which generalizations have that compelling empirical property. Thus we encounter statements to the effect that the test of significance tells us whether in a particular study there is anything to explain, i.e., whether a relationship between variables "exists" and so whether there is anything to theorize about. In view of the interpretive and pragmatic ambiguities involved in the test of significance this seems to be a very risky policy.

If we take as our objective the construction and verification of systematic theory, then the inductive policy we adopt should be measured also against this criterion. We suggest the following considerations as an essential part of the inductive policy that sociologists might adopt in pursuit of this objective.

In the development of systematic theory, the purpose of research is not primarily to determine the empirical adequacy of a particular hypothesis. Its purpose is to test the coordinated formal system that produced the hypothesis as a theorem. The question of testing a hypothesis thus would not occur until that hypothesis had been set in an explicit deductive context. In this framework the process of testing a hypothesis is not an infinitely repeated act whose outcome is the accumulation of "verdicts," as is implied in the literal interpretation of the test of significance. The empirical truth of the particular hypotheses the researcher checks upon is valuable chiefly for its instrumental use in determining what he should do with the deductive system by which he produced the hypothesis. It is this conceptual relevance that we refer to as the systematic import of an empirical result.

It is clear that in this formulation, the process of induction intimately involves the verification of hypotheses, but it would be too simple to regard it as solely this. The history of science clearly indicates that theories do not emerge full grown from the brow of Jove and present themselves in their entirety to be tested, but rather that the construction of verified theory is a crescive process. Often research is undertaken not to test a theory, in the sense of trying to reject it, but to extend it, to determine its scope of applicability or to enlarge this scope by the introduction of modifications in the theory.[12]

Thus to test a theory in the present framework means that there must be some conception of how the theory is to be treated as a result of the test. The alternative courses of action dependent upon the results of empirical investigation are seen as alternative steps in the process of theory construction and not simply the acceptance or rejection of a particular formulation. This implies that the contrasted alternatives in a test situation be constructive ones, for if induction were merely the elimination of alternatives we would establish any hypothesis by testing it against absurd or surely false formulations.

To the extent that we are comparing systems of hypotheses, the research situation can be made as finely structured as need be to decide between the systems. This is because many consequences can be deduced from each system and the comparison is made over all of these. We would never be in a position of deciding between alternatives on the basis of a single hypothesis.

These considerations would seem to be essential aspects of the process of induction, but they could only be a part of the process. What more is required has only partly been

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[11] This discussion is a highly selected and simplified version of a complex point of view. Braithwaite and Popper offer comprehensive statements of the position. For an earlier and perhaps most understandable statement, see Homer H. Dubs, ***Rational Induction,*** Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930.

[12] Dubs, ***op. cit.,*** Ch. 7.

determined. For example, although a great deal has been written about the nature of theory and its role in induction, astonishingly little attention has been given the process of theory development itself.[13]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In attempting to clarify the role of probability in sociological research we have been led into a discussion of the nature of scientific theory and induction. We have tried to articulate the principle that since scientific induction is accomplished through the construction and verification of deductive theories, the primary concern of the social scientist ought to be the development of such theories.

We distinguish three major uses of probability in science: in intrinsic statistical hypotheses; in auxiliary statistical hypotheses, including the theory of errors of observation, sampling from finite populations, and randomized experimentation; and thirdly in inductive probability policies, particularly the theory of tests of significance.

We have tried to show that the hypothetical character of the risk probabilities associated with the level of significance and the pragmatic ambiguities of the rationale for choosing any particular level of significance seriously undermine its value in the evaluation of statistical hypotheses.

It is our belief that the great reliance upon tests of significance so often found in sociologists is chiefly an attempt to provide scientific legitimacy to empirical research without adequate theoretical significance. Lest we be misunderstood we wish to emphasize the point that the construction of deductive theory is *developmental,* involving an *accumulation* of research experience. But it also involves formal reasoning, and the task of the scientist is to expose his thinking to a formal reconstruction, to formalize it as well as he can, so that it can contribute to the construction of a deductive system of some size and scope.

[13] For an important contribution to the understanding of the development of theory, see *Types of Formalization in Small Group Research* by Joseph Berger, Bernard P. Cohen, J. Laurie Snell, and Morris Zelditch (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, in press).

THE RELATION OF APPARENT MINORITY ETHNOCENTRISM TO MAJORITY ANTIPATHY

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If, as Sumner suggested, ethnocentrism is functional in promoting social control within a group, it may be dysfunctional in intergroup relations. By scaling 18 minorities, using conventional psychometric techniques, majority antipathy and apparent minority ethnocentrism turn out to be curvilinearly related. The curvilinearity of the relationship points to the "masking" effect of a third variable, "Social Dominance G." After its effects are taken into account, residual *majority antipathy is related to apparent minority ethnocentrism in such a way as to support the conclusion that to appear ethnocentric entails measurable costs for the group in intergroup relations.*

ETHNOCENTRISM, according to Sumner, "leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others." [1] This tends to strengthen the folkways, he argued. It was Sumner's belief, in other words, that ethnocentrism is functional.

What does ethnocentrism cost, though? If ethnocentrism is functional in promoting social control within the group, is it dysfunctional in relations between groups? Lundberg has suggested that it may be: "Conspicuous (i.e., more than usual) ethnocentrism on the part of any group in a com-

[1] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways,* Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906, p. 13.

munity is likely to incur a certain hostility on the part of other groups regardless of particular racial, religious or other characteristics."[2] A similar view has been stated by Sorokin: "When and where each group in a multigroup society has its values different from those of the other minority groups and from those of the majority, when there is no common fund of values, . . . there will be an abundance of antagonism between the different minority groups and between these and the majority group."[3]

To contend that hostility by one group may be evoked by ethnocentric behavior on the part of another group in a multigroup society is less conventional than to study the *prejudices* of the hostile group.[4] In sociology, as Rose and Rose have pointed out, current theories and factual studies of prejudice find the causes of prejudice elsewhere than in the minority group itself. "This is amazing when it is considered that the everyday explanation always locates the causes in the minority group."[5] The present paper should not be construed as an endorsement of the "everyday explanation for prejudice," and it does not proceed from the assumptions of "the man in the street" regarding the virtues or the faults of particular minorities. It does, however, report data which bear upon the hypothesis that ***majority hostility is associated with the appearance of ethnocentrism in minorities.***

That such hypotheses are not more common in the sociological literature is due, Furfey believes, to a humanitarian philosophy which pervades the thinking of social pathologists.[6] The humanitarian sociologist seems to be reluctant to give any appearance of "blaming" minorities for the majority hostility they experience. Somehow, the assumption of majority pathology is more palatable.

There may, however, be an additional reason for this predilection in theories of hostility between groups. Difficulties in definition and measurement of the relevant variables may be a barrier to consideration of the hypothesis that majority hostility toward a number of minorities varies in proportion to their respective degree of ethnocentrism. How can we measure the extent to which the behavior of a given minority is ethnocentric? Such data are not readily available either in census volumes, voting records, or the usual public opinion survey reports.

THE MEASUREMENT OF APPARENT ETHNOCENTRISM

It is the opinion of the present authors that such measurement problems are amenable to solution at least in a preliminary way by a straightforward application of psychometric techniques. If N different specimens of handwriting can be scaled by m judges on a continuum of neatness, or if N different dessert dishes can be scaled by m judges on a continuum of delectability, or if N different statements of attitude toward desegregation can be scaled by m judges on a continuum of favorability, there is nothing in principle to preclude the use of routine scaling procedures to place N minority

[2] George A. Lundberg, "Some Neglected Aspects of the 'Minorities' Problem," *Modern Age,* 2 (Summer, 1958), pp. 290–291.

[3] Pitirim A. Sorokin, "Comments on William F. Albright's 'Some Functions of Organized Minorities,'" in Lyman Bryson, *et al.,* editors, *Approaches to National Unity,* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945, p. 274.

[4] Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956, p. 45.

[5] Arnold Rose and Caroline Rose, *America Divided,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, p. 304. On the other hand, Williams, speaking of conflict between groups differentiated on the basis of religion, says, "Conflict . . . can emerge even if everyone involved is initially devoid of stereotypes, ignorance, standardized modes of scapegoating, or diffuse unfulfilled needs for aggression." Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Religion, Value Orientations, and Intergroup Conflict," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology* (3rd ed.), New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958, p. 647. Simpson and Yinger cite several instances in which efforts to reduce prejudice and discrimination involve changing some of the behavior of minorities. They note that suggestions to proceed in this way may be greeted with derision by minority-group members, and are unlikely to be taken seriously when offered gratuitously by a member of the dominant group who may thus explain away his own responsibilities. See George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (Rev. ed.), New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. 800–804.

[6] Paul H. Furfey, "Sociological Science and the Problem of Values," Ch. 6 in Llewellyn Gross, editor, *Symposium on Sociological Theory,* Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1959, p. 523.

groups on a continuum of apparent ethnocentrism, using the ratings of m judges.

The judgments rendered are, of course, *responses* by the judges to the stimuli being scaled. It is conventional in most psychometric work to regard the scale scores derived from these judgments as measures of some specified attribute of the stimuli, not as measures of some characteristic of the judges. Usually it is not necessary to make a point of this. Inanimate stimuli cannot object to this assumption. In applying psychometric techniques to the problem of scaling human minorities along a continuum of apparent ethnocentrism, however, the researcher virtually invites criticism from spokesmen for one or more of the minorities in question if he adopts this conventional assumption. It will be contended that he is *not* measuring the minorities, but is only measuring the judges' stereotyped attitudes toward those minorities. In answer, the researcher will naturally point to the large body of careful methodological research showing that the ordering of stimuli on a continuum can be independent of the judges' own attitudes.[7] He may also ask his critics to share the burden of proof and to demonstrate, rather than simply to argue, that his scale scores are *only* a function of the judges' prejudices and not at all a function of actual minority attributes.

If, then, the same N minority groups can be scaled in terms of apparent ethnocentrism and also in terms of the degree of antipathy they incur in their relations with the majority, the correlation between these two scaled variables can be found, and the hypothesis stated above can be tested. In statistical terms that hypothesis becomes: The correlation between the degree of ethnocentrism imputed by a set of (majority) judges to a minority group and the degree of social amicability felt by them toward the minority will be significantly different from zero and negative in sign. That is, the higher a minority group in apparent ethnocentrism, the lower its acceptability to the majority.

Five hundred and fifty-seven students at the University of Washington participated as judges in the present study during December, 1958. This group of judges included persons registered in classes in anthropology, architecture, business, economics, education, mathematics, psychology, sociology, and speech. Evening-class (extension) students were chosen in preference to day-class (resident) students because it was assumed that the former were less isolated than day students from the larger community and might therefore be able to make more realistic judgments regarding the minorities to be scaled.

The scaling for the present study was carried out in the following manner. In their classrooms the student judges were given questionnaires which began with one of five (randomly assigned) descriptions of the behavior of a fictitious minority called "Ethnians." Approximately one-fifth of the judges were given a description of highly *ethnocentric* Ethnians, which read as follows:

> Suppose you moved into a new community and found that a group of Ethnians lived there too. Suppose that these Ethnians were very strongly convinced that they were superior to all other people. They constantly tried to prove their superiority by citing examples of members of their group who were famous in the arts, sciences, business, and politics. Most of them clung to holidays, habits, and public practices that were very different from the rest of the community. They regarded it as a great loss of purity if one of their children married a non-Ethnian. They formed separate charity organizations solely to help their own members. They showed great loyalty to their own group in all matters and tended to regard almost all criticisms as a sign of hatred on the part of the larger community. This led them to react to non-Ethnians with very strong dislike and antagonism.

On the same page, the judges were asked: "Does the behavior of these Ethnians remind you of any groups you know? If so, list the first three groups that come to mind." Responses to this question were used as a basis for selecting a sub-set of so-called "unprejudiced" judges as will be explained later.

Later on in the questionnaire, the judges were asked to rate on a ten-point numerical scale how ethnocentric they thought each of the following minorities was (in comparison with the description of the Ethnians):

[7] For a summary of these studies, see Allen L. Edwards, *Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction*, New York: Appelton-Century-Crofts, 1957, pp. 106–119.

a. American Indians
b. Americans of Chinese background
c. Americans of Catholic background
d. Americans of French background
e. Americans of German background
f. Americans of Greek background
g. Americans of Irish background
h. Americans of Italian background
i. Americans of Japanese background
j. Americans of Jewish background
k. Americans of Mexican background
l. Americans of Negro background
m. Americans of Filipino background
n. Americans of Polish background
o. Americans of Puerto Rican background
p. Americans of Russian background
q. Americans of Swedish background
r. "Your own group"

Means of their judgments were taken as measures of the relative ethnocentrism apparently exhibited by these eighteen groups. The validity of this measure will be discussed after the rest of the questionnaire procedure has been explained. It is important to emphasize here that we were not concerned with individual judgments, but with the mean of the collective judgments toward a particular minority. Persons who filled out our questionnaire are to be regarded as *measuring devices,* not as subjects. Our "subjects" are the eighteen minorities listed in the questionnaire. Questions of sampling and problems of statistical inference, which may occur to the reader when our findings are reported below, should be addressed primarily to this sample of eighteen from a universe of all minorities, and only secondarily to the "universe" represented by the "sample" of evening-class students who performed this psychometric task.[8]

Several pages later in the questionnaire, judges were given a social distance scale to fill out. This scale asked the following questions with regard to each of the eighteen minorities: (1) "Would you like working beside a member of the following groups?" (2) "Would you like to have members of any of the following groups go to the same public schools as teenage boys and girls of your own group?" (3) "Would you like to have members of any of the following groups live in your neighborhood?" (4) "Now think of all these groups as next-door neighbors. Is there any you would like to have as *next-door* neighbors?" (5) "Is there any on the list that, in general, you would like to invite into your home for a social evening?" (6) "Is there any group in the list that, in general, you would like to have date teenage boys and girls of your own group?" (7) "Suppose you were thinking of getting married. Is there any on the list that you would be willing to marry?" It was assumed that these seven questions represent successive levels of intimacy of relationship, and this part of each judge's questionnaire was scored by assigning to each minority the number designating the highest level of intimacy to which that judge was willing to admit that minority. The mean of these "social nearness" scores was computed for each of the eighteen minorities.

Finally, the questionnaire included an anti-Semitism scale taken from an earlier study by Morse and Allport.[9] This scale was filled out by all judges and was used as an additional screening device for selecting a sub-set of "pure" (unprejudiced) judges.

It should be noted that all of the judges answered the social distance scale, whereas only about one-fifth of the judges were asked to rate the eighteen minorities for apparent ethnocentrism. Likewise, another random one-fifth rated the minorities for extent of apparent disproportionate political influence, another one-fifth for extent of apparent allegiance to a foreign power, another one-fifth for extent of apparent monopolistic holding of high-status jobs, and the last one-fifth for extent of apparent undue special privileges and immunities.[10]

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[8] It would, of course, be of some interest to compare the present sets of scale scores with other sets obtained from judges recruited in other regions of the country, and it is hoped that such replications of this study will be carried out.

[9] See Nancy C. Morse and F. H. Allport, "The Causality of Anti-Semitism: An Investigation of Seven Hypotheses," *Journal of Psychology,* 34 (October, 1952), pp. 197–233.

[10] The descriptions of Ethnian behavior with which the eighteen minorities were compared by the respective sub-sets of judges all began with the sentence, "Suppose you moved into a new community and found that a small group of Ethnians lived there too." Thereafter they read as follows:

Disproportionate Political Influence—"Suppose that these Ethnians were especially active in politics. An unusually large number of them, considering the small size of their group, were office holders, and the Ethnians were very strongly inclined to vote for only those candidates who were Ethnians. Any politician running for office had

TABLE 1. SCALE SCORES DERIVED FROM VARIOUS SETS OF RATINGS OF 18 MINORITIES BY VARIOUUS SETS OF JUDGES

	All Judges							"Pure" Judges		"Prejudiced" Judges
	Ethno.	Pol. Infl.	For. All.	Ec. Mon.	Spec. Priv.	G	Social Nearness	Ethno.	Social Nearness	Ethno.
Amer. Indian	− .11	−1.30	−1.58	−1.56	− .55	−1.11	−1.09	.33	−1.16	− .26
Chinese	.55	− .81	.54	− .44	− .61	− .58	− .57	.68	− .60	.50
Catholic	1.69	2.48	.68	1.71	2.18	2.05	.34	1.83	.14	1.60
French	−1.78	− .25	− .72	.10	.58	.25	1.07	−1.70	1.08	−1.78
German	−1.05	.29	− .03	.76	.71	.67	1.12	−1.22	1.11	− .99
Greek	.28	− .56	.54	− .17	− .08	− .20	.36	.23	.37	.29
Irish	− .47	.66	.58	.26	.82	.56	1.08	− .37	1.03	− .51
Italian	.34	.73	1.06	.54	.44	.53	.54	.03	.60	.42
Japanese	.67	− .59	1.37	− .23	− .42	− .37	− .56	.63	− .62	.67
Jewish	2.72	1.40	1.86	2.36	.29	1.37	− .34	2.03	− .06	2.89
Mexican	− .27	− .97	− .28	−1.17	−1.61	−1.34	−1.41	.08	−1.42	− .39
Negro	.20	.19	−2.36	− .90	−1.56	−1.02	−1.79	.48	−1.87	.10
Filipino	− .29	−1.07	− .47	− .97	−1.02	−1.02	− .96	.18	− .89	− .46
Polish	− .70	.43	− .17	− .35	− .06	− .11	.74	− .60	.80	− .72
Puerto Rican	.27	−1.00	− .10	−1.15	−1.32	−1.21	−1.47	.66	−1.40	.12
Russian	− .30	− .46	.01	− .10	.00	− .12	.72	− .81	.72	− .12
Swedish	− .81	.15	.10	.29	.56	.39	1.16	−1.12	1.14	− .69
"Your own group"	− .92	1.47	−1.06	1.07	1 55	1.35	1.22	−1.41	1.09	− .74
N of judges	108	112	116	114	107	...	557	23	131	85

Scores in each column except the column headed "G" represent the departure of a given minority's mean rating from the mean of all means in the column, with the column standard deviation taken as the unit. The "G" scores are weighted sums based on corresponding scores in columns two, four, and five.

to get his picture into the papers with a group of Ethnians if he was to have a chance of being elected. Likewise, appointments to offices controlled by Ethnians would go to Ethnians in more than proportionate numbers The rest of the community usually felt that Ethnian office holders were much more concerned about the welfare of Ethnians than of the whole community. Certain types of legislation hardly came up for consideration because it was well known to the legislators that such bills would be offensive to the Ethnian group "

Allegiance to a Foreign Power—"Suppose that these Ethnians retained a very strong attachment to Ethnia, their foreign homeland. The local Ethnians always celebrated the national holidays of Ethnia and paid little attention to holidays of the larger community. The picture of a prominent leader of Ethnia was proudly displayed in many Ethnian homes in this community. They were also very active in helping Ethnia. For example, they carried on extensive and highly publicized money-raising 'drives' for the benefit of Ethnia not only among their own members but in the community as a whole. The Ethnians maintained a very skillful and efficient organization to gain favorable publicity for Ethnia, and brought strong pressure to bear on public policy regarding Ethnia. In other words, the Ethnians seemed to pay their primary loyalty to Ethnia rather than to their local community."

Monopolistic Holding of High-Status Jobs—"Suppose it is found that Ethnians had much better jobs and more money than the average. The Ethnians lived in the larger homes in the more desirable neighborhood in the community. The Ethnians claim that this is merely the result of the Ethnians' superior abilities. Other people in the community, however, feel that the prominence of the Ethnians is due to the favoritism of Ethnians for their own group through appointments and other influences they exert. In any event, it is a fact that Ethnians are over-represented in high-status occupations like medicine, law, music, and politics. It is also assumed throughout the community that one's chances of getting a top job, or important business contracts, or important managerial positions are higher if one is an Ethnian than it not."

Undue Special Privileges and Immunities—"Suppose that these Ethnians were always trying to gain certain special privileges. This made them, for example, exempt from public criticisms of the type which other groups had to put up with. That is, the Ethnians had special organizations to protect Ethnians against criticism or attacks which other members of the community had to put up with as a matter of course and without any special protection. Thus, the Ethnians would make organized protest about books, movies, and speeches, which unfavorably criticized them. These Ethnians would try to suppress such criticism through censorship, boycott, or other influence in the publishing or communication industries. Even the police would sometimes hesitate to arrest an Ethnian for disorderly public behavior because of fear that Ethnians would complain about it as persecution, and would bring pressure to bear on higher officials to reprove the offending policemen."

THE FINDINGS

Mean "social nearness" ratings and mean ethnocentrism ratings were converted to standard scores (see Table 1) and then plotted against each other in Figure 1. Each circle in this scattergram represents a minority group, and its lateral position indicates the relative ethnocentrism imputed to that minority by a random one-fifth of our judges while its vertical position represents the relative social nearness allowed that minority by all of our judges.

It can be seen by visual inspection of Figure 1 that—for the sample of eighteen minorities—the two variables are *not related as stipulated by our hypothesis*. It is clear, however, that the two variables are *not simply uncorrelated*. Above the mean on the "social nearness" scale they are correlated negatively, consistent with the hypothesis, but below the social nearness mean the correlation is positive. In short, the relationship appears to be curvilinear over the range represented by these eighteen minorities.

In Figure 2, the same two variables are again related to each other, but the measurements here are based on the mean judgments of so-called "pure" respondents. These were defined as follows: judges who were white, Protestant, scoring below the median on the anti-Semitism scale, and not mentioning Jews when asked to list three

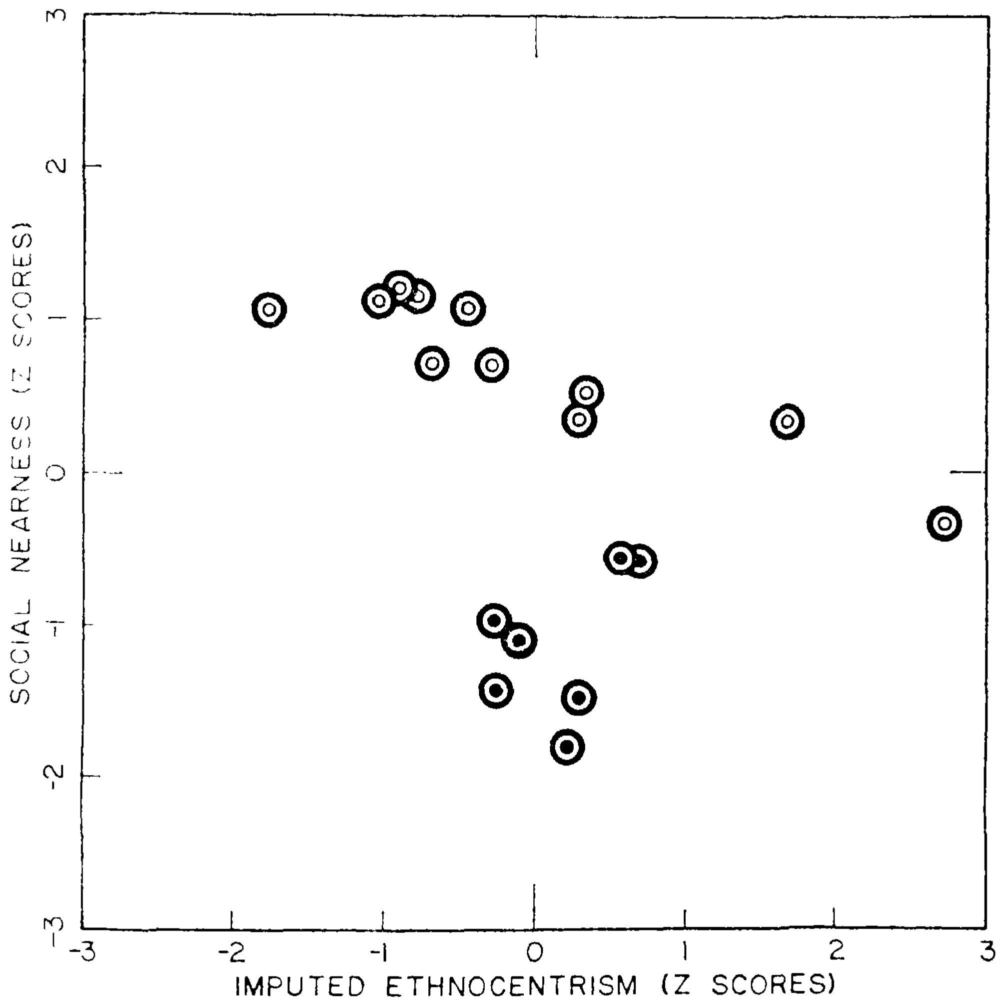


FIGURE 1. CORRELATION OF SOCIAL NEARNESS WITH ETHNOCENTRISM IMPUTED TO EACH OF 18 MINORITIES BY ALL JUDGES

groups of whom they were reminded by the description of the fictitious Ethnians. Within this group of "pure" judges, it was felt, the variance in the measures obtained for the eighteen minorities could not be readily attributed simply to the "prejudices" of the judges, since we have screened out the "prejudiced" judges before computing the means on which Figure 2 is based. The most striking feature of this scattergram is its general similarity to Figure 1. The same curvilinear relationship stands out, and when the "pure" measures of apparent ethnocentrism are correlated with the measures obtained from so-called "prejudiced" judges, we find a correlation of .879, significant beyond the .01 level. That the screening of our judges in this fashion makes so little difference in the relative ethnocentrism scores of the eighteen rated minorities is evidence in support of our contention that minority groups can be psychometrically scaled like any other kind of stimuli. In the present instance we have scaled them on a continuum of apparent ethnocentrism. As in other studies, scaling other kinds of stimuli, the attitudes of our judges showed little interference with the judging task.

THE QUESTION OF VALIDITY

While the remainder of this paper is concerned with exploring the implications of this curvilinear relationship between appar-

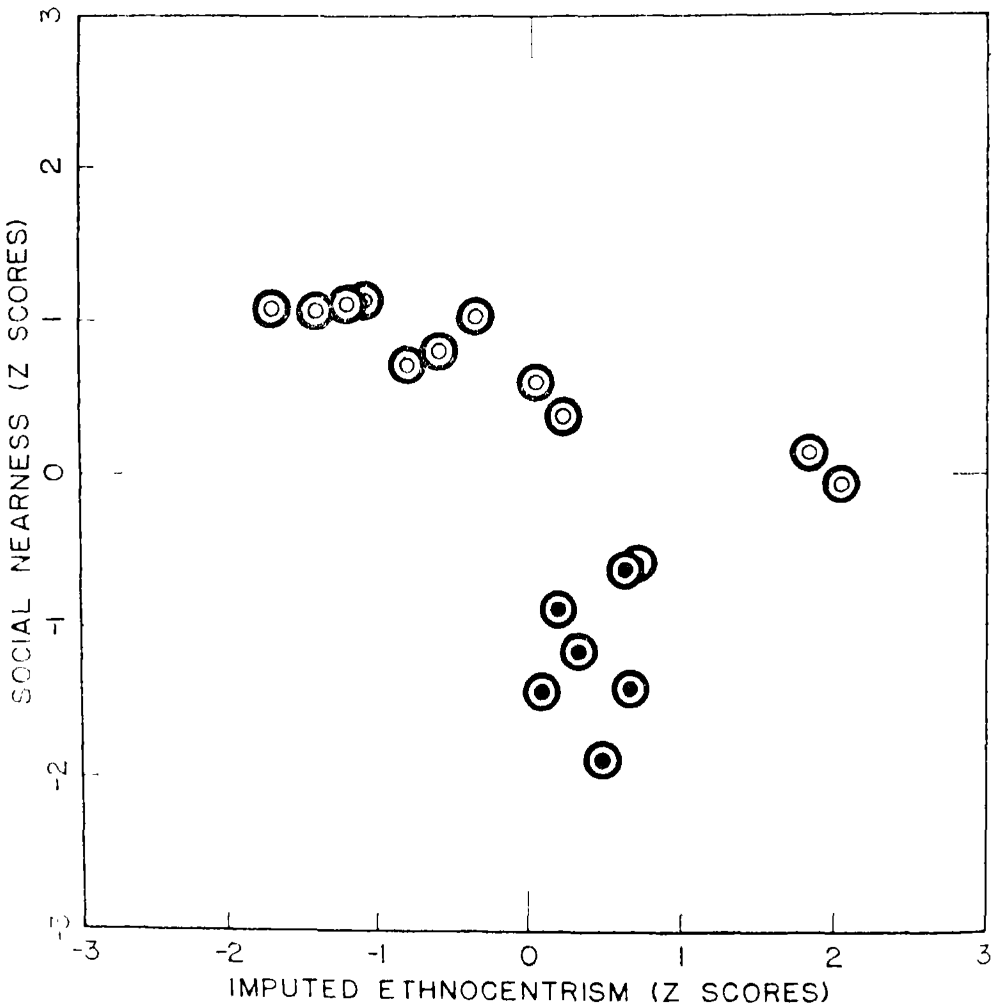


FIGURE 2. CORRELATION OF SOCIAL NEARNESS WITH ETHNOCENTRISM IMPUTED TO EACH OF 18 MINORITIES BY WHITE, PROTESTANT, NON-STEREOTYPING, NON-ANTI-SEMITIC JUDGES

ent ethnocentrism and social nearness, it is well to consider at this point the vexing problem of "validity." Have we a *valid* scale of apparent ethnocentrism? This question can have more than one meaning.

First, were the judges correctly ("validly") following our instructions in rating the minorities? Did they rate them in terms of how ethnocentric they perceived them to be, rather than in terms of, say, a generalized tendency to dislike some of the minorities more than others? The fact that there are variations between the first five columns of data in Table 1 suggests that our instructions *were* being followed. However, the classical study by Katz and Braly, following procedures somewhat similar to ours, found the ranking of ten ethnic groups on a preference scale highly correlated with their ranking on the basis of ratings of the traits imputed to them; this finding was interpreted as revealing "a pattern of rationalizations organized around the racial label" —the implication being that the trait-imputations were not "valid." [11] While trait-imputation may, in part, result from prejudice, there can hardly be adequate *a priori* justification for ignoring the possibility that prejudice may also, in part, result from trait-imputation. Parsons, for one, has argued that scapegoating of one group by another "rarely appears without *some* 'reasonable' basis of antagonism in that there is a real conflict of ideals or interests." [12]

The validity question can also take a second, purely pragmatic meaning: have the measures in question some predictive power? An empirical finding that variable X, as measured, correlates with variable Y will not suffice as validation of a given method of measuring X, however, in the face of suspicion that X and Y are "really" just different versions of the same variable. The separation of "pure" and "prejudiced" judges and the finding of a high correlation between their two sets of scale scores should allay the suspicion that what we have called "apparent ethnocentrism" of the minority groups is really just another way of measuring their "social nearness" to the majority.

Closely related to this is a third interpretation of the validity question: does the chosen method of measuring variable X correlate with another (accepted) method of measuring the same variable? Guilford has stated that judges' ratings can rarely be validated in this manner. The usual practice, in fact, has been to use such ratings themselves "as the outside criterion against which to check the validity of a new test of ability or of personality." In thus validating newly constructed tests or scales, the "validity" of ratings is *assumed*.[13] If one feels reluctant to make that assumption in connection with the present study, it is the reluctance rather than the conventional assumption which needs to be examined and explained.

Finally, the question of validity can be taken to mean: do our measures of *apparent* ethnocentrism correlate with actual ethnocentric behavior by the minorities in question? It may not be necessary, of course, for a minority to be "actually" ethnocentric in order to appear ethnocentric. If apparent ethnocentrism evokes hostility it may do so regardless of the extent to which appearance reflects "reality." Nevertheless, it is meaningful to ask: do judges' ratings of the apparent ethnocentrism of a number of minority groups have any relationship to observable behavior by those minorities of a sort that can be labelled ethnocentric? It is precisely the unavailability of data on the "actual" ethnocentrism of a sufficient number of minorities which has led us to employ the psychometric method, but it is interesting to relate this method to some meager data that are available.

Rosen, in partial explanation of their different rates of social mobility, compared six racial and ethnic groups in regard to the "achievement syndrome," consisting of achievement motivation, achievement values, and vocational aspiration. Controlling for social class, significant differences were found among the six groups. It is not implausible to suppose that groups which differ

[11] Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, "Verbal Stereotypes and Racial Prejudice," in Macoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–46.

[12] Talcott Parsons, *Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in Sociology and Social Psychology*, New Haven: The Edward W. Hagen Foundation, no date; cited in Coser, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[13] J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936, p. 279.

on the achievement syndrome may also differ on "actual" as well as apparent ethnocentrism. It should be recalled that our judges rated the various minorities *in comparison with* fictitious Ethnians, whose description as highly ethnocentric people included the statement that "They constantly tried to prove their superiority by citing examples of members of their group who were famous in the arts, sciences, business, and politics." Thus our operational definition of apparent ethnocentrism is closely related, in content, to the achievement syndrome. Four of our minorities correspond with four of the six studied by Rosen, and there is about as close rank-order agreement between our measure of their apparent ethnocentrism and his measures of their achievement orientation as there is among his measures of the various components of that syndrome.[14]

Our description of ethnocentric behavior among Ethnians also included the statement, "They regarded it as a great loss of purity if one of their children married a non-Ethnian." Empirical intermarriage data, then, might offer some partial validation of our psychometric measure of apparent ethnocentrism. Heiss, in a study of religious intermarriage in Midtown Manhattan, provides data on 1167 marriages.[15] In our Table 1, Jews and Catholics, respectively, have the highest and next highest average rating for apparent ethnocentrism. If avoidance of intermarriage is a *major* ingredient in "actual" ethnocentrism, then we should expect to find (if apparent and "actual" ethnocentrism correspond) a very high degree of such avoidance among Jews, a rather high degree among Catholics, and rather less among others, i.e., Protestants. According to the data reported by Heiss, 18.4 per cent of his Jewish respondents were intermarried, compared with 21.4 per cent of the Catholic respondents and 33.9 per cent of the Protestant respondents. By themselves, however, these figures tell us nothing of the *avoidance* of intermarriage. Depending on marginal proportions, such figures *could* result from non-assortative mating in a mixed population. The Heiss data also show that among the 1167 spouses of his respondents, 86.1 per cent were non-Jewish, 48.1 per cent were non-Catholic, and 67.2 per cent were non-Protestant. These figures represent maximum potential intermarriage rates for Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, respectively, if marriage were unselective within this marriage "pool." By subtracting the actual intermarriage rate from the maximum potential rate, and dividing the difference by the maximum potential, we get an index that varies between zero and unity and denotes the proportion of possible intermarriages not contracted by respondents of a given faith. For Jews this index is .79, for Catholics it is .56, and for Protestants it is .48. Thus the rank order of "intermarriage avoidance" among these three groups corresponds with the rank order of apparent ethnocentrism.

With these very meager data, then, it can be suggested that apparent ethnocentrism as measured in the present study probably corresponds to some extent with actual ethnocentric behavior by the various minority groups. Even if this were not so it would remain a legitimate sociological problem to investigate the consequences of a group's *appearing* ethnocentric.

THE SEARCH FOR EXPLANATION

On two counts the curvilinear relationship between apparent ethnocentrism and social nearness demands explanation. First, if it is true that the bulk of the sociological literature on minority-majority relations neglects minority behavior as a factor in the development of majority hostility, any finding that indicates these two variables are *not unrelated* would merit further investigation regardless of the shape of their relationship. But in addition, a curvilinear relationship is especially interesting because it suggests that a third variable may be interacting somehow with the two in question.

In quest of this third variable it was helpful to consider an analogous relationship between two variables in another science. Recalling that the volume of a given

[14] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47–60.

[15] Jerold S. Heiss, "Premarital Characteristics of the Religiously Intermarried in an Urban Area," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), p. 49.

quantity of water decreases as it cools, down to 4° C., after which it increases again until the freezing point is reached, the reader can perhaps visualize a graph on which density is plotted against temperature. The relationship would be curvilinear, with the maximum density occurring at 4° C. Physics textbooks refer to "the anomalous expansion of water" in the temperature range on either side of this point,[16] and the anomaly has helped reveal a great deal about the molecular structure of water and processes in the change of that structure. It appears that the otherwise natural tendency for density to increase continuously with decreasing temperature is "masked by expansion due to the formation of . . . polymerised molecules"[17] (H_6O_3 or H_4O_2 instead of H_2O). Throughout the range of temperature at which water exists in a liquid state, two opposing processes appear to be affecting its density: the density of water tends to decrease as a result of thermal expansion as temperature *rises;* the density of water tends to decrease as a result of polymerization as temperature *falls.* The two processes are continuous and just happen to balance each other at 4° C.

Perhaps, analogously, there is a "masking" effect in the relationship between social nearness and apparent minority ethnocentrism. Our hypothesis asserts that as apparent ethnocentrism rises social nearness will decrease (negative correlation). This is true over the upper half of the range which we have observed on the social nearness scale. Is it "masked" in the lower half of the observed range by an opposite relationship of social nearness to a third variable? Our search for an explanation for our curvilinear finding is thus directed toward some attribute *other than ethnocentrism* which, while not necessarily correlated with ethnocentrism, at least does vary in a sample of minorities showing varied apparent ethnocentrism, and thus *can* be positively correlated with social nearness.

It was possible to construct such a variable with data obtained from three other sub-sets of judges in the present study. Lundberg had originally hypothesized that majority hostility would be aroused not only by ethnocentric minorities but also by minorities (1) that were disproportionately influential politically, (2) that held a monopoly of high-status jobs, or (3) that enjoyed undue special privileges and immunities.[18] Our eighteen minorities were rated on each of these variables by one-fifth of the judges (see Table 1 for the resulting scale scores). In each case, however, the variable that was hypothesized to be provocative of majority hostility turned out instead to be *positively* correlated with social nearness (two of the three correlations being significant at the .05 level).[19] It was decided, therefore, to capitalize on this rejection of three of Lundberg's hypotheses by combining these three variables into a general measure of "social dominance." Intercorrelations between the three were computed (see Table 2). From these intercorrelations it was possible to solve for the "saturations" of the three variables with a Spearman *general factor.* From these saturations, regression weights were obtained which enabled the three variables to be combined into a "Social Dominance G" score for each minority.[20]

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[16] See, for example, Francis Weston Sears and Mark W. Zemansky, *University Physics* (2nd ed.), Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1955, p. 266.

[17] P. C. L. Thorne and E. R. Roberts, *Inorganic Chemistry* (4th ed.), New York: Nordeman Publishing Co., 1943, p. 398. It is worth noting, incidentally, that whereas density is a physical property of water, its anomalous relation to temperature (another *physical* variable) has to be explained *chemically*. This is a case in point against the kind of disciplinary boundary rigidity on which Durkheim insisted. See Emile Durkheim, *Rules of the Sociological Method,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950, pp. 110–111.

[18] Lundberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–291.

[19] For a more detailed account of the rejection of these other hypotheses, see Sung Chick Hong, *Majority Perception of Minority Behavior and Its Relationship to Hostility Toward Ethnic Minorities: A Test of George A. Lundberg's Hypotheses,* unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Seattle: University of Washington Library, 1959.

[20] See Godfrey Thomson, *The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability* (5th ed.), New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1951, Ch. 1, 4, and 15. These computations were possible only for the measures obtained from the unscreened sets of judges. Measures obtained from the "pure" judges resulted in a "Heywood case" wherein one variable has a G-factor saturation greater than unity. It seems probable that this absurdity resulted in the present instance from the

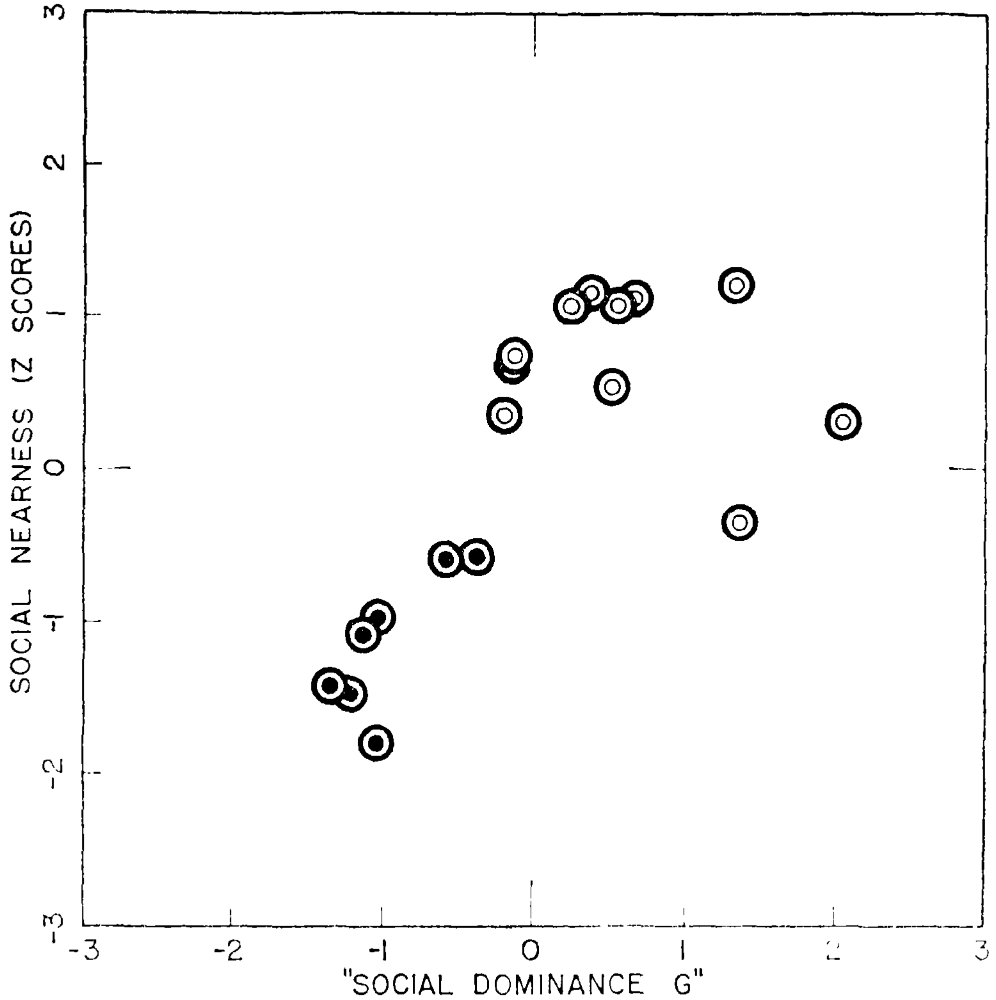


FIGURE 3. CORRELATION OF SOCIAL NEARNESS WITH "SOCIAL DOMINANCE G" IMPUTED TO EACH OF 18 MINORITIES BY ALL JUDGES

In Figure 3 it can be readily seen that there is a high positive correlation between "Social Dominance G" and social nearness for our sample of eighteen minorities. For all eighteen minorities this correlation is .710, significant at the .01 level. It is *possible,* therefore, that the hypothesized negative correlation between apparent ethnocentrism and social nearness is indeed partly "masked" by this third variable. To see that it is not only possible but also *likely,* consider the way the minorities cluster together in all three scattergrams. In each case the seven minorities which rate lowest on social nearness can be seen to stand out as a more or less separate cluster. Which minorities are these? They happen to be the ones which would be popularly designated as "colored."

instability introduced into our measures when means based on *reduced numbers* of judges were calculated. For scaling the three variables in question, there were only 28, 25, and 27 "pure" judges respectively.

TABLE 2. INTERCORRELATIONS, G-FACTOR SATURATIONS, AND G-FACTOR REGRESSION WEIGHTS OF 3 VARIABLES FOR 18 MINORITIES

	Economic Monopoly	Political Influence	Special Privilege
Economic monopoly	....	.885	.799
Political influence	.885	....	.797
Special privilege	.799	.797	....
r_{ig}	.942	.849	.940
Regression weight	.433	.158	.421

Let us examine this cluster of seven minorities separately from the other eleven. (To facilitate this they have been set off in the three scattergrams with a shaded center dot in their respective circles; the other eleven groups each have white center dots in their respective circles.)

however, the correlation is —.266, not significantly different from zero.

By contrast, the correlation between apparent ethnocentrism and social nearness breaks down in just the reverse fashion. Among the seven "colored" groups it is not significantly different from zero (being only

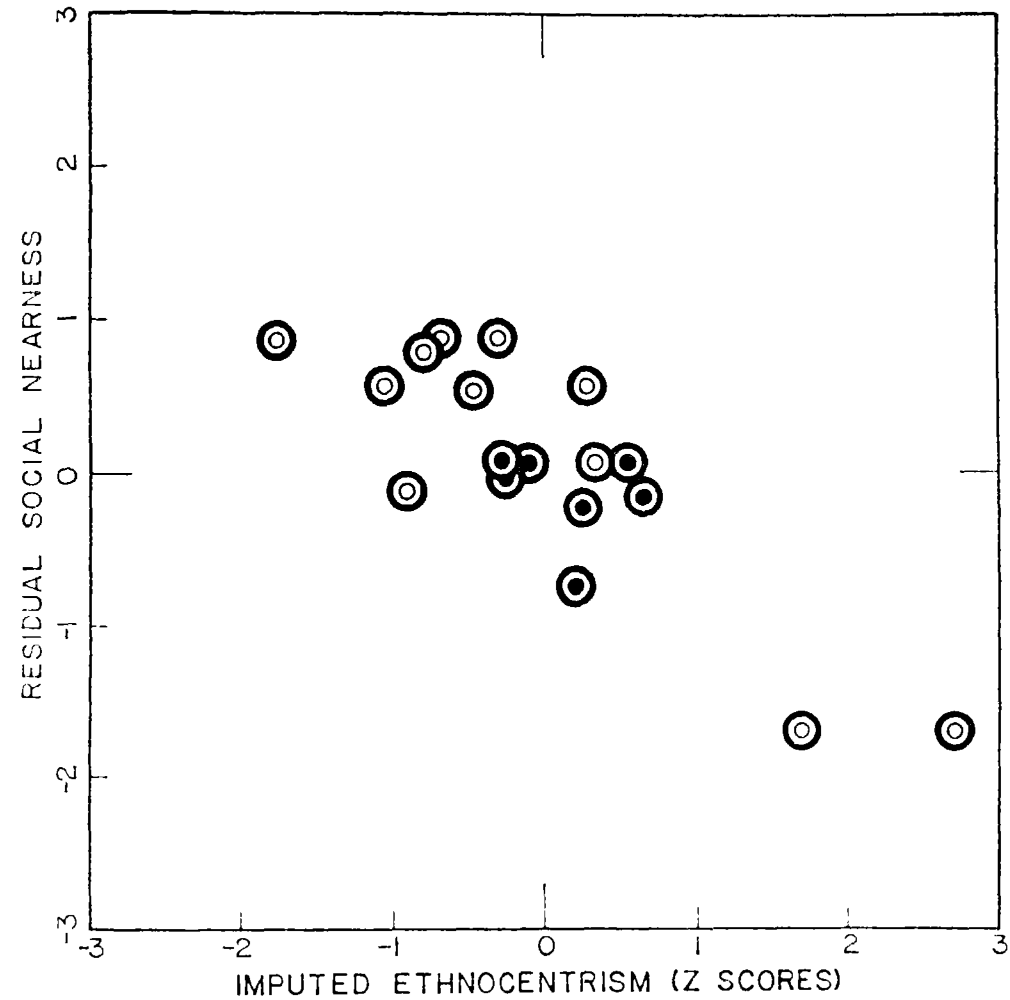


FIGURE 4. CORRELATION OF RESIDUAL SOCIAL NEARNESS WITH ETHNOCENTRISM IMPUTED TO EACH OF 18 MINORITIES

When we restrict the range to include the seven "colored" minorities only, the correlation between "Social Dominance G" and social nearness remains high; it is .780 which is significant at the .05 level. Ordinarily, of course, to restrict the range of a variable tends to reduce its correlation with another variable; in the present instance that did not happen. Among the other eleven groups,

.449), whereas among the remaining eleven groups the correlation is in accord with our hypothesis, —.918, significant at the .01 level.

It can be said, then, that the *positive* correlation between "Social Dominance G" and social nearness (which is found to hold over the entire range observed in this study) is *predominant* for the seven low-status

"colored" minorities, while the *negative* correlation between apparent ethnocentrism and social nearness is *predominant* for the remaining eleven (higher-status) minorities. The effect of apparent ethnocentrism on social nearness is "masked" over that part of the observed range where "Social Dominance G" is most strongly related to social nearness, and vice versa.

What is the relationship between social nearness and apparent ethnocentrism when the "masking" effect of "Social Dominance G" is removed? From inspection of Figure 3 it can be seen that the regression of social nearness on "Social Dominance G" can be fairly well approximated by a linear equation in which the intercept is zero and the slope is unity. Thus, by the simple expedient of subtracting the "Social Dominance G" scores from the social nearness scores in Table 1, we can obtain a set of "residual social nearness" scores. Their variation measures the variation in social nearness not "accounted for" by variation in "Social Dominance G." By plotting these residual social nearness scores against the apparent ethnocentrism scores, we can learn the shape of the "unmasked" relation between social nearness and apparent ethnocentrism. This is shown in Figure 4. It is clearly negative in slope over the entire range and is approximately linear.

CONCLUSIONS

It would not be quite correct to say that these operations have now confirmed the hypothesis with which this study began. Rather, through the serendipitous discovery of the "masking" phenomenon, we have been able to modify the hypothesis. Our data seem to show that *after social dominance has been taken into account,* the appearance of ethnocentrism in minorities is a *further* factor in the development of majority hostility. Further research is still needed, of course, to determine more fully to what extent *apparent* ethnocentrism depends on actual ethnocentric behavior among minorities. In view of the high correlation between scale scores obtained from "pure" judges and from "prejudiced" judges in the present study, it would hardly seem prudent to dismiss "apparent ethnocentrism" from further sociological consideration by *assuming* it to be unrelated to "real" ethnocentric behavior.

If the present study were to be replicated with another sample of N "minorities" (e.g., a set of occupational categories such as "lawyers," "bricklayers," "surgeons," "truckdrivers," "optometrists," etc.), we predict that social nearness would be found to be negatively correlated with apparent ethnocentrism among those groups rated high in "Social Dominance G" but positively correlated among those groups rated low in "Social Dominance G." Such a prediction is based on the hypothesis that the racial (or "color") distinction on which we based our partitioning of the scattergrams in the present study was not an intrinsic dichotomy but was only a convenient index of the equilibrium point between two opposing influences (analogous to the 4° C. point of maximum water density). With another sample of minorities—occupationally rather than ethnically distinguished from each other [21]—the equilibrium point (represented by the bend in the curve in Figure 1) might be displaced upward or downward, just as with "heavy water" (deuterium oxide) maximum density occurs at 11.6° instead of 4° C. Except for such displacement, however, it is our expectation that the variables would again exhibit a similar relationship, with two opposing processes "masking" each other. We expect that the "unmasked" relationship between social nearness and apparent ethnocentrism would again be negative and approximately linear, as in Figure 4.

If such replications of this study continued to produce this pattern of findings, it seems to us that this would have important implications for certain social action organizations. The results of the study reported in the present paper support the statement that however functional ethnocentrism may be within the group, for a

[21] In the present sample of minorities we have confounded at least the following three attributes: race or color, nationality, and religion. By careful inspection of the scattergrams herein presented, the reader can perhaps make tentative inferences as to the manner in which each of these attributes may separately influence the relations between apparent ethnocentrism, "Social Dominance G," and social nearness.

group to appear ethnocentric entails measurable costs in intergroup relations. Socially dominant groups do not escape this dilemma but rather are particularly subject to being penalized for the appearance of ethnocentric behavior. Perhaps groups which are patently subject to discrimination (i.e., are not dominant) are thus in a position to strive for better treatment without thereby seeming ethnocentric to the same degree as groups which are already well off and seeking to consolidate or increase their advantages.

The minority "defense agencies" often seem to base their policies (quite understandably) on the assumption that the roots of prejudice lie in majority pathology or majority ignorance. A favorite technique for striving for better treatment for a minority is to publicize its virtues and accomplishments, to prove that it is not inferior to the majority at whose hands it suffers discrimination.[22] However true such publicity may be, the present study suggests that its impact on majority attitudes may often be just the opposite of what is intended. If such publicity creates the impression that the minority being defended is ethnocentric, this impression might actually aggravate majority antipathy. The further possibility that such publicity might tend to increase the "actual" ethnocentrism of the minority in question, as well as its apparent ethnocentrism, deserves investigation too. The "self-fulfilling prophecy" may cut both ways.

[22] Of the research on intergroup relations "a high proportion has been concerned with the causes of prejudice and discrimination, relatively little with the strategies that are effective, in specific situations, in reducing them. There is great need for more of the latter." Simpson and Yinger, *op. cit.*, p. 806.

THE ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE AND DIFFERENTIAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE UNITED STATES *

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This study examines the influence of strength of achievement motive on intergenerational occupational mobility in the United States. Atkinson's theory of achievement motivation, shown to be relevant to the study of occupational mobility, predicts that strength of achievement motive—among persons sharing equal opportunity—will be positively associated with upward occupational mobility and negatively associated with downward occupational mobility. In the national sample studied, the expected results are clearly obtained with regard to upward mobility among persons reared in the lower social strata, but predicted relationships are not found among persons reared in the middle and upper social strata. The hypothesis concerning strength of achievement motive and downward mobility is not supported. The results indicate the fruitfulness of considering personality variables in conjunction with social structural variables in the study of occupational mobility.

Among persons for whom roughly equal opportunity for mobility may be said to exist (e.g., persons from similar regional, occupational, and educational backgrounds), particular persons actually do rise in the occupational hierarchy while others do not or fall. Empirical research directly concerned with this phenomenon of differential mobility is not extensive.[1] Evidence

* This is an expanded version of a paper read at the annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society in Miami, Florida, April 5–8, 1961. The data for this study were made available by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan; I wish to thank Angus Campbell and Gerald Gurin for extending this courtesy to me. John W. Atkinson has contributed in great measure to my understanding of the problems treated in the paper. Grateful acknowledgement is also made to Richard L. Simpson for his critical reading of an earlier version of this paper.

[1] An exhaustive review of relevant research is presented in Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.

from a variety of sources does, however, support the notion that motivation may play a key role in the occupational mobility of persons sharing broadly similar opportunity. Many community studies and sample survey studies have documented the existence of divergent belief-value systems as between social class groups.[2] For present purposes, it is important to note that beliefs and values conducive to achievement striving in the occupational sphere are found more typical of the middle class than of the working class. Yet these studies also show that important proportions of both social class groups subscribe to beliefs and values at variance with the typical belief-value system of their own group. Hyman [3] has presented an analysis linking the belief-value systems of different classes to different motivations characteristic of the separate classes. Beliefs and values, according to his analysis, are internalized and operate as determinants of achievement striving. To explain individual deviation from social class norms, Hyman uses the reference group concept: psychological identification with another class is said to account for the internalization of the beliefs and values of that class as part of the deviant individual's motivations. Thus, within both the middle class and the working class, persons may acquire motivations either more or less conducive to achievement striving in the occupational sphere.

A number of other researches provi evidence that motivation may be an impc tant determinant of differential occupation mobility. Warner and Abegglen,[4] in the study of the American business élite, wh explicitly disavowing any attempt to es mate the relative contribution of motivati to the careers of mobile respondents, neve theless make clear their conviction that t contribution is not negligible. Seeman [5] h examined the relationship of motivation mobility among a group of school admi istrators. Several other studies present da on parent-child relationships and fami structure as they relate to the developme of different motivations for mobility.[6]] nally, Rosen [7] has presented one ration for expecting achievement motivation to especially relevant to the mobility proce

While all of the studies noted above car the implication that motivation may be important requisite of differential occup tional mobility, empirical measurement the contribution of specific motives to t mobility process is lacking. As a first st toward providing such empirical knowled the present study focuses upon the role the achievement motive in the mobili process in our society, using the thema

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[2] See Richard C. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941; Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949; St. Clair Drake and Horace M. Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945; August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: Wiley, 1949; Herbert H. Hyman, "The Values Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status, and Power*, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953; Arthur W. Kornhauser, "Analysis of 'Class Structure' of Contemporary American Society—Psychological Bases of Class Divisions," in George W. Hartmann and Theodore M. Newcomb, editors, *Industrial Conflict*, New York: Dryden, 1939; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942; James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

[3] Hyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 426–442.

[4] W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *l Business Leaders in America*, New York: Harp 1955.

[5] Melvin Seeman, "Social Mobility and Admin trative Behavior," *American Sociological Revi* 23 (December, 1958), pp. 633–642.

[6] See Elizabeth M. Douvan and Joseph B. Ad son, "The Psychodynamics of Social Mobility Adolescent Boys," *Journal of Abnormal and Soc Psychology*, 56 (January, 1958), pp. 31–44; R sell R. Dynes, Alfred C. Clarke, and Simon Dini "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some Aspe of Family Experience as a Variable," *Americ Sociological Review*, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 212–2 Evelyn Ellis, "Social Psychological Correlates Upward Social Mobility Among Unmarried Carr Women," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (Oc ber, 1952), pp. 558–563; Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Fa ily Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in Da C. McClelland, editor, *Talent and Society*, Prin ton: Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 135–194. Althou these studies reach inconsistent conclusions rega ing the type of parent-child interaction leading strong motivation for mobility, the implication clear that motivation is an important variable differential mobility.

[7] Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Sy drome," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (Ap 1956), pp. 203–211.

apperceptive (TAT) measure of the achievement motive developed by McClelland and his co-workers.[8]

The TAT measure of achievement motive and a theory of achievement motivation[9] have been evolved in experimental laboratory studies, typically with college students as subjects. Since the present study represents the first assessment of the achievement motive as a variable affecting the occupational mobility of individuals in the larger social setting, the applicability of this variable to the larger social setting merits discussion.[10]

Atkinson[11] has developed a theoretical treatment of achievement motivation which stresses the importance of both intrapersonal and situational factors in determining the effort put forth by an individual in any achievement situation. Strength of performance in a situation is conceived as a consequence of a momentary state, termed "motivation," which is the product of motive strength and of situational variables. This distinction provides the conceptual means to connect the relatively enduring characteristics of the personality system (here, the motive to achieve) with the more variable contingencies arising from the social system, as joint determiners of motivation, and consequently, behavior.

Atkinson's model selects two situational factors as centrally important in setting the strength of achievement motivation. The first is the individual's expectations of success or failure in the task at hand. The relative frequency of the person's past experiences of success or failure in similar situations thus provides the chief basis for estimating the likelihood of success in the immediate situation. Moreover, to the extent that the individual has experienced success or failure in similar past situations, he should perceive any task confronting him to be more or less difficult: the higher the perceived probability of success, the less difficult the task; the lower the perceived probability of success, the more difficult the task.

The second situational variable treated in the model is "incentive value," conceived as the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which the individual attaches to the achievement or non-achievement of a particular goal. Past achievements of a singularly satisfying nature should confer strong positive incentive value on achievement in a similar present situation. This does not imply, however, that every highly-rewarding past accomplishment should carry the same incentive value upon repetition. Atkinson (following an earlier proposal by Escalona and Festinger),[12] assumes that the more difficult a task appears to an individual, the greater should be his conception of the satisfaction which success would bestow. To use prosaic examples, running a four-minute mile should remain a highly rewarding accomplishment because the degree of difficulty does not diminish appreciably as a result of previous successes; repeating a given research, on the other hand, should usually be perceived as less difficult than completing the initial study, and the incentive value should diminish accordingly.

We see, then, that the Atkinson model postulates a multiplicative relationship between motive strength, expectancy of success, and incentive value of success in determining the strength of motivation to achieve in any particular task. Given the further assumption that expectancy of success may

[8] David C. McClelland, John W. Atkinson, Russell A. Clark, and Edward A. Lowell. *The Achievement Motive*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953. The achievement motive is conceived as an enduring personality disposition to strive for success in situations where performance is to be evaluated in terms of some standard of excellence. The disposition, it is assumed, is learned, so that its strength may vary as between individuals.

[9] John W. Atkinson, "Motivational Determinants of Risk-Taking Behavior," *Psychological Review*, 64 (November, 1957), pp. 359–372.

[10] The present discussion will demonstrate the empirical relevance of the theory of achievement motivation to differential mobility. For a thorough discussion of the methodological problems arising in the use of the thematic apperceptive method in a national sample survey, see: Joseph Veroff, John W. Atkinson, Sheila C. Feld, and Gerald Gurin, "The Use of Thematic Apperception to Assess Motivation in a Nationwide Interview Study," *Psychological Monographs*, 74 (Whole Number 499, 1960), pp. 1–32.

[11] Atkinson, *op. cit.*

[12] Kurt Lewin, Tamara Dembo, Leon Festinger and Pauline Sears, "Level of Aspiration," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, Vol. 1, New York: Ronald Press, 1944, pp. 333–378.

vary from 0 to 1 (and hence the incentive value of success may be represented as 1 minus the expectancy of success), two implications follow: (1) for any given level of motive strength, the motivation to achieve is strongest for tasks in the middle range of apparent difficulty; (2) the preference for tasks of intermediate difficulty becomes more marked with increments in motive strength and vanishes when the strength of achievement motive approaches zero. Thus, among persons with comparable perceptions of the degree of difficulty of a range of tasks, the model predicts that persons with relatively strong motive to achieve will select from that range tasks for which the expectancy of success approximates .50, and that they will put forth strong effort and persistence to accomplish such tasks. Persons with weak motive to achieve, in comparison, should show a relatively weaker preference for tasks which are of intermediate difficulty and should strive less hard and less persistently to accomplish them. Realistic aspiration, effort and persistence—these are the behavioral consequences of strong achievement motive.[13]

An empirical foundation for applying the theory of achievement motivation to the study of occupational mobility may now be offered. The data linking the model to the study of occupational mobility are obtained from studies of the prestige ratings of occupations in samples representative of our national population, and of various sub-groups within it, over a time-span of more than 25 years. Numerous studies demonstrate the existence of an occupational prestige hierarchy which is remarkably stable over time, and which is perceived in highly similar fashion by persons from all strata in our society.[14]

Let us grant that the occupational system is generally perceived by Americans as hierarchically structured in terms of the prestige attached to various occupations. In order to justify the relevance of the theory of achievement motivation for prediction of occupational mobility, it must now be shown that the higher prestige occupations are actually perceived both as having greater incentive value and as being more difficult to attain (lower expectancy of success) than the lower prestige occupations.

Is the perception of the personal satisfaction to be gained from jobs higher in the prestige hierarchy generally greater than that from jobs lower in the hierarchy? Strodtbeck, McDonald, and Rosen's [15] study of youths in the New Haven area provides evidence for a strongly affirmative answer to this question. The boys were presented a list of twelve occupations representative of the entire range of the occupational prestige

[13] Atkinson's theory also incorporates predictions concerning the motive to avoid failure, since this disposition is probably quite generally elicited in achievement situations along with the achievement motive. Although the present study lacks direct measurement of the motive to avoid failure, previous research has tended to show that this motive is of relatively greater strength among persons scoring low in achievement motive than among persons scoring high in achievement motive. Thus, when predictions are made from the model on the basis of measured strength of achievement motive, some account is being taken simultaneously of the effect of the motive to avoid failure. See John W. Atkinson and George H. Litwin, "Achievement Motive and Test Anxiety as Motives to Approach Success and Avoid Failure," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 60 (January, 1960), pp. 52–63; Charles H. Mahone, "Fear of Failure and Unrealistic Vocational Aspiration," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1958.

[14] See Morgan C. Brown, "The Status of Jobs and Occupations as Evaluated by an Urban Negro Sample," *American Sociological Review,* 20 (October, 1955), pp. 561–566; Richard C. Centers, "Social Class, Occupation, and Imputed Belief," *American Journal of Sociology,* 58 (May, 1953), pp. 543–555; George S. Counts, "The Social Status of Occupations," *School Review,* 33 (January, 1925), pp. 16–27; Martha E. Deeg and Donald G. Paterson, "Changes in Social Status of Occupations," *Occupations,* 25 (January, 1947), pp. 205–208, National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.,* pp. 411–426; Mapheus Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige of Occupations," *American Sociological Review,* 8 (April, 1943), pp. 185–192. The rank order correlations obtaining between the occupational prestige rankings of each of these six studies—studies of widely varying populations and conducted at various times during the past 30 years—are above +.95 in 12 of the 15 comparisons. The lowest correlation found is +.88. See Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "Achievement Motivation and Occupational Mobility in the United States," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960.

[15] Fred L. Strodtbeck, Margaret R. McDonald and Bernard C. Rosen, "Evaluation of Occupations: A Reflection of Jewish and Italian Mobility Differences," *American Sociological Review,* 22 (October, 1957), pp. 546–553.

hierarchy. They were asked to state whether they would be pleased or displeased to have each of these jobs as adults, and whether their parents would be pleased or displeased if they had such jobs as adults. The percentage of pleased responses for each occupation, for both self-reports and guesses about parents, increased markedly from low prestige occupations to high prestige occupations. Rosen [16] reports similar findings for a sample of mothers in four Northeastern states. These findings suggest that the incentive value attached to successful attainment of different occupations increases with increments in the prestige of occupations. In fact, prestige ratings are probably the best estimate available of the generally accepted incentive values of success in different occupations.

National data are available regarding the perceived difficulty associated with occupations at various prestige levels. In the NORC [17] study, respondents were asked:

> When you say that certain jobs have excellent standing, what do you think is the one main thing about such jobs that gives this standing?

Two responses stressing the degree of difficulty connected with such jobs, ranked third and sixth respectively among eleven categories of responses, emerged: (1) Preparation requires much hard work, education, and money; (2) it requires intelligence and ability. Several other studies provide similar evidence that jobs rated high in prestige are perceived to be more difficult to attain than jobs rated low in prestige.[18]

It seems clear, then, that the occupational prestige hierarchy is invested with the properties essential for the application of the model of achievement motivation. The occupational prestige hierarchy may be identified as a series of "tasks" involving both increasing incentive value (increasing prestige) and increasing difficulty (decreasing probability of success). Thus, the implications of the theory of achievement motivation derived from experimental analysis of behavior can be appropriately applied to the behavior of individuals in relation to occupational striving.

The general hypothesis derived from the model regarding differential occupational mobility is clear: strong achievement motive should lead to more "realistic" striving, to greater effort, and to greater persistence than weak achievement motive, and, as a consequence, to greater accomplishment in the occupational sphere. "Common sense" might suggest such a notion; yet common sense might equally well predict that strong achievement motive would lead to unrealistically high aspirations, and hence to less accomplishment.[19] The theory of achievement motivation goes beyond common sense by specifying the variables involved in the hypothesized relationship, and the functional relationships between them.

METHOD

This study is a secondary analysis of national sample survey data.[20] The original sample included 2,460 respondents selected according to strict probability methods to yield a representative sample of persons 21 years of age or older residing in private households in the United States. Measures of motive strength, however, were obtained from a randomly selected sub-sample, of which a total of 715 were males. Responses to the thematic apperception test, from which scores on the achievement, affiliation

[16] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47–60.

[17] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

[18] Brown, *op. cit.*; Mahone, *op. cit.*; Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson, "Correlates and Estimation of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (September, 1960), pp. 135–140. Respondents in Brown's study described high ranking occupations as "better" than others, and two of eleven response categories seen to characterize these jobs stressed the "difficulty" variable. In the Simpson and Simpson study, evaluations of occupations ranked in the NORC study by a panel of raters resulted in a strong positive association between perceived degree of difficulty of a job and its prestige ranking. A secondary analysis by the writer of data kindly supplied by Mahone showed a rank order correlation between college students' estimates of probability of success in selected occupations and the prestige rankings of the occupations to be —.85. (See Crockett, *op. cit.*).

[19] I am indebted to Richard L. Simpson for this latter suggestion.

[20] Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff, and Sheila C. Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health*, New York: Basic Books, 1960.

and power motives were derived, were judged inadequate by the original investigators for 118 of these respondents, yielding a total of 597 men as potential cases for use in the present study. The procedures for selecting the respondents included in the present study will be discussed subsequently.

The methodological problems encountered in adapting a method of measurement which was standardized in experimental settings for use in a survey study have been thoroughly examined in a paper by the original investigators; they conclude that a level of measurement adequate for research purposes is attained.[21] It should be emphasized that a disproportionate number of respondents from the lower social strata and the older age groups gave inadequate responses to the motive questions, responses which could not legitimately be assigned a motive score. This disproportionate loss of respondents from particular demographic groups imposes a restriction on generalization of the findings of the present study, but it does not affect the testing of hypotheses concerning relationships between motive strength and occupational mobility within the present sample. Moreover, data to be presented subsequently indicate that generalization of present results may well be admissible.

Occupational mobility is assessed in this study through comparison of the prestige of the respondent's occupation at time of interview with the prestige of the occupation of the father during the period when the respondent was growing up.[22] About a third of the potential respondents gave their father's occupation as "farmer," thus inextricably lumping together farm owner-operators of varying degrees of affluence, tenant farmers, farm laborers, and sharecroppers. The 193 cases falling in this group were deleted from the sample. In addition to farm-reared respondents, it was necessary to exclude 36 other potential cases: 23 because their fathers' occupations were not ascertained, two because their own occupations were not ascertained, and 11 who gave "student" as their occupation.[23]

A sound empirical basis for assigning prestige scores to occupations is presented in the NORC study.[24] On the basis of the NORC prestige scores, four categories of prestige were constituted; only four categories were used in order to obtain subgroups of sufficient size for the type of analysis contemplated.[25] The distributions

[21] Veroff, *et al., op. cit.* They reason also that relationships between strength of achievement motive and other variables in the present sample should be lower than those typically obtained in the laboratory situation.

[22] It is recognized that this measure may introduce error. Typically, the occupation given for the father is the most prestigeful of all the occupations he may have had. The respondent, however, may sometime hold occupations either more or less prestigeful than his occupation at the time of interview. Consequently, both over- or underestimations of intergenerational mobility can result from this measure. There appear to be no compelling a priori reasons to indicate that the two types of error should accrue disproportionately to persons scoring high or low in achievement motive. Hence, it is assumed that error from this source is randomly distributed within the groups to be studied. For a discussion of this question, see Seymour M. Lipset and Hans L. Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility," in *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology,* London: International Sociological Association, 1954, pp. 155–157.

[23] To preserve Ns, the writer also coded a number of cases which had not been coded in the original study (respondents who were unemployed or retired), and recoded a number of cases originally coded "not ascertained." These changes in the coding of occupations made by the writer do not appear to have introduced substantial error, since checks of the occupational distributions in the present sample and other recent national samples show generally comparable results.

[24] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.* Successful use of the NORC prestige indices has been made by Lenski and by Empey. See LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," *American Sociological Review,* 21 (December, 1956), pp. 703–709; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," *American Sociological Review* 19 (August, 1954), pp. 405–413.

[25] The use of these four categories of prestige reduces the sensitivity of discrimination between the prestige of occupations considerably. At several points in the present scheme, assignments of occupations to particular prestige categories are made which might be changed, either upward or downward, had more detailed occupational data been available. For example, no discrimination was attempted within the skilled occupations because sufficient detail to warrant such judgments was generally lacking. All skilled workers are assigned to the Lower Middle prestige category. Similarly, all businessmen are assigned to either the High or the Upper Middle prestige categories, even though some should probably fall below these levels. Despite these sources of error in classification, the discrim-

of respondents high and low in strength of achievement motive,[26] in relation to occupational prestige category of father, are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS HIGH AND LOW IN STRENGTH OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE, IN RELATION TO OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE CATEGORY OF FATHER

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Prestige Sores	Strength of Achievement Motive	N (368)
High	78–93	High	20
		Low	11
Upper Middle	69–77	High	50
		Low	43
Lower Middle	61–68	High	67
		Low	52
Low	33–60	High	60
		Low	65

The reliability of the writer's prestige coding procedure was assessed by two separate internal reliability checks, in which the writer's coding was compared with sample codings made by two other sociologists,[27] as well as by an external check. The internal checks showed the prestige scoring procedure to have a coding reliability of around 80 per cent with regard to prestige category placement, and of about +.85 with regard to correlation of prestige scores.[28]

As an external check on the reliability of the prestige scoring, an analysis of results based only on those respondents whose own occupations or whose fathers' occupations actually appear in the NORC [29] ratings was conducted. Results of this analysis, to be presented subsequently, were fully comparable to the results based on the total sample.

Since the original sample from which the respondents are selected was drawn by a cluster sampling technique, statistics based on random sampling assumptions are not applicable.[30] Tests of the significance of difference between proportions, used throughout the analysis, are therefore based on cluster sampling variances rather than random sampling variances.[31]

Reference has already been made to the view of the original investigators that observed relationships between achievement motive and other variables in this sample should be underestimates of the actual relationships in the population. Attention should also be called to the fact that the national sample under study here, while selected by a cluster sampling technique, is probably less homogeneous in important respects than are most samples used in experimental research as well as most field studies which conventionally employ statistics based on the assumption of random sampling. Thus, the test of association used in the present study, based on estimates of standard error for clustered rather than random samples, is interpreted as conservative relative to tests employed in other research reports. In light of these several considerations, differences which attain the .10 level of significance in the predicted direction [32] will be spoken of as indicating

ination obtained using prestige indices is superior to that afforded, for example, by either the standard census category or the manual-nonmanual schemes. For example, occupations classifiable in the Professional or Business census categories may fall in either the High or Upper Middle prestige categories. Occupations classifiable in the White Collar census category may be assigned to the Upper Middle, Lower Middle, or Low prestige categories. Occupations classifiable in the Service census category may be assigned to either the Lower Middle or Low prestige categories.

[26] In keeping with conventional usage in analysis of achievement motive data, "high" and "low" achievement motive groups are formed by cutting the distribution of motive scores at the median. The median for all respondents giving adequate motive protocols in the original study is used here; hence, the Ns in the high and low motive groups in the present sample are unequal.

[27] The writer is indebted to Elton F. Jackson and Ernest Harberg for this work.

[28] The over-all reliability of slightly better than 80 per cent correct placement in prestige category may be compared with a coding reliability reported by Lenski of better than 90 per cent prestige category placement. See Lenski, *op. cit.* (1954).

[29] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.*

[30] Leslie Kish, "Confidence Intervals for Clustered Samples," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 154–165.

[31] Cluster sampling variances for the present sample were computed by the Sampling Section of the Survey Research Center. For formulas and rationale, see Leslie Kish and Irene Hess, "On Variances of Ratios and Their Differences in Multi-Stage Samples," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 54 (June, 1959), pp. 416–446.

[32] Since the hypotheses tested here are derived from a theory concerning the influence on behavior

meaningful trends, and those which attain the .05 level of significance will be taken as evidence of substantial relationships. In addition, the over-all consistency of results relative to predictions, irrespective of significance level, will be considered in evaluation of the findings.

RESULTS

The research hypothesis is that respondents with strong achievement motive will show greater upward mobility and less downward mobility than respondents weak in achievement motive. The relationships between strength of achievement motive and occupational mobility among sons of fathers in each of the prestige levels are shown in Table 2. Expectations concerning differential upward mobility are clearly supported among sons of fathers in both the Low prestige category ($p<.04$) and the Lower Middle prestige category ($p<.06$), but not among sons of fathers in the two higher prestige categories. Only in the Lower Middle prestige category is there evidence of a trend supporting the expectation that downward mobility would be more evident in the low achievement group, and there it is not statistically significant ($p<.16$).

Strong indication that the above results are not produced by the prestige scoring procedures employed is afforded by analysis of data for only those respondents whose own occupations or whose fathers' occupations were rated in the NORC[33] study (Table 3). The table shows, among respondents for whom prestige coding was most precise, results highly comparable to those obtained previously for the full sample.

Can it be argued that differences in mobility attributed to strength of achievement motive reflect the effect of general level of motive strength on mobility? Are persons with strong motivation, whether deriving from achievement motive or from other motives, likely to show greater upward mobility and less downward mobility than persons with weak general motivation? A check on this possibility is made possible by data concerning the affiliation and power mo-

TABLE 2. STRENGTH OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY *

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Achievement Motive	N (368)	Occupational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father: Below	Difference	Same	Difference	Above	Difference
High	High	(20)	55%		45%		..	
(78–93)						−0		
	Low	(11)	55		45		..	
Upper Middle	High	(50)	42		32		26%	
(69–77)				−0				+3
	Low	(43)	42		35		23	NS
Lower Middle	High	(67)	16		41		43	
(61–68)				+12				+18
	Low	(52)	28	$p<.16$	47		25	$p<.06$
Low	High	(60)	..		33		67	
(33–60)								+21
	Low	(65)	..		54		46	$p<.04$

* A plus sign indicates a percentage point difference in the direction predicted A minus sign indicates a percentage point difference in the direction opposite to that predicted. Probabilities for percentages based on Ns less than 25 are not presented. Since directional predictions are derived from theory, a one-tailed test is used. The remaining tables in this paper present one-tailed tests identical to the test used in the present table.

of strength of achievement motive, which is already supported by considerable experimental evidence, the expected directions of relationships are clearly specified in advance. Therefore, a one-tailed test of significance is considered appropriate.

[33] National Opinion Research Center, *op. cit.*

TABLE 3. STRENGTH OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, AMONG RESPONDENTS WHOSE OWN OCCUPATION OR WHOSE FATHER'S OCCUPATIONS WERE RATED IN THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER STUDY *

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Achievement Motive	N (146)	Occupational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father					
			Below	Difference	Same	Difference	Above	Difference
High (78–93)	High	(12)	50%		50%	+5	..	
	Low	(11)	55		45		..	
Upper Middle (69–77)	High	(8)	50	+7	12		38%	+12
	Low	(23)	57		17		26	
Lower Middle (61–68)	High	(17)	24	+12	29		47	+15
	Low	(25)	36		32		32	
Low (33–60)	High	(26)	..		31		69	+40 p <.02
	Low	(24)	..		71		29	

* Analysis for each specific group (i.e., respondents whose own occupations and whose father's occupations were rated in the earlier study, respondents whose own occupations only were rated, and respondents whose fathers' occupations only were rated), is precluded because of the small number of cases. Even with the three groups combined, the Ns for sons of fathers in the Lower Middle, Upper Middle and High prestige categories are too small to afford tests of significance.

tives,[34] which were also obtained in the original study.

Comparison of the relationships between strength of affiliation motive and mobility (Table 4) with those between strength of achievement motive and mobility (Table 2) show achievement motive much more strongly related to upward mobility than affiliation motive among those reared in the two lower prestige categories. Only among sons of fathers in the Upper Middle prestige

[34] The affiliation motive is characterized as a disposition to establish, restore or maintain positive relationships with others. The power motive is characterized as a disposition to seek control over the means of influencing others. Detailed discussions of each of these motives are to be found in John W. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society*, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958.

TABLE 4. STRENGTH OF AFFILIATION MOTIVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Affiliation Motive	N (368)	Occupational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father					
			Below	Difference	Same	Difference	Above	Difference
High (78–93)	High	(18)	61%		39%	−15	..	
	Low	(13)	46		54		..	
Upper Middle (69–77)	High	(48)	46	+5 NS	23		31%	+20 p <.06
	Low	(45)	51		38		11	
Lower Middle (61–68)	High	(66)	15	+15 p <.13	50		35	−1
	Low	(53)	30		34		36	
Low (33–60)	High	(50)	..		38		62	+10 p <.20
	Low	(75)	..		48		52	

category is the relationship between affiliation motive and upward mobility stronger than that between achievement motive and upward mobility. With regard to downward mobility, both affiliation motive and achievement motive show relatively slight negative relationships.

Analysis of the relation of power motive to mobility discloses even less support for the notion that motive strength in general, rather than strength of achievement motive specifically, influences mobility (Table 5). The table shows essentially no difference in mobility between groups high and low in power motive.

residence background, race, religion, nativity, marital status, and the presence of children in the home.[86]

The relationship between strength of achievement motive and each of the other above-noted variables has been examined in each case with occupational prestige level of origin controlled.[87] In general, these relationships do not indicate the serious likelihood of inflated positive results regarding strength of achievement motive and occupational mobility. Some consistent trends which might lead to inflated results were noted, however, in the relationships between strength of achievement motive and age

TABLE 5. STRENGTH OF POWER MOTIVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Power Motive	N (368)	Occupational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father: Below	Difference	Same	Difference	Above	Difference
High (78–93)	High	(12)	50%		50%	+8	..	
	Low	(19)	58		42		..	
Upper Middle (69–77)	High	(44)	50	−3	32		18%	−7
	Low	(49)	47		28		25	
Lower Middle (61–68)	High	(55)	24	−4	45		31	−8
	Low	(64)	20		41		39	
Low (33–60)	High	(63)	..		44		56	−1
	Low	(62)	..		43		57	

Thus, it appears quite clear that the relationships shown to exist between strength of achievement motive and occupational mobility cannot be interpreted as deriving from the factor of strong general motivation.

There remains now the possibility that other variables which current knowledge indicates are positively and causally related to mobility may also be positively and causally related to strength of achievement motive: for instance, age level, amount of education,[85] region of birth, rural-urban

education, and marital status. It is also possible that inflated results might be produced by the combined effects of several of these variables.

Consequently, two sets of variables are used to select precision-matched groups from respondents classified high and low in strength of achievement motive.[88] The rela-

[85] Studies of national samples show age level and education level, along with occupation level of origin (which is controlled throughout all analyses in this study), are important variables related to occupational mobility. See Richard C. Centers, *op. cit.* (1953); Paul C. Glick, "Educational Attainment and Occupational Advancement," in *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, London: International Sociological Association, 1954, pp. 183–193; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Trends in Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility in the United States," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (October, 1958), pp. 514–523.

[86] Other factors might also be involved in such a spurious relationship, but the ones cited are the only variables for which measures are available.

[87] See Crockett, *op. cit.*

[88] This procedure, rather than cross-tabulation

tively small size of the sample, coupled with the rapid attrition of cases in precision matching as the number of variables involved increases, means that cases can be matched on only three variables at a time. In light of the observed relationships cited above, the following two sets of variables are used to form precision-matched groups: (1) occupational category of origin, age level, and amount of education; (2) age level, marital status, and the presence of children in the home. Both of the precision-matched groups are formed by means of a random selection technique.

Table 6 shows that results parallel to the initial findings, even with somewhat reduced samples, are obtained when the effects of age, occupational prestige level of origin, and education level are simultaneously controlled through precision matching. Consistent trends in the direction predicted are found with regard to upward mobility among sons of fathers in the Low prestige category ($p<.11$) and the Lower Middle prestige category ($p<.10$), but not among sons of fathers in the two higher prestige categories. Respondents high in achievement motive are again less likely (although the trend is not significant) to be downwardly mobile among sons of fathers in the Lower Middle prestige category, but this relationship does not appear among persons reared in the Upper Middle or High prestige categories.

The same pattern of results is obtained when life cycle variables (i.e., age, marital status, and the presence of children in the home) are controlled by precision matching, again with a reduction in sample size (Table 7). The table shows strength of achievement motive positively and significantly associated with upward mobility among sons of fathers in the Low prestige category ($p<.03$). Among respondents whose fathers held occupations in the Lower Middle prestige category, there is a positive but not significant relationship between achievement motive strength and upward mobility, and an insignificant negative relationship between achievement motive strength and downward mobility. Among sons of fathers in the two higher prestige categories, the relationships between strength of achievement motive and occupational mobility are again very slight.

It will be recalled now that respondents who did not give adequate responses to the thematic apperceptive test of motive strength have been excluded from all previous analyses. Moreover, it was reported

TABLE 6. STRENGTH OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, RESPONDENTS MATCHED ON OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE CATEGORY OF FATHER, AGE, AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION *

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Achievement Motive	N (302)	Occupational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father: Below	Difference	Same	Difference	Above	Difference
High (78–93)	High	(10)	50%		50%		..	
						—0		
	Low	(10)	50		50		..	
Upper Middle (69–77)	High	(36)	44		28		28%	
				—6				+3
	Low	(40)	38		37		25	NS
Lower Middle (61–68)	High	(54)	17		42		41	
				+11				+17
	Low	(50)	28	$p<.20$	48		24	$p<.10$
Low (33–60)	High	(51)	..		35		65	
								+16
	Low	(51)	..		51		49	$p<.11$

* In the case of sons of fathers in the two middle prestige categories, the Ns in the High and Low achievement motive groups are unequal because the two categories were pooled for matching purposes here. This enabled a larger number of respondents to be included in the analysis.

within each variable of interest, is used in order to avoid excessively small Ns.

TABLE 7. STRENGTH OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY, RESPONDENTS MATCHED ON AGE, MARITAL STATUS, AND THE PRESENCE OF CHILDREN IN THE HOME

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Achievement Motive	N (300)	Occupational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father: Below	Difference	Same	Difference	Above	Difference
High	High	(18)	56%		44%		..	
(78–93)						+4		
	Low	(10)	60		40		..	
Upper Middle	High	(34)	35		35		29%	
(69–77)				+5				+5
	Low	(38)	40	NS	37		24	NS
Lower Middle	High	(53)	15		47		38	
(61–68)				+11				+12
	Low	(43)	26	$p < .20$	49		26	$p < .18$
Low	High	(45)	..		31		69	
(33–60)								+25
	Low	(59)	..		56		44	$p < 03$

earlier that these omitted respondents were disproportionately representative of the lower socio-economic strata and of the older age groups. The original investigators [39] suggest that failure to produce a meaningful TAT protocol is probably indicative of weak motivation. If respondents omitted from analysis because of inadequate motive responses are presumed to be for the most part low in strength of achievement motive, then in pattern of mobility these omitted respondents should be more similar to respondents low in achievement motive than to those high in achievement motive. The distributions given in Table 8 show the expected trends. The deleted respondents have rates of upward mobility that are actually lower than the rates of the respondents classified low in achievement motive in two of the three comparisons, and a downward mobility rate that is greater than that of respondents classified low in achievement motive in one of two comparisons. Only in the case of downward mobility from the Lower Middle prestige category is the mobility rate of the omitted respondents more similar to that of respondents with strong achievement motive than with weak achieve-

[39] Veroff, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

TABLE 8. COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE GROUPS AND RESPONDENTS OMITTED FROM ANALYSIS BECAUSE OF INADEQUATE MOTIVE PROTOCOLS *

Occupational Prestige Category of Father	Strength of Achievement Motive	N (383)	Occupuational Prestige Category of Respondent in Relation to That of Father: Below	Same	Above
Upper Middle	High	(50)	42%	32%	26%
(69–77)	Low	(43)	42	35	23
	Omitted	(8)	50	38	13
Lower Middle	High	(67)	16	41	43
(61–68)	Low	(52)	28	47	25
	Omitted	(15)	20	47	33
Low	High	(60)	..	33	67
(33–60)	Low	(65)	..	54	46
	Omitted	(23)	..	61	39

* Excludes omitted respondents who were sons of farmers, or for whom information regarding own occupation or father's occupation was not codable. There were no omitted respondents whose fathers held occupations in the High prestige category.

ment motive. Given these relationships, it is suggested that the results of this study may be generalized to the adult male population of the United States who were not reared on farms.

DISCUSSION

The several analyses presented above show strength of achievement motive clearly related to upward mobility among sons of fathers in the two lower prestige categories but not among sons of fathers in the two higher prestige categories.[40] Because detailed exploration of the possible explanations for this finding requires the introduction of many new data, such exploration is reserved for a subsequent paper. Suffice it to say here that the explanation, in my judgment, is to be found in the differential effect of education level upon mobility in the higher versus lower prestige groups. Among sons of fathers in the two lower prestige categories, while higher education will certainly have a tremendous positive effect upon upward mobility, higher education is in fact not essential to upward mobility.[41] This means that strength of achievement motive, quite apart from education level attained, may play an important part in upward mobility. Among sons of fathers in the two higher prestige categories, on the other hand, higher education is virtually essential to upward mobility (or stability).[42] Therefore, among these respondents, factors which affect the attainment of higher education must have a greater effect upon subsequent mobility than is the case among respondents in the two lower prestige groups. Consequently, the effect of strength of achievement motive is obscured among persons reared in the two higher prestige categories, while it comes through clearly among persons reared in the two lower prestige groups. As noted above, a subsequent paper will deal with this matter more fully.

In contrast to results for strength of achievement motive, strength of affiliation motive among sons of fathers in the Upper Middle prestige category was positively associated with upward mobility ($p. < .06$). This finding is consistent with recent arguments[43] which stress the implications of broad changes in the social structure for the personality structure of occupationally successful persons. The large-scale, bureaucratic work-setting, which rewards cooperative and harmonious relationships, is replacing the small-scale, entrepreneurial work-setting in which individual, competitive effort is more rewarded. As a consequence, the person with relatively strong affiliation motive is now expected to be more occupationally successful than the person with strong motive to achieve. The results of the present study suggest, however, that the shift in the dynamics of the mobility process anticipated by these writers has not yet occurred in marked degree. For among two thirds of the respondents (sons of fathers in the two lower prestige groups), occupational advancement is associated with strength of achievement motive but not with affiliation or power motives.

Notice must now be taken of the fact that the expectation concerning strength of achievement motive and downward mobility was not supported (although, in general, trends in the predicted direction were found). The argument offered previously regarding the absence of predicted relationships among persons reared in the two higher prestige categories is clearly relevant here. If other factors are relatively important to mobility among these persons, then the effect of strength of achievement motive must be reduced. However, no "explanation" is available to account for the absence of the predicted relationship among persons reared in the Lower Middle prestige cate-

[40] The reader is reminded of the earlier discussion of levels of significance appropriate to this research. If tests of significance are disregarded, the clear relationship alluded to can be seen by comparison of percentage points differences between the high and low achievement motive groups.

[41] Of the upwardly mobile persons from the two lower prestige levels, 65 per cent had only a high school education or less.

[42] Of the stable persons from the High prestige level, only 7 per cent had a high school education or less; of the upwardly mobile persons from the Upper Middle prestige level, only 13 per cent had a high school education or less.

[43] See Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent*, New York: Wiley, 1958; David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950; William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, New York Simon and Schuster, 1956.

gory, where, presumably, "other" factors are less important relative to strength of achievement motive.

Throughout this paper it has been assumed that strong achievement motive is one of the antecedents of occupational mobility among persons sharing equal opportunity. It can be argued, however, that the experience of upward mobility may produce an increase in strength of achievement motive. Empirical substantiation of one or the other interpretation is not possible in the present study because time-sequential data are lacking. Nevertheless, the issue merits consideration.

Practically all students of human behavior appeal to some concept of motivation in their explanations of human action. Agreement on this point arises from the widely acknowledged utility of breaking up the flux of human behavior into identifiable sequences of action which differ in direction, vigor, and persistence through time, and terminate when some end-state or goal is reached. If it is maintained that strength of achievement motive is a consequence of differential occupational mobility rather than one of its determinants, then motivation for other goals must be invoked to explain those action sequences which eventuate in differential mobility. The question then becomes: What other motives are we led to posit, from intuition or theoretical conception, as more likely determinants of the effort and persistence it takes to get ahead in the occupational sphere than the achievement motive, which we already know from experimental evidence to be an effective determinant of action when performance is evaluated as good (success) or poor (failure)?

To raise this question is to reveal the meager extent of our knowledge of the relationships between any motivational factors and social mobility. Mention has already been made of current theoretical stress upon affiliation motivation as a source of occupational mobility. Present evidence, however, does not lend substantial support to this position. Seeman[44] has proposed that "goals which are not status goals in themselves, and which are assumed to be intrinsically valuable to the respondent in contrast to the value of status betterment . . ." may provide motivation for mobility. He cites, as examples of such goals, family interest, and community and friendship ties Although research linking these motives, or indeed any others that may be advanced, to occupational mobility is lacking, the position taken here does not deny that in different persons many different motives may influence mobility. Rather, it argues that there should be a systematic relationship between strength of achievement motive and occupational mobility in our society.

In short, the theoretical model of achievement motivation developed by Atkinson[45] is the only carefully worked-out motivational scheme currently available which has direct relevance for the analysis of the mobility process. Lipset and Bendix,[46] while noting in anticipation of a study such as this one that the thematic apperceptive measure of achievement motive employed here has "exciting implications for social analysis," stress the fact that "there is no evidence that motivation (of the sort measured by the technique mentioned above) results in higher occupational achievement among those with equal opportunity." The present study is the first to provide empirical evidence on a national scale that strength of achievement motive, assessed by thematic apperception, is an important personality factor contributing to occupational mobility. Perhaps, then, the most important practical implication of this study is that the thematic apperceptive method for assessment of motivation, which has been undergoing development and refinement since 1948, now appears a useful technique for incorporating personality variables in survey studies of sociological interest. Finally, the present study illustrates the potential fruitfulness of simultaneous consideration of individual personality factors and social structural factors in the analysis of occupational mobility.

[44] Seeman, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[45] Atkinson, *op. cit.* (1957).

[46] Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND *

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High achievement motivation scores derived from thematic apperceptive measures administered in a nationwide sample survey were most prevalent in Jewish men, and more prevalent in Catholic than in Protestant men. This high incidence among Catholic men was found attributable largely to the middle-aged group. Furthermore, Catholics' achievement motivation, unlike Protestants' was associated with a low income and a large family. This difference is interpreted as an indication of the more restrictive and concrete significance achievement has for Catholics. From the national survey and from other findings, evidence suggesting that Catholic child-rearing would induce an achievement orientation sensitive to specific economic failure is offered. The inconsistency of these results with previous findings is interpreted in terms of the high economic status and restricted geographic locale of the population from which previous samples were drawn.

THIS study is an attempt to extend recent research and thinking about the religious background of achievement motivation into a national survey study. In our exploration we did not confirm a popular hypothesis that Protestants are more achievement-oriented than Catholics. On a national level, using a thematic apperceptive measure of achievement motivation, we find Catholics generally tend to have stronger achievement orientations. In our attempt to reconcile our findings with earlier, contradictory evidence, we examined a number of facets of achievement motivation—its origins, its operation in specific situations, the conditions required to arouse and to maintain it. Although the purpose of this paper is to present results of our investigation of Protestant-Catholic differences in achievement motivation, we will present some theoretical discussions of findings that go beyond the religious variable under immediate focus and bear on the general question of the nature of achievement motivation.

* The investigations reported in this paper are based on data obtained within a national sample survey supported by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health. Analyses of these data are supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service, Project M2280. John W. Atkinson served as consultant; his help was invaluable at each stage of this research.

In thinking of the conditions that generate achievement motivation as an active concern in a person's life, psychologists have been led to consider influences of early childhood. The demands parents make on their children, the values they stress, the behaviors they support, all these can enhance or inhibit within the child the development of a general disposition to be concerned about achievement. And indeed many investigators[1] have undertaken research examining child-rearing demands stressed either by mothers of children strongly motivated to achieve or by cultures characterized by high levels of achievement motivation. In each of these cases achievement motivation was measured through content analysis of imaginative protocols or cultural myths.[2] The

[1] Examples of such research are: Marian R. Winterbottom, "The Relation of Need for Achievement to Learning Experiences in Independence and Mastery," in J. W. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society*, Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 453–479. Also Sheila C. Feld, *Studies in the Origin of Achievement Strivings*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959.

[2] Two studies are particularly pertinent: D. C. McClelland, and G. A. Friedman, "A Cross-cultural Study of the Relationship Between Child-training Practices and Achievement Motivation Appearing in Folk Tales," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, 1952, pp. 243–249. Also I. L. Child, T. Storm, and J. Veroff, "Achievement Themes in Folk Tales Related to Socialization Prac-

major conclusion common to these researches is that early stress on *mastery* seems to be important in development of adult achievement motivation. In addition, two studies[3] have shown that general restrictiveness in the home can inhibit the development of strong achievement motivation.

When interest shifts from a study of *individual* differences in achievement motivation or behavior to research in achievement behavior of particular social *groups,* one expects parallel results. Where there is a high prevalence of achievement concern in certain groups, the child-rearing values or practices of these groups should be similar to ones fostering achievement strivings in the individual. The achievement behavior of religious groups in Western society has attracted special attention from social theorists. The apparently high achievement striving of Jews in most countries and apparently low achievement striving of Catholics in others—have often been considered.[4] One can look to the different values of the religions for clues about the general characteristics of these groups or the socialization of group members that would be congruent with the obtained differences in observed behavior. Weber long ago made a comprehensive analysis of how the values of Protestantism mesh with the dispositions and behaviors required in a competitive achieving society and how the values of Catholicism do not. Noting that Protestants are more likely than Catholics both to get the education required by economic advancement and to participate in the business ventures that promote economic success, Weber compares the religious value structures of these two groups to see how their different orientations to religion might affect life styles that would or would not be compatible with the demands of capitalism up individual effort. Weber pointed out that t Catholic doctrine of the Church's absoluti of *each single* act of sin had no part in Ca vinist ideology of predestined salvatio Only a *life* of good works would assure person that he might be among the chose Catholic doctrine recognizes the imperfec ability of man and his constant exposure moral conflicts; Calvinism points to the p tential perfection man can reach by a li of accomplishment. Not only can the Ca vinist achieve perfection in this world, bı he has to in order to make his predestine salvation a reasonable assumption. Capita istic enterprise is compatible with this Ca vinistic view.

Others have also dealt with achievemei differences in religious groups. Protestaı college graduates more than Catholic co lege graduates are likely to go into a scieı tific career[5]—one which perhaps demanc the capacity for risk-taking, a dispositio found to be such an important aspect (achievement motivation. Less upward occı pational mobility in white Catholics than i white Protestants has been found in th Detroit area.[6] Strodtbeck[7] has noted tha although Jews and Italian Catholics imm grating to this country in the early part c the 20th Century had equally low socic economic status at the time of immigratioı they are presently very different; there ar now more Jews in the professional and mar agerial occupations than Italians. This dil ference Strodtbeck attributes to a whol series of different value positions in thes groups. He points out that in contrast t Italian Catholics, Jews are more futuristi and more individuated and hence mor *achievement-motivated.*

For those with particular interest in de velopmental influences, differences in th value structure of the religion can be a short hand estimate of the possible child-rearin

tice," in J. W. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society,* Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 479–493.

[3] Child, *et al., ibid.,* and Winterbottom, *op. cit.*

[4] A noteworthy discussion of the mobility of American Jews can be found in F. L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in D. C. McClelland, editor, *Talent and Society,* Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 135–194 A recent examination of the lack of Catholic mobility can be found in N. Weller, *Religion and Mobility in an Industrial Society,* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960.

[5] Knapp and Goodrich have examined the co legiate origins of American scientists. Catholic co leges are comparatively low in their output of nc table scientists. Cf. R. H. Knapp and H. I Goodrich, "The Origins of American Scientists," i D. C. McClelland, editor, *Studies in Motivatioı* New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1955.

[6] N. Weller, *op. cit.*

[7] F. L. Strodtbeck, *op. cit.*

practices of its adherents. This kind of thinking was behind the demonstration by McClelland, Rindlishbacher, and deCharms [8] that a group of Catholic parents reported significantly later ages for expected independent accomplishment for their children than either Protestant or Jewish parents. These results were confirmed by Rosen.[9] We take these results to be evidence to support the hypothesis that Protestants and Jews are likely to be higher in achievement motivation than Catholics since demand for earlier independence is associated with more strongly developed achievement motivation.

PROCEDURE

In 1957, as part of a national sample survey of mental health,[10] 1,620 men and women were administered a thematic apperceptive measure of achievement motivation. The methods of interviewing, coding, and scoring have been presented previously.[11] Although there are methodological questions unanswered in these researches, we will be using the measures as valid indicators of motivation in the national population especially in the absence of any better technique.

As outlined, we recognize that the motivation measure can have three equally plausible *general* interpretations. The motivation measure can reflect: (1) stable personality predisposition (or motive) representing the interest in achievement; (2) situational-arousal of achievement interests; or (3) both 1 and 2. Experimental evidence corroborates each of these possibilities. When dealing with a very heterogeneous population subject to very different life situations, as we do in a national survey, we become particularly sensitive to these alternate interpretations of the measures. This interpretive problem will be a major one in our present analysis.

Measure of Achievement Motivation. We have presented in detail the steps taken to assure that the validity of the present projective measure of achievement motivation in the national survey approximates the comparable measure used in controlled laboratory conditions.[12] Essentially, the measure parallels previous apperceptive measure of achievement motivation reported by McClelland, *et al.*, and Atkinson: [13] imaginative stories told in response to a set of pictures were scored for achievement motivation. The measure is not completely parallel to many previous ones on the following counts: (a) some new pictures were used, some of which aroused less achievement imagery than those used as part of the usual experimental apperceptive measures; (b) stories were told to interviewers rather than written; (c) interviews were taken in the *Ss*' homes and were presented to *Ss*' as a study dealing with problems of modern living conducted by the Survey Research Center; [14] (d) many *Ss* had to be eliminated because they had inadequate protocols [15] (a check indicated that those eliminated are not concentrated in any particular religious group); and (e) a correction had been applied to scores to account for unwanted correlation between story length and motive score. After considerable analy-

[8] These authors sampled mothers and fathers from Connecticut towns. Cf. D. C. McClelland, A. Rindlishbacher, and R. C. deCharms, "Religious and Other Sources of Parental Attitudes Toward Independence Training," in D. C. McClelland, editor, *Studies in Motivation,* New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1955.

[9] B. C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," *American Sociological Review,* 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47–60. Not only does Rosen generally support difference in independence training between Catholics and Protestants, he finds them existing when he controls for social class, although there are some important interactive effects. Rosen fails to get strong Catholic-Protestant difference in measured achievement motivation in high school boys; ethnic differences seem more salient.

[10] The data were collected in conjunction with material reported in G. Gurin, J. Veroff, and Sheila C. Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health,* New York: Basic Books, 1960.

[11] J. Veroff, J. W. Atkinson, Sheila C. Feld, and G. Gurin, "The Use of Thematic Apperception to Assess Motivation in a Nationwide Interview Study," *Psychological Monographs,* 74 #499, 1960.

[12] Veroff, *et al., ibid.*

[13] Summaries of the use of these thematic apperceptive measures over the past fifteen years are to be found in D. C. McClelland, J. W. Atkinson, R. A. Clark, and E. L. Lowell, *The Achievement Motive,* New York· Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1951. And in J. W. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society,* Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958. The first book covers the years 1945–1950; the second book 1951–1958.

[14] Gurin, *et al., op. cit.*

[15] Veroff, *et al., op. cit.*, pp. 10–16

ses of methodological questions, we have no reason to think that the measure of motivation is systematically different from the same measure under controlled conditions. By necessity, however, we expect to have some added unreliability to the measure as noted above.

Religious Groupings. To determine religious preference we asked all *S*s towards the end of the interview: "What is your religious preference?" Three major religious groups were used in the analysis: Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. It is noteworthy that this question asked for present religion, not religious training as a child. The latter is perhaps more relevant to our general problem. We expect childhood religious training and present religion to be highly correlated.[16]

Subjects. The current sample consists of that portion of the nationwide representative sample who were males, white, who gave adequate stories to the projective measure of motivation, and who were members of one of the three major religious groups (N=512).[17]

Estimating Significance of the Findings. The results to be presented in this paper are generally tabled as percentages of certain groups showing a given characteristic—in particular, percentage of a group having high n Achievement scores (above the median for the entire male sample who gave adequate stories). In Table 1 are found percentage differences needed to obtain a two-tailed .05 level of confidence with various sample sizes. Sometimes differences discussed will not reach the sampling error differences strictly required, but when an insignificant result is consistent with other results we will consider these smaller percentage differences important. We believe that the results of this study present a compelling configuration of differences over and above what may be discerned from a particular comparison.

[16] A recent Detroit Area Study has compiled data on this problem. Results will be forthcoming soon.

[17] This paper is concerned only with analyses of men's scores. Another paper will deal with women. At this point perhaps we should state that the results found with men in no way directly parallel what we have found with women.

TABLE 1. APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERROR OF DIFFERENCES FOR PERCENTAGES FROM 35 PER CENT TO 65 PER CENT

Sample B	Sample A	
N	50	25
300	15.4–19.7[a]	20.8–26.5
200	15.8–20.7	21.2–27.2
100	17.3–22.4	22.4–28.6
75	18.2–23.5	23.1–29.4
50	20.0–25.7	24.5–31.1
25	....	28.3–35.8

[a] The values are the differences required for significance (two standard errors) in comparisons of percentages derived from two different subgroups of the current survey. Two values—low and high are given for each cell. The lower estimates are based on simple random samples. The higher values are based on the computations of individual sampling errors carried out on the current study data, and allowed for departures from simple random sampling coming from stratification and clustering in the survey design.

RESULTS

Over-all Religious Differences in Achievement Motivation. The over-all differences in n Achievement scores for Catholics, Protestants and Jews presented in Table 2 indicate that more Jewish men, in contrast to all other groups, have high n Achievement scores. This result was anticipated. The unexpected result in Table 2, in light of earlier findings and arguments, is that Catholic men's n Achievement scores are not lower than those of Protestant men, but tend to be higher. Higher achievement motivation in Protestants than in Catholics has been inferred from results showing that earlier standards of independence are set for Protestant children than for Catholic children.[18] We were therefore puzzled by this obtained difference in light of the weight of prior argument leading us to anticipate the opposite result. We decided to look closely at this reversal of expectation. Finding that the obtained differences could not be explained by considering religiosity (frequency of church attendance) or by studying Protestant denominations more closely, we looked toward other social factors in an intensive analysis of this reversal.

[18] McClelland, Rindlishbacher, and deCharms, *op. cit.*

TABLE 2. THE n ACHIEVEMENT SCORES OF PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, AND JEWISH MEN

Religion	N	% High n Ach*
Protestant	366	48
Catholic	121	57
Jewish	25	68

* Here and in subsequent tables refers to the percentages of each group considered having n Achievement scores above the median for the entire male population.

CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT DIFFERENCES IN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Age. We first explored age differences in the n Achievement scores of Catholics and Protestants with the anticipation that older Catholics and Protestants are more likely to reflect the dynamics outlined in Weber's Protestant Ethic hypothesis.

Table 3 presents the analysis of Protestant-Catholic differences in achievement motivation for three different age groups. Catholics and Protestants differ only at middle age, when Catholics are clearly higher. This result is not consistent with the findings of the other studies to which we have referred, particularly one on a limited sample of fathers where Catholic men, like Catholic women, reported setting lower achievement goals for their sons.[19] We are thus faced with the task of trying to understand why in a general way there was no corroboration to the earlier findings by McClelland, *et al.*, and Rosen, and in addition why stronger achievement motivation appears in Catholic men than in Protestant men only at middle age.

Region, Place of Residence, Generation. Before intensive exploration of these problems, we wanted to be sure that the differences or lack of differences we were finding were really attributable to the religious difference rather than to some differences in other social characteristics being obscured by the religious dichotomy.

Catholics are more likely to be: (1) first generation (one or both parents foreign born) or foreign born; (2) in urbanized areas (standard metropolitan areas—e.g., Chicago, New York); (3) residents of Northeastern United States. However, none of these variables is related to n Achievement scores. And when we control for these factors, we find that the difference between middle-age Catholics and Protestants persists: Catholics at middle-age who are metropolitan residents, Northeasterners, first generation or foreign-born are much more likely than comparable Protestants to have high n Achievement scores. (In the young group, Catholics tend to be higher also, but not consistently.)

Income, Size of Family. How then can we explain this obtained Protestant-Catholic difference in achievement motivation during the middle years, and reconcile it with the findings of previous studies?

The unique characteristic of the present investigation is that we had a representative probability sample of the United States. Previous studies finding stronger achievement concerns in Protestants were not based on samples representative of American Catholics and Protestants; they were quota samples of available desired groups. As such, Rosen's and McClelland's quota samples are probably of higher socio-economic status than would be a probability sample of these groups of the kind used in the present national survey. Moser and Stuart[20] give evidence to the effect that quota samples in which an interviewer can reject a particular S in favor of another who might be more cooperative will tend to under-represent the lower status groups.

In addition, the population of the Northeast—the area where McClelland *et al.*, and Rosen found a positive association between Protestantism and achievement standards —has generally a high income ($409 more

[19] McClelland, *et al., ibid.*

[20] C. A. Moser and A. Stuart, "An Experimental Study of Quota Sampling," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* (A), (1953), pp. 349–405.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT MEN AT THREE AGE LEVELS WITH HIGH n ACHIEVEMENT SCORES

Age	Religion	N	% High n Ach
21–34	Protestant	127	52
	Catholic	39	54
35–49	Protestant	103	47
	Catholic	40	70
50 and over	Protestant	136	46
	Catholic	42	45

than the national median), according to the 1950 Census. Therefore, we decided to explore thoroughly the relationship of income to achievement motivation within Protestant and Catholic groups in the United States.

We anticipated that the relationship between income and achievement motivation should be substantially positive—that those who strive to do well in competition with standards of excellence, those more motivated to achieve, should try to accomplish tasks, be more successful, and consequently earn more money. However, there was no over-all relationship between income level [21] and n Achievement scores, as can be seen in part A of Table 4. The surprising finding, however, is that there is a clear negative relationship between n Achievement scores and income level among Catholics and (if anything) a slight positive relationship among Protestants (Part B of Table 4).

The consequence of these opposing trends is that at the highest income level the n Achievement scores of Catholics are lower than those of Protestants. *Is this group over-represented in the samples that McClelland and Rosen drew?* In contrast, at middle and low income levels, the Catholic men are clearly higher in n Achievement scores than the Protestant men.

A close look at each age group (Part C of Table 4) shows that Catholics in all age groups consistently show a negative relationship (however slight) between income level and n Achievement scores. The relationship is not consistent among Protestants of different ages. We seem to be confronted with an important distinction between the significance of money in relation to achievement motivation among Catholics as contrasted to Protestants.

What may be the meaning of this negative relationship between income and achievement motivation in Catholics? Among Catholics low income may reflect an economic pressure that arouses achievement motivation. Following this hypothesis

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF MEN AT THREE INCOME LEVELS WITH HIGH N ACHIEVEMENT SCORES (BY AGE AND RELIGION)

	Income Level*					
	Low: Under $4,000		Medium: $4,000–$5,999		High: $6,000 and Over	
	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach
A. All Protestants and Catholics	133	50	164	47	182	50
B. All Protestants	108	44	116	49	134	52
All Catholics	25	71	48	60	48	46
C. Protestants:						
Young	34	56	49	49	43	51
Middle	19	26	33	48	48	54
Old	55	44	34	50	43	49
Catholics						
Young	7	86	17	60	15	33
Middle	4	75	18	72	18	67
Old	14	64	13	46	15	33

* Based on family income: 8 men's incomes not ascertained. Our basis for classifying income into low, medium and high was to establish near equal thirds for the entire distribution. We explored using a classification of high, medium, and low income which took account of the income distribution of each age group. We divided all young men's incomes (Protestant and Catholic) into thirds, and did this separately for middle-aged and older men respectively. This new division was so similar to the other that for simplicity we maintained the absolute division into low, medium, and high income as described above.

[21] No linear or curvilinear relationship between achievement motivation and income has been found in the total population (all religious groups). Cf. Veroff, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 24.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MEN WITH HIGH N ACHIEVEMENT SCORES (BY AGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY)

		Number of Children							
		0		1		2		3 or More	
Age	Religion	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach
All ages	Protestants	43	56	70	41	112	50	112	45
	Catholics	21	38	25	56	29	79	40	52
21–34	Protestants	18	67	26	54	44	55	27	30
	Catholics	6	17	14	71	8	63	8	37
35–49	Protestants	11	56	19	53	32	47	35	40
	Catholics	8	37	5	40	16	94	10	70
50 and over	Protestants	14	50	25	24	36	45	50	56
	Catholics	7	57	6	33	5	40	22	50

we considered another variable that also reflects economic pressure. During the middle years material requirements for the family—especially if the family is large—may be particularly demanding on the energies of a working man. If family size is positively related to n Achievement scores we would feel that we would have further corroboration of the hypothesis that economic pressure can fairly directly affect the aroused state of achievement motivation. Indeed we do find that the n Achievement scores of middle-aged Catholics do seem to be a function of the size of their families (Table 5). Middle-aged Catholic men with two or more children tend to have high n Achievement scores while those with smaller families tend to have low n Achievement scores.

For younger and middle-aged Protestants we find an inverse relationship between number of children and n Achievement scores, a relationship that might be interpreted to mean that a younger Protestant with strong motivation may postpone having children to accommodate his concentration on achievement strivings. And for younger Catholics we find no consistent relationship between number of children and achievement motivation.

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MEN WITH SMALL AND LARGE FAMILIES HAVING HIGH N ACHIEVEMENT SCORES (BY INCOME)

		Small Family[a]		Large Family[b]	
Religion	Income	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach
Protestants	Low	36	44	62	45
	Medium	33	54	76	47
	High	44	48	86	51
Catholics	Low	12	67	11	82
	Medium	13	46	33	64
	High	21	38	25	52

[a] One child or no children.
[b] Two or more children.

Both low income and a large family can induce considerable financial worry in any family man, especially when he is middle-aged and the family's demands are most apparent. For Catholics evidently, this worry may be translated into a heightened concern about achievement. This suggests that achievement motivation should be strongest among Catholics when they have both a large family and a small income. Both low income and large families seem to correlate independently with achievement concerns among Catholics: the negative correlation between income and achievement motivation found previously for all Catholics in the sample appears in men with both large and small families, and what is most important, at each income level, Catholic men with large families have higher n Achievement scores than Catholic men with small families.

DISCUSSION

Before we examine further what these results imply about Catholic-Protestant differences in achievement motivation, we

should clarify further the theoretical conception of the current thematic apperceptive measure of achievement motivation. The measure can reflect at one and the same time *situational pressures* inducing heightened achievement concerns (e.g., ego-involving tasks administered prior to the projective measure) and individual differences in the *disposition* to try to achieve. Thus, Atkinson makes the distinction between the latent motive to achieve and the level of motivation that is actively aroused at a given time or in a given task.[22]

From this point of view of the measuring instrument, we can potentially interpret the fact that certain Catholic groups have higher n Achievement scores than their Protestant counterparts as: (a) Catholics have higher latent achievement motives; or (b) Catholics face stronger situational arousal of achievement motivation than Protestants. What we conclude from our explorations of the Protestant-Catholic differences just reported and those we are about to present from our own investigations and from the work of others is that Catholics in certain life situations—in particular, conditions of economic hardships—have more achievement motivation aroused than Protestants. Catholics may or may not be different from Protestants with respect to the intensity of latent achievement motive. What we will argue, however, is that Catholics' latent motive to achieve is more clearly aroused by economic deprivation than is the latent achievement motive of Protestants. Protestants' achievement motive may be more easily aroused by other situations, but in situations reflecting economic hardship Catholics should have higher achievement motivation and consequently higher n Achievement scores than Protestants.

Why do we arrive at this position? First of all, we would contend that the finding which shows that low income and large families *independently* correlate with higher n Achievement scores among Catholics indicated that for them economic difficulty elicits a heightened achievement arousal. If we were to suggest that these results depend primarily on a strong dispositional difference among the Catholics at different economic levels, we would have to argue that a high achievement motive *results in a low income*. This conclusion contradicts all previous research.[23]

But why should economic deprivation heighten a Catholic's concern about achieving and not affect Protestants in a similar way? Why is there a negative relationship between n Achievement scores and size of family for Protestants?

Let us consider the relationship of achievement motivation and income once again. We originally anticipated a positive relationship between income and strength of the achievement motive *for all men,* that the amount of money earned would be proportional to the strength of the achievement motive.[24] When we found the negative relationship between n Achievement scores and income for Catholics we were led to recognize that we were ignoring the fact that low income can symbolically represent a failure situation for people—a situation that can serve as a strong arousal of achievement concerns. Failure in an achievement situation has been shown to increase achievement imagery in imaginative stories and thus increase the n Achievement scores based on these stories.[25] Why should this failure not affect Protestants? We would say that it does, and to the extent that it does, it lowers the positive correlation between income and achievement

[22] J. W. Atkinson, "Motivational Determinants of Risk-taking Behavior," in J. W. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society,* Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 322–340.

[23] Crockett has a good summary of the research findings that led him to expect greater intergenerational occupational mobility from those high in measured achievement motivation. Cf. H. J. Crockett, *Achievement Motivation and Occupational Mobility in the United States,* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960, pp. 1–37, and Crockett's paper in this issue of the *Review.*

[24] This same sort of reasoning has been used as an explanation for the fact that there is a positive correlation between n Achievement scores from this survey and occupational status, education attained and occupational mobility. Cf. Crockett's doctoral dissertation, and Veroff, *et al., op. cit.,* pp 22–24.

[25] In the original studies on the development of the thematic apperceptive technique, one group experimentally aroused by receiving false "poor" performance scores (called the "failure group") had a higher mean n Achievement score than control groups. Cf. D. C. McClelland, J. W. Atkinson, R. A. Clark, and E. L. Lowell, *op. cit.,* p. 152.

motive that we expected originally. But we are hypothesizing that this failure situation serves to arouse achievement concerns to such an extent in Catholics that it completely over-rides any positive relationship there may be between achievement disposition and income for Catholics.

What theoretical support do we offer for this hypothesis? We suggest that in the life experiences of the majority of Catholics we would find that pride in accomplishment, the presumed goal of the achievement motive is restricted to very specific realms of performance and is dependent upon highly concrete rewards, upon specific *extrinsic* feedback. We are hypothesizing that Catholics are trained to take pride from a limited number of activities—perhaps relegated to a very limited dimension of behaviors such as sports, household duties—while Protestants are trained to feel pride in accomplishment in these activities plus many more. We are further hypothesizing that Catholics are given clear objective rewards (material things) or clear-cut punishments (spanking for not achieving) while Protestants are given more abstract feedback about their performance—approval or disapproval, maneuvers of love and attentions from their parents or teachers. Protestant parents, stressing many areas of achieving with sanctions of love and withdrawal of love, should create a very generalized need for achievement whose maintenance in the child is highly internalized. Protestant children should more quickly learn to impose their own standards of excellence on performance, to set their own levels of aspirations without having to be guided by norms suggested from the outside. In terms of this hypothesis, the achievement motives of Protestants should develop as part of *internalized* moral characteristics, while the achievement motives of Catholics should develop along with *externalized* pressure for moral behavior.

Two further observations. First, we expect that an arousing situation will more reliably engage the motive of a person who was specially trained to that situation than the motive of someone whose achievement training was more generalized. Since we think that Catholics are trained more specifically to the situation where their rewards and punishment are concretely pinpointed, economic success or failure as tangible reinforcements should more effectively arouse Catholics' achievement disposition than that of Protestants. And secondly, when a person who is trained to express achievement interests in a *variety* of situations is compared with one who has been trained to expect pride in accomplishment in a limited number of situations, the latter person might theoretically have *stronger* motivation in any situation that arouses achievement tendencies in both kinds of people. Those limited in their expression of motivation to a few situations might have intense motivations for the situations that *are* of concern to them, while those whose expression of motivation can be directed to many situations should have weaker motivations for any one situation.

For both of these reasons, we would expect the achievement motivation of people raised under conditions stressing material rewards to be particularly sensitive to external criteria of success or failure. In addition, they would be particularly sensitive to such criteria because material (as opposed to abstract) rewards are not conducive to building an internalized reward system but foster a dependence on external criteria. The economic hardship or stress accompanying lower income and the heightened demands of a growing large family, can be readily interpreted as failure by a person who does depend on external sanctions for his performance. Presumably the Catholic raised in a concrete reward-punishment system might be more prone than the Protestant to react to this externalized failure—low income and the demands of a large family.

Does Catholic child-rearing differ from Protestant child-rearing in a way that would substantiate any of the above hypotheses? In an urban Detroit survey, Miller and Swanson,[26] controlling for social class, have found that Protestant mothers are likely to use symbolic sanctions as discipline (scolding or restriction of privileges) more often than Catholic mothers; the latter are more likely to use physical sanctions (particularly

[26] These findings are derived from retrospective self-reports. Cf. D. R. Miller, and G. E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent*, New York: John Wiley, 1958, pp. 158–177.

spanking). They also find that Catholics tend to use *material* rewards for good behavior more than Protestants. Neither of these Catholic training methods would be conducive to generating abstract, symbolic achievement goals. Other researches [27] have suggested that Catholic child-rearing is likely to be relatively restrictive. Miller and Swanson also show that Catholic parents in Detroit are more concerned with obedience from their children (and thus more restrictive with them). Data from the present national sample confirm this for the country as a whole. Mothers in our sample were asked to choose from a variety of alternatives [28] the things they most enjoy about their children. The Catholic mothers chose restrictive items: "When they listen to what you tell them to do," and "when they are clean and neat" more than Protestant mothers in this sample (Table 7). This result is maintained when we control for number of children. Furthermore although Protestants do not differ from Catholics in the age of independence they expect from their children,[29] Protestant mothers do seem to emphasize more than Catholics a concern about learning for internalized general goals. One of the alternatives to be selected from the list of things enjoyed about children was "when they learn to do something after they have tried for a long time." Protestant mothers more than Catholic mothers select this alternative as a high preference (36% to 23%).

[27] Recent explorations by McClelland in Germany report that Catholics tend to be more restrictive. Cf. D. C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1961.

[28] The entire list of alternatives and the instruction appears below: For every parent, there are times when you enjoy your children more than other times, or things that you enjoy most doing for them. Here is a list of different things and times with children that parents have told us they enjoyed I'd like you to look this list over and tell me the *two* that you have found nicest about little children.

1. When they listen to what you tell them to do.
2. When they are clean and neat.
3. When they are polite and well-behaved with other people.
4. When they hug and kiss you.
5. When they play nicely with other children.
6. When they learn to do something after they have tried for a long time.
7. Playing with them.

[29] Reported in Sheila C. Feld, *op. cit.*

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MOTHERS PREFERRING RESTRICTIVE CHILD BEHAVIOR ITEMS (BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN)

Number of Children	Religion	N[a]	% Preferring Restrictive Behavior[b]
One	Protestants	71	35
	Catholics	15	53
Two	Protestants	88	27
	Catholics	36	39
Three or more	Protestants	105	40
	Catholics	25	60

[a] Question asked only of two-thirds of total sample of women with children age 16 or under.

[b] Refers to the percentage checking one or both of two items from a check-list of things or times enjoyed with children:

"When they listen to what you tell them to do" and/or

"When they are clean and neat."

If Catholics are more restrictive in child-rearing and present their children with more concrete goals for achievement, they may stymie the development of a generalized need for achievement and create, rather, dispositions to be motivated to do well only in limited circumstances—when objective concrete criteria tell the person that doing well is important. Therefore, financial accomplishment or income attained may be especially potent cues for the arousal of a Catholic's achievement concerns.

The difference in ideology of Catholics and Protestants coincides with this distinction. The practice of Catholicism involves a number of specific ways of achieving salvation, spelled out in concrete terms. As Weber points out, Catholics can measure salvation from day to day. Not so with many Protestant denominations. The ministry of God within each individual is a Protestant tenet that encourages abstraction and reliance on symbolic attainment for rewards over an extended life span.

The fact that achievement motivation seems to be dependent on family size for Catholics could be related to Catholic-Protestant differences that have not yet been touched upon. Catholics are thought to be considerably more family-oriented in general than Protestants. The centrality of children to marriage is strongly integrated into the theology of Catholicism more than into Protestantism. One might expect that

oncerns about achievement may stem more lirectly from being a family man for Cathılics than for Protestants. This is evidenced n another finding from the national survey: or Catholics, high n Achievement scores are ssociated with the mention of family wories as things generally worried about; for 'rotestants *low* n Achievement scores are ssociated with mentioning family worries s general worries.[30] If his achievement moivation is positively connected to his family oncern, then a Catholic may be expected to espond with high achievement arousal when ıe is failing his family—that is, when he is arning too little. This is especially relevant or Catholics with big families.[31]

ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

The foregoing interpretation of the results f this study hinge on the assumption that igher n Achievement scores in Catholics nder economic hardship reflect greater sitational arousal of achievement motivation ı Catholics than in Protestants. Two alterative interpretations can be examined.

With regard to income, one can perhaps xplain the different findings for Catholics nd Protestants by assuming that social rejudice may attenuate the inherent posiive relationship of achievement motivation) income for Catholics. Crockett[32] has ound a general relationship between up'ard mobility and high n Achievement cores. If we assume Catholics face barriers) status we would suspect that the foreoing relationship is more possible for Protstants. But, mobility on a national basis eems to be related to n Achievement scores or both groups.

With regard to family size it remains a distinct possibility that adequate provision for a large family may be an active achievement *incentive* for Catholics rather than a financial burden. Catholics with strong achievement motivation may strive to have large families in a way that Protestants do not.

Although we present these alternative views on the ways in which the achievement motive may *induce* different behavior in Catholics and Protestants, the evidence seems to be stronger for interpreting the observed differences as a difference in meaning of economic situational *arousal* of achievement motivation in Catholics and Protestants. In making this situational interpretation, however, we have speculated about the possibility that the achievement *motive* (i.e., the disposition to achieve) in Catholics and Protestants may have certain qualitative differences, based on very early learning experience.

RECONCILIATION WITH PREVIOUS FINDINGS

We have already pointed to the possible under-representation of lower income groups in the McClelland and Rosen samples. It should be further noted that the geographic locale from which those samples were drawn not only is one with a high income level, but is also the area of the country with a heavy concentration of Catholics. Therefore, the decision to live in other parts of the country can represent highly individualistic behavior; living in other regions may imply more self-reliance, more need to prove oneself as a minority group member, and hence more impetus for mobility and achievement. We would assume that Catholics living in areas outside of the Northeastern United States are more upwardly mobile.

A comparison of the achievement motivation of Protestants and Catholics in the Northeast, in contrast to other regions, reveals interesting regional differences. The percentage of Protestants and Catholics with high n Achievement scores at each income level is shown in Table 8.

For the most part, Catholics are stronger than Protestants in measured achievement motivation. The only instance where Protestants are evidently *stronger* than Catholics

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[30] We find that direct statements of economic or ıb worries are more directly tied to *high* achieveıent motivation in Protestants than in Catholics.

[31] Also if *expected* size of family is psychologilly relevant to felt economic pressure, then Cathic men would feel more pressure than Protestant ıen at any given family size since the Catholics enerally expect larger families than Protestants. or Protestants, the family and its size should have ttle to do directly with the strength of achievement ıotivation. These results are reported in R. Freedan, P. K. Whelpton, and A. A. Campbell, *Family lanning, Sterility, and Population Growth,* New ork: McGraw-Hill, 1959, p. 285.

[32] H. J. Crockett, *op. cit.*

is in n Achievement scores among high income men in the Northeast. We suggest that this is the sample from which McClelland and Rosen were drawing most of their Ss.

It is also apparent in Table 8 that the clear negative relationship previously found between income and achievement motivation among Catholics occurs differently in the different regions. It is most clear for Northeastern Catholics where the outstanding finding is that n Achievement scores in the highest income group are very low, and for Catholics in other regions the outstanding finding is that the n Achievement scores of the lowest income group are high. The meaning of these results is not clear to us, but they do serve to highlight that being a Catholic can have strikingly different implications in different parts of this country.[33] In the Northeast, Catholics come nearer to being a majority group than elsewhere. This difference in numbers could very well have important significance for establishing the character of the reference group evaluating one's achievement. Could it be that Northeastern Catholics refer themselves to Catholic standards of behavior more easily than other Catholics who, being a smaller minority group, adopt the extra-religious achievement values of the majority group even more fervently than the majority?

Table 8. Percentage of Protestant and Catholic Men at Three Income Levels with High n Achievement Scores (By Region)

	Income Level					
	Low: under $4,000		Medium: $4,000–$5,999		High: $6,000 and Over	
Region	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach	N	% High n Ach
Northeast						
Protestants	16	44	23	39	32	47
Catholics	15	67	28	71	24	30
All Other						
Protestants	93	45	93	52	106	51
Catholics	10	80	20	50	24	70

CONCLUSIONS

In concluding this discussion of differences in the achievement motivation of a representative sample of American Protestant and Catholic men, we should like to highlight the following:

1. On a national level, Catholic men tend to have higher n achievement scores than Protestant men.

2. This difference seems to be attributable to the religious difference rather than such social characteristics as region, place of residence, or generation.

3. For Catholics, n Achievement scores are negatively related to income (the higher the income, the lower the n Achievement scores) and positively related to family size (the larger the family, the higher the n Achievement scores). For Protestants, n Achievement scores show a slight positive association with income and no relationship with number of children. We interpret these findings to indicate that Catholic men's achievement motivation is aroused by the specific pressures of economic hardship, while for Protestants, economic difficulties do not as reliably engage such motivation.

4. Support for an hypothesis that Catholics' achievement motivation is specifically engaged by environmental pressures while Protestants have more generalized abstract strivings comes from examining theoretically and empirically the kinds of child-rearing

[33] What may be even more critical is the concentration or dispersion of the ethnic culture from which first, second, or perhaps even later generations of Catholics may be derived. Rosen (*op. cit.*) has found that it makes a difference whether one is referring to French-Canadian Catholics or to Italian Catholics. Further research on this problem may center on areas of settlement of different ethnic groups.

attitudes characteristic of Protestant and Catholic homes. Catholic women in the national sample selected restrictive characteristics more often than Protestant women when asked what they liked about their children. Protestant women were more likely to select an alternative dealing with abstract mastery goals for the child.

5. We reconcile our present findings with those of McClelland, *et al.*, and Rosen that showed Protestants reporting higher achievement standards for their children than Catholics, by pointing to the fact that we also find Protestant men higher in n Achievement scores among the groups they were probably dealing with—upper-income Northeasterners. Their findings do not seem to generalize beyond this group. Indeed, we would suggest that one has to take full account of the particular social background of Catholics and Protestants before one can begin to understand differences in the achievement motivation of the religious groups. Catholic doctrine must have a great deal of influence on child-rearing and hence the creation of personality dispositions. But the situational effects that the social milieu has on these dispositions—region, socio-economic status, education, income, size of family—may be so large as to cancel out any real differences between the personality dispositions of Catholics and Protestants which may be there. With Catholics, evidently, we must take these other characteristics into account before we get a meaningful picture of the impact of their religion on their motives and thinking. Especially important may be the extent to which they are a minority group in a given area.

Our impression is that the Protestant Ethic hypothesis when used to contrast achievement motivated Protestants and Catholics has many new facets to be considered within certain social conditions. The hypothesis does seem to work simply only at the upper status positions of a well integrated, fairly prosperous, economic structure, in the established Northeastern parts of the United States. Perhaps this region is more typical of the European structure Weber originally observed. Change in the tempo of capitalism in America, change in the Calvinistic ideology in Protestant groups, changes in direction to Catholic living in a highly mobile society, may all contribute to making the Protestant Ethic less generally discernible and outstanding as a way of life geared to achievement in modern America.

Furthermore, the meaning of achievement motivation in different groups may vary. We have hypothesized that Protestants in contrast to Catholics generally may have more internalized standards for evaluating their performance and have more generalized achievement motivation. Such an hypothesis needs further research. What these speculations suggest, however, is that the incentives and vehicles for achievement taught to young children may have important bearings not only on the differences in achievement motivation *among* religious groups and other social groups, but also on the quality of individual differences in achievement motivation *within* any group.

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE AND WORLDLY SUCCESS *

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The relationship between religious preference and worldly success as currently found in metropolitan Detroit is analyzed. The data are derived from a series of personal interviews with probability samples of all greater Detroit adults. White and nonwhite adults are analyzed separately. An attempt is made to place all religious denominations on an "equal footing" with respect to those ascribed factors which are conducive to high economic achievement (the attainment of valued achieved status) in an urban environment. Actual achievement is then measured against the potential for this performance. The results offer some support for a contemporary interpretation of the Weberian thesis of the Protestant ethic, while presenting important modifications. Most Protestant denominations far exceed the Catholics in economic standing, and the various Protestant denominations are ranked in a general order which is in substantial agreement with expectations. Possible explanations for the high achievement of Jews and Detroiters of the Eastern Orthodox faith are presented.

To what extent does the theory of the Protestant ethic apply to the population of a modern American metropolitan community? Previous research has pointed out some of the significant social and economic differences that exist among the major religious groupings in the United States.[1] In this paper we are concerned primarily with the specific relationship between religious preference and worldly success. Dependence on the writings of Weber, Sombart, and Tawney is obvious.[2] We fully appreciate the disservice paid to these scholars when their theories are applied directly to a mature industrial community. Nonetheless, the "Weberian controversy," as Lenski calls it,[3] is an important concern of many social scientists who basically are interested in understanding contemporary western society.

An inquiry into the meaning of religion to different denomination groups and the strength of religious expression, valuable as this would be, is beyond the scope of the present paper. Rather, we are here accepting only the denominational label with which an individual associates himself, and investigating the hypothesis that differing religious preferences are associated with varying degrees of worldly success.

This hypothesis is founded on the assumption of a basic distinction in the life orientations which are held by Catholics as compared with Protestants. The powerfully reinforced and traditional Roman Catholic Church tends to orient its members toward the hereafter; successful performance in the market place and the acquisition of the symbols of economic achievement are of relatively little importance as an indication of the Catholic's status after death. On the other hand, adherents of Protestantism are assumed to be highly concerned with worldly success and the attainment of material possession, status, and the prestige that is associated with upward social mobility. These things often are viewed as indications that salvation is assured, or at least is more probable.

To the degree that religious orientations toward life are reflected in behavior, this theory would lead us to expect Protestants to excel Catholics in the race for worldly success. Protestantism in contemporary America, however, is hardly a homogeneous

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[1] See, e.g, Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 256 (March, 1948), pp. 84–91; David Goldberg and Harry Sharp, "Some Characteristics of Detroit Area Jewish and Non-Jewish Adults," in Marshall Sklare, editor, *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 107–118.

[2] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930; Werner Sombart, *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*, trans. by M. Epstein, London: F. Unwin, 1913; R H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926.

[3] Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor*, New York Doubleday, 1961, p. 6.

religious faith. We expect variations among the major Protestant denominations both with respect to adherence to the Protestant ethic and to economic achievement. Thus, this research does not group all Protestants under a common rubric, but considers the major denominations separately.

Members of the Jewish faith and adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church do not fit into the theory as summarized above. According to Sombart, the Jews played a prominent supportive role in the rise of capitalism.[4] On this basis, we would hypothesize that the Jewish group should bear a greater resemblence to Protestants rather than to Catholics, were all religious groups measured by a scale of economic achievement. The comparative standing on an achievement scale of the adherents of Eastern Orthodoxy was not predicted at the start of the research.

Religion does not exist as an independent attribute of the individual, but is closely bound to important cultural variables such as urbanism, ethnicity, nativity, and experience in a specific community. Thus, in an investigation of the type proposed here, the question must be answered: Is it the religion itself, operating through a network of values stemming from one's religious faith, that produces varying degrees of economic success? Or are other factors, correlated with but not "caused by" a given religious preference, instrumental in the degree of success achieved by a given religious group?

THE DATA

The data employed in this research were collected by The University of Michigan's Detroit Area Study. Each year since 1952 the Detroit Area Study has conducted a survey of the metropolitan Detroit community.[5] The present discussion focuses on data obtained from 1954 through 1959. The objectives of these surveys required a sample of the adult population of greater Detroit that would be representative, within known confidence limits, of all non-institutionalized adults in the community.

For this research, strict probability samples were constructed which allowed the assignment of specific addresses at which interviews were to be obtained. No substitutions of any kind were permitted. Certain information was obtained about every adult who lived in the sampled dwelling units. Although the specific topics covered by each annual survey varied, demographic and socio-economic data were collected in a uniform manner. In this paper, the six surveys taken between 1954 and 1959 were combined and analyzed as though they constituted a single operation. By doing so, we are able to work with a maximum N of over 9,000 adults.

Adults in the sample were classified by religious preference on the basis of their answers to these questions:

> Do you have a religious preference?
> (If Yes) Are you Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?
> (If Protestant) What specific denomination is that?

For purposes of analysis, the total sample was grouped into twelve denominational categories: Catholic, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Calvinist,[6] Methodist, Baptist, Small Neo-Fundamentalist Protestant Sects,[7] Non-Denominational Protestant, Semi-Christian Churches,[8] and No Religious Preference.

ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

From one perspective, life in a modern community may be viewed as a hotly contested foot race in which families vie with one another in the hope of material reward. The rewards are rather well defined in western society; they include such achievements as economic success, collection of worldly assets, and the status to be derived from

[4] Sombart, *op. cit.*

[5] For a description of this research organization, see: Harry Sharp, "Graduate Training Through the Detroit Area Study," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1961), pp. 110–114.

[6] Included in this classification are Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Evangelical and Reformed, and Dutch Reformed.

[7] E.g., Jehovah's Witnesses, United Missionary, Pentecostal Churches.

[8] This category includes such groups as the Latter Day Saints, the Christian Scientists, and the Spiritualists. The classification, of course, represents more of a residual grouping than a meaningful distinction.

the attainment of these culturally approved goals.

Through the use of a number of indices, all of which repeatedly have been shown to be highly interconnected, we have measured the relative success of the major religious denominations in this race. At the same time, we have attempted to account for the fact that not all denominations are equally favored with background factors that are helpful in the winning of economic success in a metropolitan community.

Each of the variables measured by the indices used here can be categorized as *achieved* or *ascribed,* following the conceptualization developed by Linton.[9] The relative position of a given religious group on an *achieved* variable index may be regarded as the result of the efforts of the individuals comprising that group. Correspondingly, the position of a given group on the *ascribed* variable index is here regarded as an "accident of birth;" ascribed status is given to the individual when he is born or while he is still a dependent minor.

Continuing with the analogy to a foot race, a system of "handicapping" has been devised which at least partially removes the effect of ascribed factors on worldly success. The handicapping consists of weighting the ascribed variables in such a way that no group has an unfair advantage at the start of the contest. Thus, the relationship of religion to achievement can be more clearly seen.

ASCRIBED FACTORS

Ascribed background factors were analyzed through the use of three continua: rural-urban background, foreign-native background, and extent of experience in metropolitan Detroit. Each major religious group in the Detroit area was ranked with respect to these factors. In this ranking, one polar extreme would be a religious group all of whose members had no rural experience, were born in this country of fathers who were also native-born, and had spent their entire adult lives in greater Detroit. The advantages for this hypothetical group are maximal since its members would have had the greatest opportunity to acquire property, education, and maximum familiarity with the cultural setting in which they now live. The opposite extreme would consist of a group all of whose members had a rural background, are of foreign birth, and have had a relatively short residence in greater Detroit. For this hypothetical denomination, familiarity with the ways and customs of a modern metropolis, and hence opportunities for success, would be at a minimum; their ascribed advantage would therefore be minimal.

Each of these ascribed background factors was further redefined. Rural-urban experience was measured in three ways: (1) percentage of each group having no farm experience (the higher the proportion without farm experience, the greater the presumed familiarity with an urban way of life); (2) percentage of each group born in cities of 50,000 or more persons; and (3) percentage of each group born outside the rural South. An additional handicap was given for rural southern United States birth under the assumption that cultural differences between the North and the South constitute a substantial disadvantage for those residents of metropolitan Detroit who were born in the southern United States.

Three indices, each with a somewhat different connotation, were used in measuring the effect of foreign background: (1) percentage of each group whose fathers were born in the United States; (2) percentage of each group whose fathers were of Northwestern European derivation (this measure attempts to "correct" for ethnically based differences in social status by assigning a higher handicap to persons of non-Northwest European stock); and (3) percentage of the members of each group who themselves are native-born Americans or were born in Canada.

It was also assumed that adults who have spent all or a major share of their lives in greater Detroit have an economic advantage over more recent arrivals in the community. Two indices were built for this ascribed factor: (1) the proportion of a given group's adherents who are native Detroiters; and (2) the percentage of each group's members who came to the Detroit area before the age

[9] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936, Chapter 8.

TABLE 1. ASCRIBED FACTORS, BY RELIGIOUS GROUP AND RACE

Religious Group and Race	Ascribed Factors: Rural Background			Foreign Background			Specific Detroit Background		Number of Cases*
	% with No Farm Back-ground	% Born in Cities of 50,000+	% Not Born in Rural South	% with Native Born Fathers	% with Fathers of N-W European Stock	% Born in U.S. or Canada	% Born in Detroit Area	% in Detroit Before Age 15	
White									
Catholic	77	54	99	36	46	81	45	68	3,307
Episcopalian	84	44	100	46	95	82	32	42	289
Lutheran	74	53	99	52	84	90	42	55	778
Calvinist	75	46	98	59	90	90	33	46	723
Methodist	64	34	92	69	92	95	24	36	750
Baptist	44	24	72	80	96	97	17	29	727
Small sects	49	26	85	68	87	93	21	33	232
No *denomination*	*60*	*35*	*70*	*68*	*91*	*92*	*12*	*42*	*194*
Semi-Christian	64	50	92	63	89	96	26	39	96
Jewish	90	63	100	4	10	70	42	58	234
Eastern Orthodox	61	33	99	3	8	42	19	33	169
No preference	74	44	94	49	64	85	39	54	239
Negro									
Catholic	76	50	89	..	..	..	23	41	75
Methodist	62	39	73	..	..	..	12	26	316
Baptist	43	23	68	..	..	..	7	20	938
Other	60	36	72	..	..	..	18	32	164

* The N's given here are applicable to all following tables.

of fifteen. Together, these indices measure specific experience in this particular cultural environment.[10]

Table 1 presents the data for the ascribed factors. White and Negro Detroiters are considered separately in this table; given the social significance of race in American society, it would be completely unrealistic to do otherwise.

Although the figures in Table 1 reveal some striking relationships, full comprehension of these data is difficult without further summarizing. Therefore, in Table 2 each index of the three ascribed factors was analyzed in terms of quartiles. Of the twelve religious preferences in the white population, the three ranking highest on each ascribed characteristic were given the weight of four, the next three highest were given the weight of three, and so forth. The four religious categories in the Negro population were handled in a comparable manner on the relevant variables, with the obvious exception that only one preference was in each quartile of the index.

For whites, the foreign and rural background categories each consisted of three indices. The third factor (Specific Detroit Background) consisted of two indices. Specific Detroit Background was given a weight equivalent to each of the first two factors by increasing it 50 per cent. As a result, each of the three ascribed variables had a possible maximum weight of twelve (4 x 3, or 6 x 2). The grand total maximum weight for the ascribed factors in the white population would therefore be 12 x 3, or thirty-six.

For Negro Detroiters, quartile rankings on Specific Detroit Background were also increased by 50 per cent. Since foreign background was not a variable for Negroes, the grand total weight for this population group was 12 x 2, or twenty-four.

In the white population, Lutherans (with a value of 28.8) are in the most advantageous position with respect to the ascribed factors, followed by a cluster of three groups: Jews (27.0), Episcopalians (26.7), and Calvinists (26.5). Detroiters of the Eastern Orthodox faith possess the least advantage (12.3) with the members of the small sects (16.0) and the Baptists (18.0) also at a comparative disadvantage.

The rankings on the ascribed variables are generally in accord with preconception Detroit area Lutherans, Jews, Episcopalians, and Calvinists are highly urban, and, as a group, have a very large proportion of native-born Detroiters. The Jewish advantage is tempered, however, by the greater proportion of foreign-born among Jews as compared to other religious preferences. The Eastern Orthodox are economically handicapped, not only because a majority of these persons are foreign-born, but also because of their limited urban background before coming to Detroit and the comparatively late age at which they arrived in this community. The Baptists, although largely of native birth, are among the lowest of the religious groups in urban background and specific Detroit experience.

Among Negro Detroiters, the Baptist faith is by far the most common denomination. Negro Baptists also are in the least advantageous position with respect to the possession of those ascribed characteristics which, we have assumed, lead most readily to economic achievement. Negro Catholics (a minority within a minority, to be sure) are a comparatively urban group and therefore rank at the top of each of the indices of ascribed factors.

In following the above procedure, we obviously have assumed that one unit of urban experience, one unit of specific Detroit experience, and one unit of foreign birth can be considered as equivalent. This assumption was necessary as a result of summing these different measures to produce a unique index value. Given the present level of knowledge, the degree to which this assumption is in error cannot be evaluated. We offer this procedure as an admittedly rough approximation to "reality," and hope that further research in this area will result in progressively more accurate refinements.

[10] A rationale for the assumptions involved in the assignment of handicaps may be found in: Ronald Freedman and Deborah Freedman, "Farm Boy in the City," in Ronald Freedman, *et al., Principles of Sociology,* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956, pp 461–471; Basil Zimmer, "Farm Background and Urban Participation," *American Journal of Sociology,* 61 (March, 1956), pp. 470–475; Albert Mayer and Sue Marx, "Social Change, Religion, and Birth Rates," *American Journal of Sociology,* 62 (January, 1957), pp. 383–390.

TABLE 2. QUARTILE RANKING AND TOTAL WEIGHTS OF ASCRIBED FACTORS, BY RELIGIOUS GROUP AND RACE

	Quartile Ranking on Ascribed Factors								
	Rural Background			Foreign Background			Specific Detroit Background*		
Religious Group and Race	% with No Farm Back-ground	% Born in Cities of 50,000+	% Not Born in Rural South	% with Native Born Fathers	% with Fathers of N-W European Stock	% Born in U.S. or Canada	% Born in Detroit Area	% in Detroit Before Age 15	Grand Total All Ascribed Factors
White									
Catholic	4	4	3 3	1	1	1	6	6	26.3
Episcopalian	4	2.5	4	4	2	2	4 5	3 8	26.7
Lutheran	3	4	3.3	2	2	2.5	6	6	28.8
Calvinist	3	3	3	3	3	2 5	4 5	4 5	26.5
Methodist	2	2	2	4	4	4	3	3	24.0
Baptist	1	1	1	4	4	4	1 5	1 5	18.0
Small sects	1	1	1	2	3 5	3	3	1.5	16.0
No denomination	1	2	1	3	3 5	3	1 5	3.7	18.7
Semi-Christian	2	3	2	3	3	4	3	3	23.0
Jewish	4	4	4	1	1	1	6	6	27.0
Eastern Orthodox	2	1	3 3	1	1	1	1.5	1 5	12.3
No preference	3	2 5	2	2	2	2	4.5	4 5	22.5
Negro									
Catholic	4	4	4	..	..	..	6	6	24.0
Methodist	3	3	3	..	..	..	3	3	15.0
Baptist	1	1	1	..		..	1.5	1.5	6.0
Other	2	2	2	.	..	..	4.5	4.5	15.0

* Quartile weights for Specific Detroit Background inflated by 50 per cent to equalize weights between background factors.

TABLE 3. ACHIEVED FACTORS, BY RELIGIOUS GROUP AND RACE

Religious Group and Race	Achieved Factors				
	% $2,000 and Above Median Income	% Self-Employed	% in High Status Occupations	Median School Year Completed	% in Three or More Formal Groups
White					
Catholic	27	7	19	10.0	14
Episcopalian	35	9	42	12.5	42
Lutheran	30	6	28	12.2	17
Calvinist	35	11	37	12.5	21
Methodist	32	8	27	12.3	23
Baptist	21	6	15	9.8	8
Small sects	16	11	17	9.5	9
No denomination	29	11	26	12.0	17
Semi-Christian	24	15	39	12.4	19
Jewish	42	41	62	12.5	45
Eastern Orthodox	35	15	13	9.3	8
No preference	23	9	28	10.0	7
Negro					
Catholic	6	4	7	10.0	8
Methodist	7	5	6	9.8	12
Baptist	8	3	3	9 1	7
Other	12	10	15	9.8	10

ACHIEVED FACTORS

Five indices were used in measuring the social and economic achievements of the major religious groups in greater Detroit: (1) relative ranking on family income, given as the percentage of each group earning $2,000 or more *above* the median Detroit area family income for a given year;[11] (2) percentage of self-employed in each group; (3) percentage of the members of each group who are in high status white-collar occupations (professionals, managers, proprietors, or officials); (4) median school year completed; and (5) percentage of persons of each religious preference who are members of three or more formal social groups.[12] These five indices, then, attempt to measure worldly success. They are shown in Table 3.

The quartile grouping described above for the ascribed factors was applied in a comparable manner to the achieved factors. For both whites and Negroes, the total maximum weight that any religious group might have on the achieved factors would be twenty (4 x 5). The results of these operations may be seen in Table 4.

With respect to the white population, Jews (with a rating of 20.0) show the greatest achievement as we have measured it. They are followed by Episcopalians (17.7), Calvinists (16.7) and the Semi-Christian group (16.0). The other end of the scale represents low achievement. Here are found Baptists (5.0), and Catholics and small Protestant sects (both with a rating of 8.0).

Among Negroes, the greatest achievement is shown by adults who are categorized as "Other" in Table 4. They score 17.5 on our measure. Negro Methodists rank second on achievement (13.5), and are followed closely by Negro Catholics (12.0). Negro Baptists

[11] Income data for this study were gathered over a period of six years. During that time, average income rose greatly so that interviews collected at the beginning of the period are not comparable with those taken at the end of the period. To correct for this change, the median income for the total population was used as a center point for each individual year, and the income of each family was distributed into number of dollars above or below the median.

[12] The relationship of formal group membership to economic success has been repeatedly demonstrated. For example, see: Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 13–18.

TABLE 4. QUARTILE RANKING AND TOTAL WEIGHTS OF ACHIEVED FACTORS, BY RELIGIOUS GROUP AND RACE

Religious Group and Race	Quartile Ranking on Achieved Factors: % $2,000 and Above Median Income	% Self-Employed	% in High Status Occupations	Median School Year Completed	% in Three or More Formal Groups	Grand Total All Achieved Factors
White						
Catholic	2	1	1	2	2	8.0
Episcopalian	3.7	2	4	4	4	17.7
Lutheran	3	1	3	3	2.5	12.5
Calvinist	3.7	3	3	4	3	16.7
Methodist	3	2	2	3	4	14.0
Baptist	1	1	1	1	1	5.0
Small sects	1	3	1	1	2	8.0
No denomination	2	3	2	2	2.5	11.5
Semi-Christian	2	4	4	3	3	16.0
Jewish	4	4	4	4	4	20.0
Eastern Orthodox	3.7	4	2	1	1	11.7
No preference	1	2	3	2	1	9.0
Negro						
Catholic	1	2	3	4	2	12.0
Methodist	2	3	2	2.5	4	13.5
Baptist	3	1	1	1	1	7.0
Other	4	4	4	2.5	3	17.5

are a rather distant fourth with a rating of 7.0.

In general, the achievement rankings shown here are consistent with the findings of previous research, both on a national basis [13] and for individual communities.[14] Episcopalians, Calvinists, and Unitarians are usually ranked high on economic status. Also, Jews generally are a relatively high economic status group in metropolitan centers other than New York City.[15] Moreover, the very low status of Baptists and small Protestant sects is not surprising, although the relatively low ranking of Detroit area Catholics [16] is not consistently reported by other studies.

RELATIONSHIP OF ASCRIBED TO ACHIEVED FACTORS

To evaluate the contribution of ascribed background factors to variations in socio-economic status, the ascription handicap was subtracted from a *weighted* achievement rating for each religious group. Weighting of the achievement measure was necessary to convert this variable to the same scale as the ascribed rating. The total achievement rating for each white denomination was weighted by nine-fifths; for Negro religious groups, the weight was six-fifths. It should be noted that this process in no way changes the relative weights, but simply facilitates comparison between achieved and ascribed factors. The results of this procedure are shown in Table 5.

Returning once more to the analogy of a foot race, we are now in a position to judge the results of this contest. To review, in investigating the relationships between religious preference and worldly success in

[13] Pope, *op. cit.*

[14] August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, pp. 107–108; Lloyd W. Warner, Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America,* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, pp. 52–56.

[15] S. Joseph Fauman, "Occupational Selection Among Detroit Jews," in Sklare, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–137; Nathan Glazer, "The American Jew and the Attainment of Middle Class Rank," in Sklare, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–146; Goldberg and Sharp, *op. cit.*

[16] A recent investigation of greater Detroit's religious structure, also utilizing Detroit Area Study data, discussed in detail the economic status of Catholics and non-Catholics in this community. Neil Jack Weller, "Religion and Social Mobility in Industrial Society," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Sociology, The University of Michigan, 1960.

TABLE 5. TOTAL INFLATED WEIGHTS OF ACHIEVED FACTORS LESS TOTAL WEIGHTS OF ASCRIBED FACTORS, BY RELIGIOUS GROUP AND RACE

Religious Group and Race	Total of Factors: Achieved Factors*	Ascribed Factors	Achieved Less Ascribed
White			
Catholic	14.4	26.3	−11.9
Episcopalian	31.9	26.7	+ 5.2
Lutheran	22.5	28.8	− 6.3
Calvinist	30.0	26.5	+ 3.5
Methodist	25.2	24.0	+ 1.2
Baptist	9.0	18.0	− 9.0
Small sects	14 4	16.0	− 1.6
No denomination	20.7	18.7	+ 2.0
Semi-Christian	28.8	23.0	+ 5.8
Jewish	36.0	27.0	+ 9.0
Eastern Orthodox	21.0	12.3	+ 8.7
No preference	16.2	22.5	− 6.3
Negro			
Catholic	14.4	24.0	− 9.6
Methodist	16.2	15.0	+ 1.2
Baptist	8.4	6 0	+ 2.4
Other	21.0	15 0	+ 6.0

* Totals inflated by 1 8 for whites and by 1.2 for Negroes to equalize weights between ascribed and achieved factors.

metropolitan Detroit, we endeavored to place all denominations on an "equal footing" with respect to those background factors which are conducive to high economic achievement in an urban environment. Actual achievement was then measured against the potential for this performance. The final ranking of the religious groups, taking the starting handicaps into consideration, is as follows:

White: Jewish
Eastern Orthodox
Semi-Christian
Episcopalian
Calvinist
Protestant, no denomination
Methodist
Small sects
No preference, Lutheran (tie)
Baptist
Catholic
Negro: Other than the below
Baptist
Methodist
Catholic

For many religious groups, the handicapping produced a final ranking which was comparable to that based on achievement alone. However, several interesting exceptions may be seen. The most significant change in rank occurred in the Eastern Orthodox group which, when its handicap was applied, jumped high on the scale. The Baptists also rose one notch on the scale, thereby surpassing Catholics among both whites and Negroes.

A striking picture emerges from these data. Members of the Jewish, Greek Orthodox, and Semi-Christian faiths appear to have made the greatest achievements, given the system followed here. Behind these three groups are the several major Protestant denominations, with Baptists ranking below those white Detroiters who have no religious preference. For both whites and Negroes, the Catholics have had the least economic success as measured by our index.

Although these indices are crude and the resultant quantification somewhat specious, the major findings are not easily dismissed. We believe that no amount of statistical manipulation, even if more precise or elegant than that employed here, would appreciably change the broad outline of these rankings. To summarize our findings as they apply to white residents of greater Detroit: (1) Jews, followed closely by Episcopalians and Calvinists, have achieved the greatest worldly success. In the middle range are the remaining Protestant groups, with Baptists falling toward the end of the economic scale Catholics have achieved the least. (2) If an ascription "handicap" is considered, the Eastern Orthodox group, closely followed by adherents of the Semi-Christian faiths, join the Jewish group at the top of the scale. An additional conclusion is that Catholicism is related to economic achievement among Negroes much as it is among whites.

INTERPRETATION

Previous research, in general, has failed to reach agreement as to the nature of the relationship between religious preference and economic achievement. Several investigations have discovered a comparative absence of Catholics among the economic and social élite of America.[17] Low Catholic achieve-

[17] These studies are reviewed in Weller, *ibid.*, pp 23-26. Weller's own research is in substantial agree-

ment motivation has also been pointed out.[18] On the other hand, a number of researchers have found little evidence for the proposition that the Protestant ethic hypothesis is descriptive of the relationship between religious preference and worldly success in contemporary urban society.[19]

The results of the present study may be interpreted as supporting the Weberian approach in part, while presenting some important modifications. Religious preferences appear to have meaningful consequences for economic success, quite apart from other background factors associated with religion. It would seem, therefore, that religion continues to play an essential role in controlling, limiting, and guiding economic behavior. As Weber proposed, most Protestant denominations far exceed the Catholics in economic standing. The various Protestant denominations are ranked in a general order which further supports the Weberian thesis. As Sombart proposed, moreover, the Jews seem to be the most successful and worldly oriented. Thus, where it has been hypothesized that a general ordering would appear, it has appeared.

Not all religious preferences, however, fall into a neat, predictable rank order. This finding leads to a further interpretation in which religion per se is of lesser importance in guiding economic achievement in contemporary society than are other cultural factors associated with the religion. As part of their cultural heritage, members of particular religious groups may have certain occupational roles. The Eastern Orthodox in Detroit, for example, are primarily Syrians, Lebanese, and Greeks—traditionally traders, shopkeepers, merchants, and entrepreneurs. Granting that originally their religion strengthened, abetted, and possibly even forced them into these pursuits, their total cultural environment presently is consistent with entry into these occupations.

Much the same case can be made for Jews. Although three or four generations ago the Jewish religious link to worldly success was probably direct, the contemporary teachings of this religion may not be nearly as crucial as are other cultural characteristics which foster success and achievement patterns. Thus, the presence of intervening variables may alter the original linkage between religion and worldly success.

Future phases of this study will turn to an investigation of intervening variables such as residential segregation, family solidarity, and specific occupational inheritances. It is also planned further to refine our measurement of religious affiliation by introducing such factors as church attendance and church membership. The significance of the present study will be greatly enhanced if it is found, for example, that active Catholics are less successful than inactive Catholics; and conversely, that active Calvinists are more successful than inactive Calvinists.

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ment with the Weberian formulation of the Protestant ethic. See also, Lenski, *op. cit.*

[18] E.g., Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in Sklare, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–165; Lenski, *op. cit.* See also: Gerald Gurin, Joseph Veroff, and Sheila Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health*, New York: Basic Books, 1960, p. 244.

[19] Raymond W. Mack, Raymond J. Murphy, and Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 295–300; Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959, pp. 51–52. An evaluation of these and similar studies is found in Weller, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–34.

SOCIAL REFERENCE BASIS OF JOB SATISFACTION: THE CASE OF MANUAL WORKERS *

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Studies in job satisfaction typically assume that the individualistic value orientations of middle status groups pervade all levels of the occupational structure. This study postulated that such orientations do not characterize different types of industrial workers, and that reference group theory can account for the traditional findings, as well as such anomalous findings as high satisfaction among relatively unskilled workers. However, reference group theory itself must take into account structural features of the society such as the type of stratification system, pattern of adult socialization, and mobility rates.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the utility of a social explanation for personal appraisals of life situations. The life situation here selected is job satisfaction, but the model of explanation may be applied to any area of life. Several probably fallacious assumptions underlie traditional studies of job satisfaction.[1] They are that all workers have a clear perception of a hierarchical occupational structure; that they all have a desire for upward occupational mobility, and that their degree of job satisfaction is a function of success in this graded occupational structure.[2] Such assumptions ignore the stratification realities of urban society, the different experiences and aspirations of sub-groups in such a society, and the operations of different forces on various segments of the society. In line with these considerations this study proposes that personal evaluations of life situations are relative to the precise social locations which people occupy in society and the specific groups to which they commit their identities.[3]

In accord with this theoretical position we may propose that sub-groups in a society respond differently to the occupational structure,[4] that their evaluations of their occupational status is a response to their social and mobility experiences, and that changes in their objective positions condition their job evaluations. The evidence on each of these points is sparse but supportive of the the-

* The data reported in this study are part of a larger study conducted earlier by J. Allan Beegle, William H. Form and Sigmund Nosow, under a grant made by the Rockefeller Foundation to Michigan State University to conduct regional studies. The authors are deeply indebted to the above named for the use of the data and to the Foundation for financial support of the original project.

[1] See for example R. Hoppoch, *Job Satisfaction*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935; D. E. Super, "Occupational Level and Job Satisfaction," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23 (October, 1939), pp. 547–564; and R. P. Bullock, *Social Factors Related to Job Satisfaction*, Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1952. Nancy C. Morse, *Satisfaction in the White Collar Job*, Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1953, is a case of a work that departs from the traditional job satisfaction studies in that it treats satisfaction as being a function of the relationship between rewards desired and those received. In this sense it is similar to the present study. It differs from the present study to the extent that Morse deals with satisfaction with aspects of the job rather than with total job satisfaction. In addition, Morse does not investigate non-job related causes of level of reward desired.

[2] There is, however, wide recognition that aging tends to be a structural feature associated with increased job satisfaction.

[3] This is harmonious with the general position of Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception and Value," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (July, 1960), pp. 1–31; Herbert H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 269, 1942, and Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Rossi, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 225–280.

[4] Indeed, there may not be a single hierarchical structure as Paul Hatt has suggested in "Occupation and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (May, 1950), pp. 533–543.

oretical position assumed here. Thus Hatt has shown that the occupational structure is not a simple hierarchy but a series of interrelated situses.[5] Knowledge about the complexities of the structure is differentially distributed in the society.[6] Although there is general consensus about the rank of well known occupations, lower status persons are less knowledgeable of the entire structure and tend to evaluate jobs in simple economic terms.[7] In short, it appears that different segments of the population respond differently to concrete situations in the occupational world.

Centers, Jones, Knupfer, and others have indicated that manual workers do not share the strong belief in the realities of opportunities for upward mobility characteristic of white collar workers.[8] Davis further indicates that underprivileged workers lack motivation for social climbing and thus tend to derive their satisfactions from their present situations rather than from expected mobility.[9] This situation makes it unlikely that they would use the middle status groups as reference points in the evaluation of their life situations and their jobs. Rather, they would tend to use their work associates and relevant family members as social references since they have similar origins.

Rogoff and Lipset and Bendix have demonstrated that changes in the occupational structure are as much responsible for social or occupational mobility as other factors.[10] Their evidence further suggests that changes in social position force changes in aspirations rather than the reverse process. Thus changes in opportunities and life situations foster changes in evaluations of life situations, aspirations, and ideologies, not the other way around.[11] Such a position makes it possible to account for a seemingly contradictory phenomenon—that upward mobility, though not internalized as a realistic goal, nonetheless does operate to provide persons greater satisfactions when they experience it, but dissatisfaction does not automatically result when mobility is not experienced. There is some evidence that workers are quickly desocialized from the aspirational complex learned in school, for aspirations are related to reality soon after full-time entry into the world of work.[12]

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research task then is to demonstrate that for manual workers in an industrial community, job evaluations are not so much a function of their aspirations or of that of their parents, but a response to the occupational position which their parents and brothers occupy. If these relevant others occupy positions above the subject, he should feel less satisfied with his job situation, or if they are at the same or lower level, he should feel relatively more satisfied.[13] These expectations were formalized into the following hypotheses.

1. There will be no association between job satisfaction of the subject and his occupational level relative to his parents' occupational aspirations for him.
2. There will be a positive association between job satisfaction and occupational level of the subject relative to that of his father.
3. There will be a positive association between job satisfaction and occupational level of the subject relative to that of his brothers.

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See the survey of this research examined by Arthur F. Davies, "The Prestige of Occupations," *British Journal of Sociology*, 3 (June, 1952), pp. 134–147.

[7] See Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951, Part III, "The Social Adjustment of the Worker."

[8] Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949; Alfred W. Jones, *Life, Liberty and Property*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941; Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11 (Spring, 1947), pp. 103–114, R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937.

[9] Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," in William Foote Whyte, editor, *Industry and Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1946.

[10] Natalie Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953; Seymour M. Lipset, and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959.

[11] *Ibid.*, especially p. 61.

[12] Miller and Form, *op. cit.*

[13] As Merton states, "Some similarity in status attributes between the individual and the reference group must be perceived or imagined, in order for the comparison to occur at all." Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

4. There will be a positive association between job satisfaction and generational occupational mobility of the subject relative to that of all those of similar origin, i.e., those whose father's occupation was similar to that of the subject's father (generational occupational mobility score, GOMS).[14]

Data for this study are taken from 545 interviews with manual workers in Lansing, Michigan taken in 1950–51. Lansing is primarily an industrial community of about 90,000 persons. Its main industries are automobile and metal fabrication. It is also the state capital and service center for a population of 250,000. The industrial work force is comprised mostly of native born persons who came from small cities and rural areas of Michigan and nearby states. The sample for this study was every tenth male name appearing in *Polk's Directory 1950*. Any person who was not a manual worker was rejected.[15] Eleven cases were retained of "sales, clerical and related occupations" because it was felt that their occupations were in fact manual. The final sample contained 11.4 per cent unskilled workers, 59.8 per cent semi-skilled, 26.8 per cent skilled and 2.0 per cent "manual clerical."

These people were then interviewed and data were obtained with respect to their occupation, income, education, age, job tenure, marital status, number of children, father's occupation, occupations and ages of all brothers in the labor force, parents' occupational aspirations for the respondent, job satisfaction, and other related data.

Job satisfaction was measured by the question, "How do you like your job?" Five possible response categories were used: very good; pretty good; average; not so good; and not at all, which were scored 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively.[16] The mean score was 3.84.

Prestige levels of occupation were assigned values as follows: professionals and semi-professionals, 7; owners, managers, officials and self employed, 6; clerical, office, and Sales, 5; skilled workers, foremen and direct supervisors, 4; farm owners, managers, tenants, (farmers unspecified), 3; semi-skilled workers and apprentices, 2; service workers, unskilled laborers, and farm laborers, 1.

FINDINGS

Hypothesis 1. There will be no association between job satisfaction and occupational achievement relative to parents' occupational aspirations for the respondent.

Data presented in Table 1 indicate that almost four fifths of the respondents reported that their parents had no occupa-

[14] As defined by Melvin M. Tumin and Arnold S. Feldman, "Theory and Measurement of Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 283–284.

[15] For the extended description, see Sigmund Nosow, "Labor Distribution and the Normative System," *Social Forces*, 35 (October, 1956), p. 28.

[16] This measure of job satisfaction was constructed after the method of attitude scaling pioneered by Rensis Likert and followed by countless others including Allan Edwards. See, for example, Rensis Likert, *A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes, Archives of Psychology*, No. 140, 1932; Gardner Murphy and Rensis Likert, *Public Opinion and the Individual*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937, and Allan Edwards, *Attitude Measurement*, New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, Inc, 1957. Edwards clearly considers satisfaction as an attitude which can be so measured. In the cited study (p. 2) Edwards states: "When you ask someone about his attitude towards something, say his job, what is it that you are interested in finding out? If you are primarily interested in how he *feels* about his job and, in particular, whether he *likes* or *dislikes* his job, then you are using the concept of attitude in much the same way that it will be used in this book." In the same study (p. 151) Edwards provides us with support for this manner of assigning weights to the five response categories. "In the development of the method of scale construction . . . Likert found that scores based on relatively simple assignment of integral weights correlated .99 with the more complicated normal deviate system of weights. He therefore used the simpler system. We shall do likewise." This method was also used by Nancy C. Morse, *op. cit.* We realize that this method of assigning values does not give us a zero neutral point. This is not a major problem as we are not concerned with giving *absolute* scores for degree of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction but are rather concerned with comparing mean scores of groups in terms of *relative* amounts of job satisfaction. Edwards supports this usage as well as the correlation of this scale value with other scales or measures of interest without need for reference to the zero point on a favorable-unfavorable continuum. (Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 157ff.) The responses to the question were distributed 164, very good; 193, pretty good; 131, average; 44, not so good; 10, not at all; and 3, no response.

TABLE 1. MEAN JOB SATISFACTION SCORES FOR RESPONDENTS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT RELATIVE TO THEIR PARENTS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR THEM

Occupational Achievement Relative to Parents' Occupational Aspirations for Respondents	Mean Job Satisfaction Score	Number of Cases
No parental aspirations	3 83	296
Occupational level lower than parental aspirations	3 88	66
Occupational level same as parental aspirations	4.50	8
Occupational level higher than parental aspirations	4 00	3
Total	3.85	373
Total with expressed parental aspirations	3.95	77

tional aspirations for them.[17] Since 37 per cent had parents who were farmers they possibly had little knowledge of the urban labor market to project job aspirations for their children. However, even urban dwellers had few aspirations for their children. It may be that in both cases a low belief in occupational mobility made the whole question irrelevant for both parents and children.[18] This interpretation is consistent with the findings of Davis and others.[19]

The number of respondents who did report any parental aspirations is too small to permit meaningful statistical analysis. However, it is worth noting that all who did had higher job satisfaction scores than those who did not report parental aspirations. This is even true for those who reported occupational achievements lower than parental aspirations. Those who achieved an occupational level equal to, or higher than that to which their parents aspired for them exhibited higher mean job satisfaction scores. There are too few cases in the group that exceeded their parents aspirations to have confidence in the trend observed.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a positive association between job satisfaction and occupational level relative to that of one's father.

Data in Table 2 indicate that upwardly mobile sons, (those who achieved an occupational level higher than their fathers) exhibited a significantly higher mean job satisfaction score than did sons who were downwardly mobile. The mean job satisfaction score of the stationary or immobile sons, i.e., those whose occupational level is similar to that of their father, is significantly higher than that of the downwardly mobile sons, but is only slightly below that of the upwardly mobile sons. This may indicate that the degree of job satisfaction exhibited by a working class male will be seriously impaired if he fails to achieve an occupational level comparable to that of his father, but achieving a higher level will not significantly add to his satisfaction. The middle class worker with a strong belief in upward mobility may experience greater frustration from lack of it because he lives in a world where greater mobility does in fact occur.[20]

Hypothesis 3: There will be a positive association between job satisfaction and occupational level relative to that of one's brothers.

The following analysis is limited to workers having only one working brother

[17] The question used to gather this data was: "Did your parents want you to get into any particular line of work? Yes —— No ——. *If yes,* what was it? ——."

[18] Sons of farmers were excluded from this analysis because they are in a different situs. The t-test was used after Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, *Statistical Inference,* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1953, p. 154 Significance level for this study was arbitrarily set at the 05 level.

[19] Davis, *op. cit.,* and William A. Faunce, "Occupational Involvement and the Selective Testing of Self Esteem," unpublished manuscript, 1959.

[20] See Centers, *op. cit.,* Rogoff, *op. cit.,* Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*

TABLE 2. JOB SATISFACTION AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF SONS RELATIVE TO THAT OF FATHERS

Sons' Occupational Level Relative to Fathers' Occupation	Mean Job Satisfaction Score of Sons	Number of Cases
1. Sons' occupation lower than fathers' occupation	3.39	122
2. Sons' occupation the same as fathers' occupation	4.01	101
3. Sons' occupation higher than fathers' occupation	4.03	77
Total	3.76	300

t_{13}=4.57, P<.0005, df, 197.

in order to avoid the complicating effects which subsequent brothers might have. Data in Table 3 indicate that workers who achieve a higher occupational level than that of their brother exhibit a significantly higher mean job satisfaction score than those whose occupational level is equal to that of their brother. In turn, the mean job satisfaction score of those whose occupational level is equal to that of their brother is higher (but not statistically significant [p of t=> 10]) than that of those whose occupational level is lower than that of their brother. The observed trend, the sizes of the differences, and the fact that two of the three differences are statistically significant lead to the conclusion that the occupational level of the worker relative to his brother is important in the degree to his job satisfaction.

TABLE 3. JOB SATISFACTION AND OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL RELATIVE TO OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF BROTHER *

Occupational Level Relative to That of Brother	Mean Job Satisfaction Score	Number of Cases
1. Occupational level lower than that of brother	3.67	42
2. Occupational level same as that of brother	3.88	42
3. Occupational level higher than that of brother	4.33	18
Total	3.87	102

$t_{12}=.88$, $P<.10$, df, 82; $t_{23}=2.05$, $P<.025$, df, 58; $t_{13}=7.59$, $P<.0005$, df, 58.

* In order to avoid the complicating effect that second and third brothers might have, we include in this table only those individuals who had one and only one brother.

It is important to note that the mean job satisfaction score of all respondents whose brother was in farming was 3.85 and the score of all those whose brother was in a non-farm occupation deemed to be noncomparable to that of the respondent was 3.90. Both of these scores approximate the mean job satisfaction score, 3.88, of those respondents whose occupational level was equal to that of his brother. The closeness of these scores is quite consistent with reference group theory. If individuals whom one would normally use as social references in evaluating one's occupational position are in an occupational situs that is not comparable to one's own, then no comparisons can be made that would result in feelings of relative gratification or deprivation. This is precisely analogous to the situation in which one is in the same occupation as the social reference. No invidious comparisons can be made in either case and one would expect the mean job satisfaction scores to be similar.

This relationship was further analyzed controlling for the relative ages of the respondent and his working brother with no predictable alterations occurring.[21] This suggests that the occupational niche is found early in work life and that job satisfaction reaches a stable level quickly for manual workers.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a positive association between job satisfaction and generational occupational mobility score.

Testing this hypothesis necessitated using an index of the subject's mobility relative to the mobility of all sons of fathers occupationally similar to the subject's father. Such a scale, called the "generational occupational mobility score" (GOMS), was constructed by Tumin and Feldman,[22] and revised by Geschwender.[23] The scoring used for prestige levels of the occupations presented above in the discussion of the research design was modified after Tumin and Feldman.[24]

The data presented in Table 4 show a highly significant, if only moderate, relationship between job satisfaction and GOMS z scores. This suggests that manual workers do use those of similar origin as social references in evaluating their occupational achievements. When they have achieved relatively greater amounts of upward mo-

[21] Workers having two brothers were then analyzed by comparing occupational level to that of two brothers simultaneously and no regular ordering of mean job satisfaction scores resulted. However, this later finding must be considered of limited utility as all cell frequencies were exceedingly small.

[22] *Op. cit.*

[23] James A. Geschwender, "Theory and Measurement of Occupational Mobility: A Reexamination," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (June, 1961), pp. 451–452.

[24] In the computation of GOMS z scores, brothers in the armed forces, still in school, disabled, or retired were excluded.

TABLE 4. JOB SATISFACTION AND VERTICAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AS MEASURED BY THE REVISED GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY SCORE*

GOMS z Score	Job Satisfaction	Number of Cases
8.39	3.50	2
8.59	4.13	8
8.64	3.79	29
8.67	2.67	3
8.74	4.14	7
8.78	3.43	7
8.87	3.67	3
9.08	3.89	9
9.19	3.47	15
9.22	3.91	11
9.24	3.00	11
9.32	3.81	57
9.33	3.44	45
9.38	3.62	34
9.39	3.68	124
9.48	4.50	4
10.33	4.20	5
10.41	3.67	9
10.43	4.31	36
10.46	4.40	5
10.52	4.43	7
10.67	4.50	12
10.70	4.50	4
10.78	4.14	21
10.88	5.00	1
10.89	4.27	41
10.98	5.00	1
11.15	4.00	1
11.32	4.50	2
11.51	4.67	3
11.65	4.33	3

$r = .251$, $P < .0005$, df, 538.

* Computations are made from individual scores. Data are grouped for clarity of presentation.

bility they exhibit higher job satisfaction scores. In order to gain more insight into this relationship the sample was analyzed by both occupation of destination (present occupation) and occupation of origin (father's occupation).

The breakdown by occupation of destination presented in Table 5 reveals a moderate negative (not statistically significant) association between job satisfaction and amount of occupational mobility for the small category of sales, clerical, and related occupations and small positive or negligible relationships for all other categories. These results are of interest for reference group theory and the original assumption that manual workers do not believe strongly in the existence of opportunities for upward mobility. In appraising these results cognizance must be taken of the fact that the comparisons are being made among workers who are on the same occupational level. Since the amounts of satisfaction received are about equal for all concerned and the range is small, few invidious comparisons can be made. The deviating pattern for clerical workers who have highest mobility but low satisfaction lends indirect support to the assumption that belief in opportunities for upward mobility is an intervening variable.

TABLE 5. JOB SATISFACTION AND VERTICAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AS MEASURED BY THE REVISED OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY SCORE, BY OCCUPATION OF DESTINATION

Occupation of Destination	GOMS z Score	Job Satisfaction	Number of Cases
Sales, clerical and related occupations	10.88	5.00	1
	10.98	5.00	1
	11.15	4.00	1
	11.32	4.50	2
	11.51	4.67	3
	11.65	4.33	3
$r = -.292$, $P > .05$, df, 9.			
Skilled workers and foremen	10.33	4.20	5
	10.41	3.67	9
	10.43	4.31	36
	10.46	4.40	5
	10.52	4.43	7
	10.67	4.50	12
	10.70	4.50	4
	10.78	4.14	21
	10.89	4.27	41
$r = +.024$, $P > .05$, df, 138.			
Semi-skilled	9.08	3.89	9
	9.19	3.47	15
	9.22	3.91	11
	9.24	3.00	11
	9.32	3.81	57
	9.33	3.44	45
	9.38	3.62	34
	9.39	3.68	124
	9.48	4.50	4
$r = +.036$, $P > .05$, df, 308.			
Unskilled	8.39	3.67	2
	8.78	3.43	7
	8.59	4.13	8
	8.64	3.79	29
	8.67	2.67	3
	8.74	4.14	7
	8.87	3.67	3
$r = -.042$, $P > .05$, df, 57.			

Members of this group represent the upper fringe of the manual workers, and in this position, they are likely to have come into more contact with the white collar workers and their beliefs in the reality of opportunity. Probably they are exposed to both the belief in the existence and non-existence of genuine opportunities for upward mobility. It would seem that their own life experiences would determine which of these belief systems they would be more inclined to accept. Those who have experienced most upward mobility would be more inclined to accept the belief in the reality of opportunity. Furthermore, their actual mobility would tend to convince them that they possess the requisite ability to rise. They would then tend to expect further mobility and use the incumbents of positions above them as social references. The invidious comparison in the context of reduced mobility would result in a negative balance between gratifications expected and gratifications received.

It may be concluded that the observed negative association between job satisfaction and occupational mobility may be expected for this group. This interpretation is consistent with Merton's observation that "The degree of dissatisfaction with their lot is often less among people in severely depressed social strata in a relatively rigid social system, than among those strata that are apparently better off in a more mobile social system."[25] To fit the present case this generalization may be modified to read that those who perceive a rigid stratification system may be more satisfied with their lot than those who perceive a mobile social system in which they are limited in their mobility.

The breakdown of the sample into groups by occupation of origin (father's occupation) as shown in Table 6 yielded a positive association between job satisfaction and occupational mobility for all occupational categories. This association was statistically significant for all categories except "semi-skilled." These results lend support to the original interpretation that working class males tend to use the peers with which they began life as social references in evaluating their occupational achievement.

[25] Merton and Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

In our discussion, thus far, we have viewed job satisfaction as resulting from mobility relative to one significant social reference at a time. Actually, people use many social references simultaneously. Thus, it would appear that an analysis of the subject's mobility relative to the three above used social references simultaneously would provide even more striking evidence for the suggested interpretation. Table 7 compares the mean job satisfaction scores of those

TABLE 6. JOB SATISFACTION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AS MEASURED BY THE REVISED GENERATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY SCORE BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Father's Occupation	GOMS z Score	Job Satisfaction	Number of Cases
Professional, self employed, sales, clerical, and related occupations	8.39	3.50	2
	8.67	2.67	3
	9.08	3.89	9
	9.19	3.47	15
	9.22	3.91	11
	10.33	4.20	5
	10.41	3.67	9
	10.46	4.40	5
	10.88	5.00	1
	11.15	4.00	1
r= 404, P <.005, df, 59.			
Skilled and supervisory	8.78	3.43	7
	9.24	3.00	11
	9.33	3.44	45
	10.43	4.31	36
	10.52	4.43	7
	10.98	5.00	1
r=.476, P<.0005, df, 105.			
Farmer	8.64	3.79	29
	9.39	3.68	124
	10.89	4.27	41
	11.65	4.33	3
r=.212, .01<P<.025, df, 195.			
Semi-skilled	8.59	4.13	8
	9.32	3.81	57
	10.78	4.14	21
	11.51	4.67	3
r=.153, P>.05, df, 87.			
Unskilled and service	8.74	4.14	7
	8.87	3.67	3
	9.38	3.62	34
	9.48	4.50	4
	10.67	4.50	12
	10.70	4.50	4
	11.32	4.50	2
r=.293, .005<P<.01, df, 64.			

TABLE 7. JOB SATISFACTION AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY RELATIVE TO THREE SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL REFERENCES

Occupational Mobility Relative to Three Social References	Mean Job Satisfaction Score	Number of Cases
Overachievement on GOMS z scores, occupational level higher than that of father and brother	4.33	9
Underachievement on GOMS z scores, occupational level lower than that of father and brother	3.40	15

$t=2.02$, $P<.05$, df, 22.
Mean of total sample of 545=3.84.

workers who are upwardly mobile relative to their peers of origin, their father, and their brother with those workers who are downwardly mobile relative to all three references. The difference between the two mean job satisfaction scores is relatively large. This fact, combined with the observation that the mean job satisfaction score for the entire sample falls about midway between the two mean scores, strongly suggests that manual workers use all three social references simultaneously in arriving at a level of job satisfaction.

Several structural variables which have traditionally been associated with job satisfaction were measured in this study. They appear in Table 8. The findings confirm those previously found. Thus, married workers are generally more satisfied with their jobs than single men, workers with two or more children are significantly more satisfied than those with less than two children, men over 40 years of age are significantly more satisfied than those under 40, workers with ten years or more of tenure are significantly more satisfied than those with less tenure, workers earning $2.00 and over an hour are significantly more satisfied than those earning less, and those in higher occupational prestige categories (sales, clerical, skilled and foremen) are significantly more satisfied than those in lower prestige categories (semiskilled and unskilled). The only factor that fails to be positively associated with job satisfaction is education; this shows a negligible negative relationship.

The positive associations found between job satisfaction and such variables as mari-

TABLE 8. MEAN JOB SATISFACTION SCORES AND TESTS OF ASSOCIATION FOR SEVERAL PERTINENT VARIABLES

Variable	Mean Job Satisfaction Score	Test	P	d.f.
Marital status				
Married	3.87	$t=2.78$	.005	506
Single	3.41			
Age				
Over 40	4.00	$\chi^2=19.24$	.005	4
Under 40	3.65	$r=+.388$	$<.01$	541
Number of children				
Two or more	3.98	$\chi^2=10.04$	.05	4
One or none	3.82	$r=+.112$	$<.05$	498
Tenure				
10 years or more	3.96	$\chi^2=23.92$	.001	4
Less than 10 years	3.66	$r=+.244$	$<.01$	536
Wages				
$2.00 or more an hour	4.59	$\chi^2=194.57$	.001	4
Less than $2.00 an hour	3.53	$r=+.440$	$<.01$	518
Occupational level				
Skilled and above	4.30			
Semi and unskilled	3.66	$\chi^2=51.80$	.001	4
Education				
Grammar school and less	3.87	$\chi^2=2.27$	.75	4
At least some high school	3.81	$r=-.033$	$>.05$	535

tal status, number of children, age, job tenure, and wages may be explained as a general function of adult socialization. All of these variables tend to be inter-related through the common variable of age.[26] Thus, married workers tend to be older than single workers, those with more children tend to be older than those with fewer children, older workers tend to have more tenure than younger workers, and workers with more job tenure tend to earn higher wages than workers with less tenure. The manual workers being studied may begin work life with some aspirations of upward mobility, especially if they graduate from high school. However, these aspirations are soon dropped, and workers become socialized into accepting their way of living and their occupational roles. They tend therefore to appear more satisfied with their occupational roles than the younger workers who have not gone through this process.

The relationship between job satisfaction and hourly wages presented in Table 9 warrants special consideration. It may be noted that with hourly wage rates above $1.50 increased income is associated generally with increased satisfaction. However, all wage categories below $1.50 have job satisfaction scores higher than those between $1.50 and $2.00. When the three lowest categories were analyzed separately, it was discovered that southern born, rural born, and foreign born workers were proportionately over-represented as compared to the total sample (.203 to .125 for southern born; .435 to .400 for rural born; and .101 to .089 for foreign born). Negroes were over-represented .101 to .076; workers under thirty and over sixty were over-represented .290 to .217 and .212 to .153 respectively, and those with six years of schooling or less were over-represented .221 to .118.

These findings are consistent with reference group theory, for the relatively well satisfied low wage earners are comprised of groups who are probably not using native

TABLE 9. JOB SATISFACTION AND HOURLY WAGES

Hourly Wage	Mean Job Satisfaction Score	Number of Cases
Under $1.00	3.92	13
1.00– 1.24	4.00	16
1.25– 1.49	3.63	40
1.50– 1.74	3.42	184
1.75– 1.99	3.54	101
2.00– 2.24	3.69	32
2.25– 2.49	4.33	30
2.50– 2.74	4.80	20
2.75– 2.99	4.96	29
3.00– up	4.98	53

$r = .440$, $P < .01$, df, 518.

born urban industrial workers as their social references. The southern born, rural born, foreign born, and Negroes might all tend to use standards prevailing in their families and sub-communities in evaluating their present jobs.[27] For each of these groups the standards used would tend to be lower than for native workers in a northern industrial city who have better job opportunities.[28] Workers with little education probably compare their jobs with those who have a similarly low level of education, thus not coming off badly in the comparison. Younger lower class workers who see school attendance as income depriving find satisfaction in jobs which provide substantial income. Older workers might represent a low opportunity group which has become adult socialized to their present positions. Although these interpretations are *post hoc* they still appear to lend support to the reference group position postulated here.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study tend to show that reference group theory does provide a meaningful framework for the analysis of the relationship between job satisfaction and inter-generational occupational mobility

[26] The association of these variables with age are as follows: $\bar{x}$ age of the single workers was 29.8 years, of married 47.0 years; r for number of children and age was +.224; r for age-tenure was +.596; r for tenure and wages was +.255; r for age and wages was +.128; all significant at .05 or beyond.

[27] These findings have been corroborated in a separate study of social integration among unionized automobile workers in the same community. See William H. Form and H. Kirk Dansereau, "Union Member Orientations and Patterns of Social Integration," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 11 (October, 1957), pp. 3–12,

[28] That this does indeed occur in this community has been clearly demonstrated in the research of Sigmund Nosow, *op. cit.*

among male manual workers. Three different referential measures of occupational achievement were used and all were found to be significantly related to degree of job satisfaction. One non-structural aspirational measure was used and it was not significantly associated with job satisfaction. Improvement in the amount and precision of data on peers and kin (education, income, residence, amount of contact with the subject) would no doubt improve statistical confidence in the general trends.

This study did not provide direct evidence of the role of ideology as an intervening variable on the relationship between position in the social structural and the subjective evaluation of life circumstances. Enough indirect evidence was provided to propose the hypothesis that the relationships between occupational mobility and job satisfaction is mediated by the belief in opportunities or lack of opportunities for workers to rise in the occupational hierarchy. It also appears clear that the position taken on the ideology of opportunity does not arise randomly, but is rather a response to certain changing structural features of the social economy.[29] This fact almost by itself tends to account not only for the differences in mobility found in studies done during periods of economic depression and prosperity, but also for findings on life satisfactions and dissatisfactions.

Studies have shown that during any period, prosperous or not, the most difficult occupational barrier to pierce is the manual-white-collar division.[30] Thus it is the ***normal*** condition for most manual workers not to expect great upward mobility and for them not to internalize strongly the ideology of opportunity. Lacking the ideology of opportunity they tend to use their peer groups and the male members of their family of orientation as social references in evaluating their occupational positions. The greater the amount of mobility a worker has experienced relative to these social references, the more job satisfaction he will feel. This relationship will continue to hold as long as the worker has not come into sufficient contact with the middle class ideology of opportunity or as long as he has not had sufficient life experiences to accept it partially. When a working class male has become imbued with this ideology he tends to shift his social references to the incumbents of positions above him, and tends to exhibit relatively more job dissatisfaction. The more mobility he experiences, the more he will believe in the existence of opportunities and in his own ability to rise. When mobility is blocked he will become increasingly dissatisfied with his present position. Thus, it appears that limited occupational mobility is a self-defeating process for the manual worker who is imbued with the middle class ideology of opportunity and who is faced with the relatively rigid barrier which exists between the manual and white collar occupational strata.

[29] See Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*, p. 61, and William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959, pp. 142–158, 213–222.

[30] Among others, see Rogoff, *op. cit.*, Lynd, *op. cit.*, Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*, Miller and Form, *op. cit.*

THE BASES OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE: THE CASE OF DENTISTS *

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Using survey data from a national sample of adults, an analysis was made of the relationship between individuals' prestige rating of dentists and several other perceived characteristics of dentists. Varying, but generally low, relationships were found with measures of the respondents' evaluation of the professional work, their perceptions of the scarcity of the required skills, their perceptions of the dentists' possession of valued characteristics, and their experience with dentists in receiving dental care. A high relationship was found with the amount of prestige accorded to other professions relative to non-professions. These findings have important methodological implications for testing theoretical explanations of the bases of the occupational prestige hierarchy and also substantive implications for the character of those explanations.

EXPLANATIONS of the bases of the occupational prestige hierarchy have been derived from evidence concerning the *average* prestige score of a wide range of occupations in different societies and the relationship between *average* prestige scores for certain occupations and the average scores along many different dimensions for the same occupations.[1] These explanations are neither complete nor unequivocal. The addition of another kind of evidence would make a contribution to a more complete understanding. We need to study the *individuals'* attribution of prestige to occupations and their perception of other characteristics of the same occupations. First of all, it should be clear that there need not be the same degree of relationship at the aggregate level as at the individual level.[2] For example, there may be a high relationship between the average incomes which incumbents of various occupations have or are believed to have and the average prestige accorded the occupations. At the same time, individuals who believe that members of a given occupation have large incomes are no more likely to rate the occupation's prestige high than are those who think its members have small incomes.

If the relationships are not the same at the individual level as at the aggregate level, we will have to find out which relationships do and do not exist between *individuals'* ratings of an occupation's prestige and their perception of its other characteristics. This may entail a reconsideration of the interpretations made of relationships at the ag-

* This paper is based upon data collected in a national survey sponsored by the Commission on the Survey of Dentistry in the United States. The study received financial support from the National Institute of Dental Research, U.S. Public Health Service (research grant D-1076) and the Commission on the Survey of Dentistry in the United States. An earlier version of this paper was read at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, New York, New York, August 31, 1960. I wish to thank Beatrice R. Treiman for her collaboration throughout the survey upon which this paper is based, Jacob J. Feldman for his helpful comments in the course of the analysis, and Peter H. Rossi and Bernard Barber for their comments upon earlier versions of the paper.

[1] Among recent pertinent studies are Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (January, 1956), pp. 329–339; Peter H. Rossi and Alex Inkeles, "Multidimensional Ratings of Occupations," *Sociometry*, 20 (September, 1957), pp. 234–251; Charles E. Ramsey and Robert J. Smith, "Japanese and American Perceptions of Occupations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (March, 1960), pp. 475–482; Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson, "Correlates and Estimation of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (September, 1960), pp. 135–140; Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. 53–56; Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (June, 1955), pp. 317–325; and Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Socio-Economic Index for All Occupations," in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Otis Dudley Duncan, Paul K. Hatt, and Cecil C. North, *Occupations and Social Status*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, pp. 109–138.

[2] The same point is also made by Rossi and Inkeles, *op. cit.*, p. 247, note 5.

gregate level. Certainly, additional tests for explanations of the bases for occupational prestige would be possible. We may also find that certain variables have been relatively neglected as we consider this additional evidence. In any case, we will be able to begin to specify the mechanisms by which relationships found at the aggregate level are a result of individuals' perceptions and evaluations.

FINDINGS

Before considering the possible implications of the finding that individuals' ratings of an occupation's prestige are not highly related to their perception of other characteristics of the occupation, we will consider some evidence concerning that finding. The evidence is about one occupation—dentists. The data were collected in a National Opinion Research Center survey on attitudes and practices in the field of dental care. A national sample of 1,862 adults was interviewed concerning a wide range of topics related to dentists and dental care.[3]

The question used to assess respondents' estimation of the prestige of dentists was, "Now I'd like to read you a short list of different kinds of jobs or occupations, and you tell me the general standing or prestige of that occupation—that is, how much people look up to it." The respondents were given a card with five words or phrases: excellent, good, average, somewhat below average, and poor. Prestige ratings were obtained for seven occupations: owner of a factory employing about 100 people, physician, official of an international labor union, trained machinist, lawyer, dentist, and university professor. The prestige rating of dentists was standardized because the prestige ratings of the various occupations were somewhat intercorrelated; that is, persons who rated one occupation high tended to rate other occupations high. The average score of each respondent for the six other occupations was computed and each respondent was classified according to his rating of dentists compared to his average rating of the other occupations. We will compare respondents who rate dentists about the same or below the average score of the other occupations and those who rate dentists above the average score of the other occupations.

We will consider several possible explanations for differences in the prestige attributed to dentists by examining the relationship between the relative prestige accorded dentists and certain perceptions of them. The first explanation to be considered is related to the perceived importance of the work performed and the scarcity of persons able to learn to perform the work. Presumably, respondents who believe that few individuals have the capacity to learn the skills needed by dentists and that the dentists' tasks are particularly important are likely to think that dentists have high prestige. Respondents were asked, "Considering the work the dentist does with his hands, how many people do you think could become that skillful—would you say almost anyone, most people, many people, or only a few could?" There is a slight tendency for respondents who think that few people could learn to be so skillful to think that dentists have high prestige. Among those respondents who say that almost anyone could become so skillful, 47 per cent rate the dentists' prestige above the average rating given to the other occupations; at the other extreme, among those who say only a few could become so skillful, 58 per cent rate the dentist above the average rating for the other occupations.[4] The respondents were asked a parallel question about the kinds of decisions the dentist makes in his work. There was a slighter relationship, however, between the answers to this question and the prestige rating of dentists than there was for the previous question.[5]

[3] The general and largely descriptive findings concerning the public's views of dentists and dentistry are presented in: Louis Kriesberg and Beatrice R. Treiman, "Dentists and the Practice of Dentistry as Viewed by the Public," *Journal of the American Dental Association*, forthcoming, and Louis Kriesberg and Beatrice R. Treiman, "The Public's View of Dentistry as a Profession," *Journal of Dental Education*, 25 (September, 1961), pp. 247–268.

[4] As a way of indicating the association between the prestige accorded dentists and other respondent perceived characteristics of dentists, we are using Tschuprow's T. $T = \sqrt{[\chi^2/N]} / \sqrt{n}$
In this case, $T = .0419$ ($\chi^2 = 5.14$, $n = 3$).

[5] $T = .0351$ ($\chi^2 = 3.61$, $n = 3$).

As measures of the importance of the dentists' tasks, we used questions concerning the value of preserving one's teeth and the efficacy of professional services in caring for teeth. Respondents who think it is important to keep one's natural teeth and who think that the dentist has a significant role in caring for them are likely to give the dentists high prestige. The relationships, however, are not much stronger than the others already mentioned.[6]

The second explanation to be considered is that incumbents of occupational roles possess, to differing degrees, socially valued attributes. Presumably, respondents who believe dentists have such attributes are likely to accord them high prestige. Respondents were asked to estimate how much money the average dentist makes in a year. Persons who believe the average dentist has a large income are somewhat more likely to accord dentists high prestige than are those who believe he has a small income. To refine this relationship further, the respondents' own family incomes were held constant. The degree of relationship is improved somewhat among persons with lower incomes, but it actually disappears among persons with higher incomes.[7]

Respondents were also asked about the social origins of dentists. The question was, "Well over half the people in this country had fathers who were farmers or who were working class—such as factory workers, electricians, truck drivers and the like. I know this has to be just a guess, but about what per cent of the *dentists* would you guess had fathers who were farmers or in the working class?" No relationship is discernible between perceptions of the degree of working class origins of dentists and prestige accorded dentists.

The third explanation is related to the benefits derived from the occupation's incumbents. Presumably, respondents who utilize dentists' services relatively frequently and feel that dentists give them good care are particularly likely to accord dentists high prestige. Respondents were asked how many times they had gone to the dentist within the last five years. The more frequently they have gone, the more likely they are to think that the dentist has high prestige. Again, the relationship is not a strong one. Among those who have not been to the dentist at all within the preceding five years, 50 per cent rate the dentist above the average score of the other occupations as compared to 62 per cent among those who have gone ten or more times.[8] Respondents who go to the dentist preventively are also more likely to accord dentists high prestige than respondents who do not.[9] Respondents with a regular dentist are more likely to accord high prestige to dentists than are those who have never had one; this is the strongest relationship we have considered so far.[10]

Another aspect of experience with dentists is the manner in which they give care. Respondents were asked to state whether or not each of six unflattering statements about dentists was true of most dentists and of their own dentist. There is no relationship with three of the statements, but respondents disagreeing with each of the other three

[6] The strongest relationship is with responses to the hypothetical case of John Williams. Williams' dental condition was described and the respondents were asked if he should have all his teeth pulled or have them fixed—the latter would cost about $600; the former, about half as much. Respondents who said Williams should have his teeth fixed were somewhat more likely to accord dentists high prestige. $T=.0558$ ($\chi^2=5.36$, $n=1$). Another question was an agree-disagree item: "A person can always tell if there is something wrong with his teeth or gums." Respondents disagreeing with the statement were slightly more likely to accord dentists relatively high prestige. $T=.0466$ ($\chi^2=3.68$, $n=1$).

[7] For the relationship between dentists' prestige and perceptions of their incomes, $T=.0798$ ($\chi^2=14.34$, $n=2$) and among respondents with annual family incomes of under $5,000, the relationship yields $T=.0894$ ($\chi^2=9.07$, $n=2$).

Perhaps the relationship is greater among low-income respondents because they place particular importance upon income as a criterion for awarding prestige. See Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status and Power*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 426–442.

[8] $T=.0667$ ($\chi^2=13.36$, $n=3$).

[9] $T=.0808$ ($\chi^2=17.19$, $n=4$). For a description of the index of going to the dentist preventively, see: Louis Kriesberg and Beatrice R. Treiman, "Socio-Economic Status and the Utilization of Dentists' Services," *Journal of the American College of Dentists*, 27 (September, 1960), pp. 147–165.

[10] $T=.0998$ ($\chi^2=24.08$, $n=2$).

unflattering statements in reference to most dentists or to their own dentist, are likely to accord dentists relatively high prestige. Again, although the latter relationships are statistically significant, they are not substantively very strong.[11]

In addition to such attitudinal questions, respondents were asked about the dental practices of their regular dentist or the dentist they last saw. Persons are likely to accord dentists high prestige if they report that their dentist has volunteered advice about the care of their teeth, that he has a high speed drill, that he has their teeth X-rayed, or that he has their teeth cleaned.[12] On the other hand, whether or not the respondent reported ever having had any experience which gave him more or less confidence with dentists in general, whether or not his dentist has assistants, or whether or not his dentist uses a recall system are not related to the prestige he accords dentists.

So far we have been assuming that people have clear notions of the particular characteristics of an occupation and an articulated set of beliefs about these characteristics that are related to their attribution of prestige. Another kind of explanation must be considered. It may be that a person accords an occupation high prestige because he knows as a matter of fact that most persons accord members of that occupation high prestige. Or, related to this hypothesis, he knows that a category of occupations is rated high and he includes a particular occupation within that category. Even if he knows little about that occupation or how others rate it, he accords it prestige in terms of the category within which he has placed it.

To test this possibility, an index of differences in prestige awarded to professional and non-professional occupations was constructed. A score for the three professional occupations—physician, university professor, and lawyer—was constructed, and a score was made for the three non-professional occupations: factory owner, labor official, and machinist. On the basis of the differences between the two scores, five categories of respondents were distinguished: Those who rated professions much higher than non-professions, those who rated professions somewhat higher, those who rated professions a little higher, those who rated professions the same, and those who rated professions below non-professions. The percentage of respondents in each category according the dentists above average prestige is: 82 per cent, 65 per cent, 49 per cent, 29 per cent, and 36 per cent, respectively. This is certainly a very high relationship.[13]

This finding indicates that people who know what the prestige hierarchy is are more likely to accord dentists high prestige.[14]

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[11] The six statements are: (1) "Dentists don't take enough personal interest in you"; (2) "They aren't concerned enough about the pain they cause the patient"; (3) "Dentists are too interested in making money"; (4) "They don't explain enough about the work they're doing for you"; (5) "Dentists don't make fillings which last as long as they should"; and (6) "They tell you there's more wrong with your teeth than there is."

The results for each item, when referring to most dentists and to the respondents' own dentists are:

Most Dentists

(1) T=.0115 (χ^2=.20, n=1)
(2) T=.0088 (χ^2=.12, n=1)
(3) T=.0606 (χ^2=5.66, n=1)
(4) T=.0460 (χ^2=3.10, n=1)
(5) T=.0617 (χ^2=4.92, n=1)
(6) T=.0815 (χ^2=9.86, n=1)

Own Dentist

(1) T=.0151 (χ^2=.37, n=1)
(2) T=.0183 (χ^2=.54, n=1)
(3) T=.0944 (χ^2=13.92, n=1)
(4) T=.0354 (χ^2=1.99, n=1)
(5) T=.0657 (χ^2=5.62, n=1)
(6) T=.0502 (χ^2=3.97, n=1)

[12] Frequency with which advice is volunteered: T=.0636 (χ^2=11.12, n=3); whether or not the respondent has heard of the high speed drill and whether or not his dentist has one: T=.0727 (χ^2=11.21, n=2); whether or not the respondent has ever had his teeth cleaned in a dentist's office: T=.0802 (χ^2=10.97, n=1); among respondents who have ever had their teeth cleaned in a dentist's office, the frequency of cleaning: T=.0633 (χ^2=9.37, n=5); whether or not the respondent has ever had his teeth X-rayed: T=.0691 (χ^2=8.08, n=1); among those who have ever had their teeth X-rayed, the frequency with which they have had their teeth X-rayed: T=.0603 (χ^2=7.45, n=4).

[13] T=.2221 (χ^2=171.51, n=4).

[14] If the profession—non-profession score measures sophistication about the prestige hierarchy, we would expect that among respondents who rate the professions high, the prestige rating of dentists would be relatively more associated with the perceptions of other characteristics of the dentist than

People may be according dentists high prestige because they consider dentistry a profession and generally rank professions high. Indeed, the prestige awarded the professional occupations is what makes the score so significant. That is, whatever the average score for the non-professional occupations, the higher the prestige the respondents accord the professions, the higher the prestige they accord the dentist. On the other hand, if the prestige accorded the professions is held constant, there is no systematic relationship between the prestige accorded the non-professions and the prestige accorded the dentist.

In summary, respondents' perceptions of some characteristics of dentists within each set of characteristics examined were somewhat related to their ratings of the prestige of dentists. Interestingly, the prestige accorded dentists seemed to be somewhat more related to the benefits the respondents apparently obtained from dentists than to the respondents' perceptions of the importance of dentists' work, the scarcity of personnel able to do the work, or the dentists' possession of valued attributes. On the whole, however, all these relationships are low. Although they do show some joint effect, even when combined they do not explain a great deal of the variance in the prestige accorded dentists. For example, among persons who have not gone to the dentist within the preceding five years *and* believe dentists earn less than $7,500, 38 per cent rate the dentists' prestige above the average rating they give the other occupations. At the other extreme, among those who have gone to the dentist ten or more times in the preceding five years *and* think the average dentist earns $15,000 or more a year, 63 per cent accord dentists high prestige. However, the single variable, the respondents' rating of the professional occupations compared to the non-professional occupations, seems more highly related to the prestige accorded dentists.

DISCUSSION

There may be a strong relationship between the average ranking of an occupation's prestige and the average rankings of several other characteristics of the occupation or its incumbents. However, the analysis reported here indicates that there is not a high relationship between the amount of prestige *individuals* believe an occupation has and their perception of other characteristics of the same occupation or of its incumbents. Before considering the substantive implications of this finding, we must consider whether or not the finding may be a methodological artifact.

The prestige rating of the dentist was standardized, but it was not possible to standardize the respondents' perceptions of and experiences with dentists, compared to other occupations. It is necessary to know what the respondents believe about many other occupations in order to give the proper interpretation to their responses concerning the attributes of the dentist. For example, some respondents may think that the average dentist earns less than $7,500 a year and that persons in most other occupations earn considerably less; while other persons may believe that the average dentist earns $15,000 or more and that persons in many occupations earn as much or more. Without information about respondent ratings of many characteristics of many occupations, it is impossible to be certain that the results presented here are not an artifact.

It would be desirable to undertake additional analyses concerning the relationship between individuals' perceptions of the prestige and other characteristics of several occupations. Such additional analyses, particularly if concerned with occupations in the middle of the prestige hierarchy, are likely to support the negative findings reported here. This belief is supported by the strong positive relationship we found between the relative prestige accorded the other professions and the prestige accorded to dentists. In discussing the possible implications of the findings, we can see how the findings can be substantively sound.

If many persons accord prestige to an occupation on the basis of their knowledge of the prestige most people accord it or on the basis of the category within which they place it, we would expect low relationships between their perceptions of particular characteristics of the occupation and the prestige

among respondents who do not rate the professions high. There is some evidence for this, but the differences are small.

they accord it. Clearly, we must study the *process* by which persons learn the prestige hierarchy if we are to explain the bases of occupational prestige. This has several implications for the way in which we study occupational prestige and the kinds of explanations we formulate.

If we study the process by which persons learn the prestige hierarchy, we can better interpret the meaning of correlations between the average scores of occupations along the prestige and other continua. For example, a high correlation between the average prestige score and the average social importance score of occupations obviously does not in itself indicate that occupational prestige is a result of perceived social importance. It is possible that a person's evaluation of the social importance of an occupation may be modified as he matures so that it is made consistent with the prestige hierarchy as he learns it.[15] There are some research findings which may support this. In a study of children's conceptions of stratification it was found that fourth grade students considered policeman and fireman as high prestige occupations; by the sixth and eighth grades, professional and proprietary occupations were given as examples of high prestige occupations.[16] In a study of high school students, policeman was scored very high in "social importance," but relatively lower in prestige.[17] Is the social importance of the policeman rated lower, consistent with the prestige rating, among adults? If this were so, perceptions of the social importance of an occupation could not then be taken as a determinant of occupational prestige. If it were not so, we would have further information about the relative independence of prestige from perceived "social importance."

Actually, there are reasons to believe that perceived occupational prestige has more effect upon perceptions of at least some other occupational characteristics than vice versa. Presumably there is a tendency for people to make perceptions consistent with each other if they are thought to be related to each other. There is some evidence, even in this analysis, that perceived characteristics of an occupation tend slightly to be seen in a consistent ranking. Presumably persons whose perception of one characteristic is clear and definite will tend to attain perceptual consistency by modifying the less clear and definite perception. Persons may well have a clearer and more definite perception of the prestige hierarchy than the income, skill, social importance, or other occupational hierarchies. People have many more cues—from seeing how people actually defer to each other and how this is depicted in the mass media—about the relative prestige shown members of different occupations than about the relative standing of occupations according to other criteria. Almost by definition, deference must be visible. Incidentally, we would therefore expect more consensus about the relative prestige of occupations than about many other characteristics of occupations.

There are other methodological implications of the findings reported here. If people place occupations within categories and accord prestige in terms of those categories (for example, professions), we would expect that correlations between prestige and perceptions of specific characteristics of a given occupation may not be high for many persons. This also indicates the importance of inquiring into the categories people use in classifying occupations. Furthermore, if the prestige hierarchy is learned, then it can be learned independently of learning about other characteristics of occupations. We would expect, in that case, that changes in the determinants of occupational prestige would not be immediately reflected in changes in occupational prestige; there would be a lag. This, too, helps explain how it is possible for correlations at the individual level to be smaller than theoretically predicted.[18]

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15 Obviously, the extent to which the prestige of an occupation can affect the perception of other characteristics of the occupation depends upon the relative stage in socialization in which each is learned; it also depends upon the degree to which the other characteristics can be objectively ascertained.

16 Eugene A. Weinstein, "Children's Conceptions of Occupational Stratification," *Sociology and Social Research*, 42 (March-April, 1958), pp. 278–284.

17 Ramsey and Smith, *op. cit.*

18 Leaders of occupations wishing to change the relative prestige of their occupation often act as if they believed that changing the public's perception of the prestige accorded occupations by others or changing the category within which the occupation

If the prestige hierarchy is learned, studying the process by which it is learned will draw our attention to the way in which some people may influence others. We need to study such influentials if we are to understand the bases of the occupational prestige hierarchy. *Their* bases of evaluation of occupations may differ from the bases of those whom they are influencing. Perhaps, too, the influentials are the very ones who are in occupational roles which have high prestige and thus they are in a position to perpetuate the prestige hierarchy. This latter suggestion obviously has substantive implications for an explanation of the bases of the prestige hierarchy as well as methodological ones. There are other general substantive implications of the findings.

If we study the process of learning the prestige hierarchy, we are likely to develop a theoretical explanation of occupational prestige in terms of processes affecting the persons actually according prestige. The explanation would be, and appropriately so, in terms of efficient rather than final causes. We would be less likely to reify society and offer explanations in terms of societal needs without specifying the intervening mechanisms. There is, for example, a tendency toward the latter approach in the Davis and Moore analysis, when they write, "Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons."[19] Attention to process would place an emphasis, in functional analysis, not upon functions for the total social system, but upon functions for its constituent members. We would look for the non-normative reciprocal bases of patterned interaction.

More specifically, if we study the process of learning the prestige hierarchy we may find that explanations must give considerable importance to the direct and indirect interaction people have with incumbents of each occupation. One of the findings noted earlier can be interpreted to support this suggestion. We have seen that persons who utilize dentists more and who report receiving better technical or personal treatment are somewhat more likely to think dentists have high prestige than are other persons. This suggests that the extent to which members of an occupation have control over goods, services, and sanctions is related to the amount of deference shown by others. An explanation might be premised upon the axiom that people will try to give no more than they get. Therefore, positions which make possible giving a great deal will receive a great deal. That is, if holders of some positions have access to valued goods, services, and sanctions, persons who benefit from the distribution of these goods, services, and sanctions will reciprocate with deference and other forms of payment. Perhaps this can be restated as a general explanation of the occupational prestige hierarchy. Then the universality of prestige differences would have to be explained by the universal existence of differential access to goods, services, and sanctions.

Such suggestions about relationships at the individual level cannot simply be extrapolated to the aggregate level. It is not the purpose of this paper to present data supporting a theory about the process by which an occupational prestige hierarchy is established, persists, and changes—nor why prestige hierarchies are universal. The purpose is to point out some gaps in our knowledge and to raise questions about issues which should not yet be considered fully resolved. We should try to discover what are the intervening mechanisms by which individual correlations result in correlations at the societal level. If we make this attempt we may have to modify some of our explanations of the bases of occupational prestige. In any case, we will have a more complete explanation and one which will be better validated than those we have at present.

is included is at least as effective as trying to change the characteristics of the occupation which might be considered the determinants of the occupation's prestige. Thus, they try to get prestigeful persons to show deference to members of their occupation or they try to change the name of the occupation to a more professional sounding one.

[19] Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (April, 1945), p. 243.

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

THE TREND OF INTERFAITH MARRIAGES IN CANADA: 1922-1957*

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Popular literature has frequently discussed a purported trend toward increased interfaith marriages in the United States. Scholarly writers citing this trend have frequently documented their statement with a reference to the work of John L. Thomas, S.J. Thomas studied mixed marriages that had been sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church in several dioceses throughout this country and found "a gradual but more or less constant increase from 1910 to the present." However, he modestly concluded that "because intermarriage rates vary so much in different sections of the country, one could venture no generalization on such an inadequate basis." [1]

In truth, because there have never been pertinent statistics in the United States, there is no factual basis for determining the existence of a nationwide trend toward increasing interfaith marriage in this country. For only two States, Iowa and Indiana, are there official statistics on the incidence of interfaith marriage. But no long-term trend can be deduced even for these States, since the Iowa marriage license has noted the religion of bride and groom only since 1953 and the Indiana license only since 1959.[2]

By contrast, the vital statistics published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Canada provide an annual series of statistics on the religion of bridegroom cross-classified by religion of bride back to 1921.[3] This information is currently available concerning the entire nation and for each province. The present research was conducted under the premise that a study of Canadian statistics would not only be of interest in its own right but might also prove useful in analyzing the trend in the United States. Specifically, it was believed that if a uniform trend in the proportion of interfaith marriages could be found among the provinces in Canada, despite their differing social conditions, such a trend would provide additional grounds for presuming a similar trend in the United States.

In this study an interfaith marriage is defined as one in which the religion reported by one spouse at the time of marriage differs from that reported by the other. It should be emphasized that alternative definitions of interfaith marriage might yield trends unlike that discussed here.[4]

Analysis has been confined to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. "Catholic" as defined here combines the reported categories of Roman Catholic and Greek (Byzantine Rite) Catholic. "Protestant" is defined as all religions except those categorized as Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, Oriental religions, other religions, nonreligious denominations, and unknown.

Table 1 shows the proportion of all Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Canada and in each Canadian province who have married outside their respective faiths. To show the trend over time, statistics are included for 1922 (where available),[5] 1927, 1932, 1937, 1942,

* Revision of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Washington, D.C., May 6-7, 1960.

[1] John L. Thomas, S.J., "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review,* 16 (August, 1951), pp. 487-491.

[2] For a statement of the findings concerning interfaith marriages in Iowa, see Loren E. Chancellor and Thomas P. Monahan, "Religious Preference and Inter-Religious Mixtures in Marriages and Divorces in Iowa," *American Journal of Sociology,* 61 (November, 1955), pp. 233-239.

[3] See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Vital Statistics* (an annual publication), Ottawa.

[4] One alternative definition would regard a marriage as an interfaith marriage if the two partners were reared in different religions. Other definitions would treat a marriage as interfaith if at a given time after the marriage the religion of husband and wife were to differ.

[5] No data are available for Quebec in 1922 because Quebec was not then part of the marriage registration area. Data concerning Catholics in 1922 are not available for the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, since in the 1922 statistics data for the Eastern Orthodox and the Greek (Byzantine Rite) Catholic denominations were combined under the category "Greek Churches." For those provinces where in 1927 the Greek Catholics formed less than 5 per cent of the total number of Catholic brides and grooms, i.e., in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and British Columbia, estimates for Catholics in 1922 were made from the 1922 data on Roman Catholics,

TABLE 1. PROPORTION OF ALL BRIDES AND GROOMS OF PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, OR JEWISH RELIGION MARRYING SPOUSE OF DIFFERENT FAITH, FOR CANADA AND EACH PROVINCE, 1922 TO 1957

(A "dash" indicates data not available)

Area	1922	1927	1932	1937	1942	1947	1952	1957	Value of Kendall's *Tau*
Canada	—	5.8	7.6	7.3	9.3	9 9	10.9	11.5	+ .90
Newfoundland	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.9	12.0	+1.00
Prince Edward Island	3.1	3.8	5.3	6 7	7.5	6.5	8.7	7.5	+ .79
Nova Scotia	8.1	7.8	9.4	8.6	11.0	11.6	12.2	12.4	+ .86
New Brunswick	4.9	5.0	6.1	5.5	7.8	8.1	9.7	9.4	+ .86
Quebec	—	2.6	3.6	2.7	3.9	3.3	3.6	3.7	+ .49
Ontario	5.4	6.1	7.0	7.9	10.4	11.9	13.1	13.8	+1.00
Manitoba	—	6.9	9.6	10.5	12.6	14.7	15.3	16.9	+1.00
Saskatchewan	—	7.6	9.4	10.8	12.0	12.6	13.6	16.4	+1.00
Alberta	—	9.9	11.3	13.3	14.6	14.2	15.9	16.8	+ .90
British Columbia	8.7	9.9	10.7	10.6	12.9	14.4	16.3	17.2	+ .93

1947, 1952, and 1957. The direction and regularity of the trend in Canada and in each province during each of these years is measured by a rank-order coefficient, Kendall's *Tau*.[6]

Looking in Table 1 at the proportion of interfaith marriages in Canada as a whole, we see an almost steady rise from 5.8 per cent in 1927 to 11.5 per cent in 1957. For Canada, Kendall's *Tau* has a value of .90. Although the provinces vary considerably in their proportions of interfaith marriage, in each, the direction of the movement is positive. The increase in proportion of interfaith marriages shows great regularity in all provinces except Quebec. In that province the value of *Tau* is only .49, whereas in the other provinces the range in the value of *Tau* is from .79 to 1.00.

We may also examine interfaith marriages within each of the three major religious groups —Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. These trends, for Canada and for each province, are presented in Table 2. For Canada as a whole, we see the same general trend for each of these three groups considered separately as when we look at them combined. For Protestants the rank-order consistency is perfect, and for Catholics very high (.88). For Jews the consistency is considerably less (*Tau* equals .62), but the positive direction is maintained. Among Protestants, the proportion of brides and grooms marrying outside their faith increased from 5.0 per cent in 1927 to 11.6 per cent in 1957; among Catholics, from 7.2 per cent in 1927 to 11.5 per cent in 1957; and among Jews, from 3.0 per cent in 1927 to 6.8 per cent in 1957. Thus, from 1927 to 1957 the percentage increase in the proportion of partners to interfaith marriages was greatest among Protestants (132 per cent), slightly less among Jews (126 per cent), and least among Catholics (60 per cent)

For Protestants the direction of the trend is positive, and its consistency is extremely high for each province except Newfoundland, where only two observations are available. Although the direction for Catholics is always positive, the consistency of the trend in each province is substantially less than for Protestants. The trend toward increasing interfaith marriage in Quebec in particular is very slight, and the value of *Tau* is only .21. However, only 1.5 to 2.2 per cent of the Catholics in Quebec married persons of other religions throughout the thirty year period. The trend by province among Jews is shown only for those three provinces where during the years covered in this study there were, on the average, at least 100 Jewish brides and grooms. In these three provinces—Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba—the trend toward increasing intermarriage is more consistent than for Jews in Canada as a whole.

The trend toward increased proportions of persons marrying outside their own faith is thus seen to be quite general in Canada, extending in varying degree to all provinces and to all three religious groups. We shall now consider some of the circumstances which may

the 1927 data concerning Greek Catholics, and the 1922 data for "Greek Churches."

[6] The value of *Tau* ranges from minus one, when the rank order of one series is completely opposite from that of the other, to a value of plus one when the rank order of the first series is completely congruent with that of the other. Its value is a function of the minimum number of interchanges between neighbors which is required to transform one ranking into another. For further details, see Maurice G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods*, London: Charles Griffith & Company, Limited, 1948.

Table 2. Proportion of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Brides and Grooms Marrying Spouse of Different Faith, for Canada and Each Province, 1922 to 1957

(A "dash" indicates data not available)

Area	1922	1927	1932	1937	1942	1947	1952	1957	Value of Kendall's *Tau*
Canada									
Protestant	—	5.0	6.7	6.8	8.2	9.1	10.5	11.6	+1.00
Catholic	—	7.2	9.4	8.1	11.1	11.1	11.4	11.5	+ .88
Jewish*	—	3.0	2.8	2.7	4.9	4.4	5.9	6.8	+ .62
Newfoundland									
Protestant	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.1	9.1	0.00
Catholic	—	—	—	—	—	—	16.8	18.0	+1.00
Prince Edward Island									
Protestant	2.5	3.2	4.4	5.2	6.6	5.8	7.6	6.8	+ .93
Catholic	4.4	4.9	7.1	9.7	8.6	7.4	10.1	8.4	+ .71
Nova Scotia									
Protestant	5.9	5.4	7.0	6.6	8.1	8.6	9.2	9.6	+ .86
Catholic	14.3	14.3	15.0	13.0	16.7	18.1	18.0	17.7	+ .55
New Brunswick									
Protestant	3.9	4.2	5.3	5.4	7.2	7.6	9.7	9.7	+ .98
Catholic	6.8	6.4	7.3	5.7	8.5	8.8	9.8	9.0	+ .65
Quebec									
Protestant	—	9.9	12.0	12.0	16.3	16.2	17.8	20.6	+ .88
Catholic	—	1.5	2.2	1.5	2.2	1.8	2.0	2.0	+ .21
Jewish	—	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.6	3.2	2.8	3.7	+ .81
Ontario									
Protestant	3.5	4.0	5.6	5.5	7.1	8.3	9.8	10.8	+ .93
Catholic	14.1	14.7	18.0	16.3	22.3	23.0	20.5	19.9	+ .57
Jewish	2.6	2.9	2.2	2.4	4.9	3.3	6.4	8.0	+ .64
Manitoba									
Protestant	4.3	4.7	7.2	7.8	8.8	10.4	11.1	13.0	+1.00
Catholic	—	14.0	15.4	17.9	23.8	27.3	25.6	25.8	+ .81
Jewish	1.8	2.5	4.9	2.7	4.9	4.0	6.1	5.3	+ .69
Saskatchewan									
Protestant	4.9	5.2	6.9	8.0	8.2	9.0	10.4	13.2	+1.00
Catholic	—	15.4	15.7	17.7	23.3	22.1	20.4	22.4	+ .62
Alberta									
Protestant	6.4	6.9	8.1	9.1	9.4	9.5	11.3	12.3	+1.00
Catholic	—	20.4	20.7	27.7	33.5	31.8	29.1	18.4	+ .43
British Columbia									
Protestant	5.0	6.0	7.0	6.6	7.8	9.8	10.4	11.5	+ .93
Catholic	32.1	37.5	32.2	37.3	45.3	47.0	42.5	39.0	+ .50

* Data for Jewish brides and grooms shown only for those provinces where there were, on the average, at least 100.

have caused this increase. One of the factors mentioned most often to explain varying proportions of interfaith marriage is that of religious distribution, i.e., the proportion of the total population which identifies itself with each religious group. The smaller the religious group relative to other groups, the larger the proportion in that group who marry outside the group. Thomas shows the importance of this factor in comparing the intermarriage rates for Catholics in various dioceses in the United States.[7] Locke, Sabagh, and Thomes show that for each of the Canadian provinces in 1954 there was a perfect rank-order correlation between the percentage of Catholic brides and grooms having interfaith marriages and the percentage of the total population of each province that was Catholic.[8]

[7] Thomas, *op. cit.*

[8] Harvey J. Locke, Georges Sabagh, and Mary

Glick has shown that for the United States the factor of religious distribution helps to explain the fact that there is a higher proportion of interfaith marriage among couples where at least one spouse is Catholic than among couples where at least one spouse is Protestant.[9]

Let us now consider the religious composition of brides and grooms in Canada and in each Canadian province. The data from the vital statistics records indicate that in every province the proportion of all brides and grooms who are Catholic is increasing and the proportion who are Protestant decreasing (except in Newfoundland, where we have only two observations). The trend in the Jewish proportion is somewhat unstable but in recent years has declined.[10] If the religious distribution factor alone were operative, we should expect the proportion of Catholic brides and grooms marrying outside their faith to decrease. We conclude, therefore, that factors other than religious distribution have operated to increase the proportion of Catholics marrying outside their faith. Conversely, if the religious distribution factor alone were operative, the decrease in the proportion of brides and grooms who are Protestant would cause an increase in the proportion of Protestants marrying outside their faith. Thus, at least some of the observed increase in interfaith marriage among Protestants is accounted for by the factor of religious distribution. Similarly, at least some of the increase in interfaith marriage among Jews may be accounted for by this factor.

Insofar as the religious distribution factor operates, its operation is completely mechanical: increased availability of marriage partners of differing religion and decreased availability of partners of the same religion cause interfaith marriage to increase, and vice-versa. If religious distribution were the only factor affecting interfaith marriage, the proportion of grooms of a given religion marrying outside their own faith would be identical to the proportion of all brides who were not of that faith. If the religious distribution factor were to have no effect, there could be no interfaith marriage at all.

Let us now consider the ratio of the actual proportion of grooms (or brides) entering interfaith marriages and the proportion who would marry outside their faith if the religious distribution factor alone were operative and brides (or grooms) were selected without regard to religion. It can be seen that, regardless of the actual religious distribution, this ratio is constant if the factors other than religious distribution which inhibit interfaith marriage remain constant, that this ratio increases when the strength of the other inhibiting factors diminishes, and that it decreases when the strength of the other inhibiting factors increases. Thus, we may attempt to determine whether interfaith marriages among the three major religious groups increase in each Canadian province when the religious distribution factor is held constant.

This has been done in Table 3. To simplify the computation, we have taken the ratio of the proportion of brides and grooms of the given religious group in each province marrying outside their faith to the proportion of all brides and grooms of other faiths in that province.[11]

For Protestants, holding constant in this fashion the effect of changes in religious distribution, a trend toward increased interfaith marriage is found in each province. The trend is highly consistent in every province except British Columbia, where the value of *Tau* is only .50. For Catholics also, the trend is positive in every province and is quite consistent except in Alberta, where the value of *Tau* is .52, and in British Columbia, where the value of *Tau* is .57. Among Jews the direction of the trend is positive and also reasonably consistent in each of the three provinces for which data

Margaret Thomes, "Interfaith Marriages," *Social Problems*, 4 (April, 1957), pp. 329–333.

[9] Glick studied differences in religion between husbands and wives who had been married for varying periods. See Paul C. Glick, "Intermarriage and Fertility Patterns Among Persons in Major Religious Groups," *Eugenics Quarterly*, 7 (March, 1960), pp. 31–38.

[10] The religious composition of brides and grooms in the United States has probably shown a less pronounced pattern of change than in Canada. See the distribution of the United States population by religious preference and age in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States: March 1957," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 79, February 2, 1958.

[11] To be precise, one should compute the ratio separately for brides and grooms and sum the weighted results. Thus, one should compute the ratio of the proportion of grooms of a given religion marrying outside their faith to the proportion of brides of different faith, multiply this ratio by the proportion of grooms among the total brides and grooms of the religious group, and add to it the ratio of the proportion of brides of the given religion marrying outside their faith to the proportion of grooms of different faith multiplied by the proportion of brides among the total brides and grooms of the religious group. However, the differences between the two methods of computation are minuscule.

TABLE 3. RATIO OF ACTUAL TO "EXPECTED" PROPORTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS WITH INTERFAITH MARRIAGE BY MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUP, EACH CANADIAN PROVINCE, 1922 TO 1957

(A "dash" indicates data not available)

Area	1922	1927	1932	1937	1942	1947	1952	1957	Value of Kendall's *Tau*
Newfoundland									
Protestant	—	—	—	—	—	—	.259	.272	+1.00
Catholic	—	—	—	—	—	—	.257	.269	+1.00
Prince Edward Island									
Protestant	.068	.084	.127	.151	.151	.132	.178	.155	+ .76
Catholic	.068	.079	.108	.146	.152	.132	.176	.149	+ .71
Nova Scotia									
Protestant	.210	.199	.228	.204	.246	.267	.272	.274	+ .79
Catholic	.195	.195	.213	.190	.246	.265	.270	.271	+ .73
New Brunswick									
Protestant	.111	.112	.130	.115	.157	.167	.148	.192	+ .86
Catholic	.104	.101	.122	.106	.155	.160	.189	.179	+ .79
Quebec									
Protestant	—	.114	.140	.135	.185	.180	.197	.225	+ .81
Catholic	—	.096	.115	.106	.147	.138	.159	.171	+ .81
Jewish	—	.020	.020	.022	.027	.033	.029	.038	+ .88
Ontario									
Protestant	.167	.175	.216	.207	.267	.294	.287	.294	+ .84
Catholic	.173	.183	.230	.211	.292	.307	.295	.297	+ .79
Jewish	.026	.030	.023	.025	.050	.034	.065	.081	+ .64
Manitoba									
Protestant	.152	.164	.197	.227	.282	.330	.322	.362	+ .93
Catholic	—	.182	.217	.249	.321	.369	.359	.372	+ .91
Jewish	.019	.026	.051	.028	.051	.041	.062	.054	+ .69
Saskatchewan									
Protestant	.185	.182	.201	.237	.287	.293	.294	.346	+ .93
Catholic	—	.199	.215	.241	.307	.299	.293	.334	+ .71
Alberta									
Protestant	.241	.256	.266	.319	.375	.354	.367	.384	+ .86
Catholic	—	.258	.271	.348	.421	.402	.384	.389	+ .52
British Columbia									
Protestant	.352	.392	.389	.382	.481	.576	.493	.464	+ .50
Catholic	.364	.424	.374	.426	.521	.546	.515	.486	+ .57

are shown. It may be noted, incidentally, that in all cases the value of the ratio for Jewish brides and grooms is considerably lower than the value of the corresponding ratio for Protestants or Catholics.

We have now shown that the religious distribution within each province cannot entirely account for the increase in interfaith marriage among either Protestants, Catholics, or Jews in Canada. To what additional factors may this increase be due? Our curiosity leads us to inquire whether the reason may not be a change of societal attitude toward interfaith marriage. Militating against the validity of such a conclusion is the fact that several factors unrelated to societal attitudes may also help to explain the results presented in Table 3.

It must first of all be conceded that the exact effect of the religious distribution factor has not been precisely measured. No account has been taken of the fact that there are variations in different parts of a province in the proportion of brides and grooms within each religious group and that the proportion for each part of the province may change with time. Thus in New Brunswick the Catholics are found primarily in the northern part of the province and the Protestants in the south. Holding constant the religious composition of the province, one would expect an increase in interfaith marriage

if Catholics were to spread south and Protestants to the north. To hold constant more completely the religious distribution factor, one would need statistics on religion of groom by religion of bride for each county.

In addition to religious distribution, other adventitious factors unrelated to societal attitudes may affect the trend in the proportion who marry outside their faith. Thomas has mentioned two such factors.[12] The first of these relates to the association of religious with ethnic differences. This association affects the interfaith marriage rate because of the tendency for members of ethnic groups to marry among themselves regardless of religion. When members of one religion are predominantly members of a particular ethnic group while members of a second religion are predominantly members of a second ethnic group, ethnic ties reinforce religious ties to militate against a high proportion of persons marrying outside their faith. Thomas states that under these conditions, a decrease in ingroup feeling among ethnic groups leads to a diminution of the hindrance which such groups present to interfaith marriage.[13] The second factor mentioned by Thomas is the association of religious difference with social-class difference. In this case the distance between social classes provides an impediment to interfaith marriage, and this impediment would be lessened if the association between religious and social-class differences were to be reduced.

It is possible that both of the factors mentioned by Thomas have been operative in Canada and that the nation has experienced diminutions of ingroup solidarity among the predominantly Catholic group of French origin and the predominantly Protestant group of British origin as well as a lessening of association between religious and social-class differences. If so, these factors may help to account for the increase in interfaith marriage in Canada.

Thus, the data at hand do not permit one to answer conclusively whether or not societal attitudes in Canada toward interfaith marriage have changed. However, the plausibility of the hypothesis has been somewhat enhanced by the finding that the proportion of brides and grooms of each religion marrying outside their faith increased even after the religious distribution within each province was held constant.[14]

Generalizations about trends in Canada are not necessarily applicable to the United States, but, in this instance, we believe that the uniformities discovered among the Canadian provinces lend further support to the hypothesis that there has been an increase in interfaith marriage in the United States. We think that changes in religious composition do not provide the only explanation. However, conclusive evidence of the validity of this hypothesis awaits further research.

[12] Thomas, *op. cit.*

[13] We might also expect that changes in the coincidence of religious and ethnic groupings would result in an inverse change in the proportion of interfaith marriages. However, the relevance of this factor to the increase of interfaith marriage in Canada is uncertain. Data are not available concerning the religion of Canadian brides and grooms cross-classified by national origin, and the available census data for the total population during the period 1921–1951 do not indicate any substantial lessening of the coincidence of religious and ethnic groupings.

[14] If attitudes in Canada concerning interfaith marriage have in fact become increasingly tolerant, this phenomenon may be partially due to the change in religious distribution. If we assume that frequently violated norms cannot be maintained, the more frequent incidence of interfaith marriages caused by changes in religious distribution would tend to weaken the norms themselves.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POPULATION GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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One of the major problems confronting mankind today concerns the fact that roughly two thirds of the world's population lives in countries that are characterized by extremely low levels of economic and social well-being. To take a specific illustration, in contrast to an annual per capita income of $1,864 in the United States, recent estimates indicate that about 70 per cent of the countries in the world have annual per capita incomes of less than $400.[1] Furthermore, in most of these countries, death rates have been falling rapidly while fertility has remained at fairly high levels, thus resulting in extensive population increases. It is generally assumed that such persistent population growth in these countries acts to impede the improvement of their current low

* The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

[1] Paul Studenski, *The Income of Nations*, New York: New York University Press, 1958, pp. 229–230.

levels of living, and imposes a real barrier to sustained economic development. As one leading scholar has recently stated:

> If an economy is growing but the population remains unchanged in size, then any increase in goods and services, minus that needed for reinvestment purposes, is available for improving the level of living of the people . . . On the other hand, if there is any amount of population growth, then the increase in goods and services, minus that needed for reinvestment, when divided amongst a larger population, will result in smaller gains per capita in the level of living.[2]

It is the purpose of the present brief note to offer some empirical evidence in support of this proposition.

The economic development of any given country is a process which entails changes in nearly every aspect of economic and social life. Although there are many and varied indicators of this process, the trend of per capita real income may perhaps be regarded as the most significant. The movement of per capita income is highly correlated with other changes in the social and economic welfare of a particular society, and the direction and speed of this movement may be regarded as a reliable indicator of the extent to which a society is becoming better or worse off.[3] For purposes of the present discussion, then, it is assumed that economic development is reflected in an increase of per capita real income. It is further assumed that the relationship between population growth and economic development is reflected in the relationship between the annual rate of population growth and the annual rate of increase in per capita income. By a consideration of recent population and income growth trends in a few selected underdeveloped countries, the present paper seeks to provide a concrete illustration of the deterrent effects which rapid population growth can have on economic progress in the "have not" countries of the world.

DATA AND METHODS

Our effort here is to compare the annual rates of increase in population and per capita income for selected underdeveloped countries during the period 1952 to 1958. By defining level of economic development in terms of annual per capita income, and by adopting $400 per year as a somewhat arbitrary cut-off point, at least 42 countries can be identified as being economically underdeveloped.[4] Unfortunately, however, the data necessary to show changes over time in per capita real income were not always available; hence, not all of these countries could be included in the comparison. Although total national income data are available for nearly all countries,[5] these data are, for the most part, computed at current market prices; as such, they are not conducive to comparisons over time.[6] This is the consequence of the fact that prices vary from year to year, and changes in national income from one year to another may reflect changes in the price structure just as much as they may reflect changes in the quantity of goods and services produced during a given interval. Since our objective in comparing the national income figures over time is to ascertain changes in the economic welfare of a society, it is necessary to eliminate the effects of price changes from these figures. This can only be done by expressing national income over a period of years in terms of a constant set of prices for one specific year, and comparisons of economic changes over time can only be made for those countries for which such data are available.

Of the 42 countries which were designated as economically underdeveloped, 1952 and 1958 national income data at a constant price index were available for only 16: Argentina, Austria, Belgian Congo, Burma, Chile, Cyprus, Ecuador, Greece, Honduras, India, Italy, Pakistan, Philippines, Portugal, South Korea, and Turkey.[7] These income data were related to population estimates for 1952 and 1958 in order to determine per capita income.[8] The percentage change in per capita income between 1952 and 1958 was then computed and divided by six to yield an annual rate of per capita income increase for that period. The resulting values were then compared with the annual rates of population growth for these countries during the same period.[9] The results of this comparison are presented in Table 1.

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[2] A. J. Jaffe, "Population Trends and Controls in Underdeveloped Countries," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 25 (Summer, 1960), pp. 529–530.

[3] Joseph J. Spengler, "Population and World Economic Development," *Science*, 131 (May, 1960), pp. 1497–1502.

[4] Studenski, *op. cit.*

[5] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics: 1959*, New York: 1960.

[6] Studenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–218.

[7] United Nations, *op. cit.*

[8] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Statistical Yearbook: 1959*, New York: 1959.

[9] *Ibid.* Annual rates of population growth were computed in the same manner as the annual rates of increase in per capita income.

TABLE 1. ANNUAL RATES OF INCREASE IN POPULATION AND PER CAPITA INCOME, 1952 TO 1958: SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Annual Rate of Population Growth	Annual Rate of per Capita Income Growth
Austria	0.2	7.2
Italy	0.5	5.8
Portugal	0.9	3.1
Greece	0.9	7.5
South Korea	1.0	3.0
Burma	1.2	2.9
India	1.4	1.6
Pakistan	1.4	0.9
Cyprus	1.7	2.9
Belgian Congo	1.9	2 8
Argentina	2.0	1.7
Chile	2.6	1.2
Philippines	2.7	3.6
Turkey	2.8	2.8
Honduras	2.8	0.3
Ecuador	3.2	0.8

DISCUSSION

Although it is recognized that a completely adequate account of the relationship between population growth and economic development would consider both the effect of income changes on population growth and the effect of population growth on the movement of per capita income, attention is here focused solely on the latter effect. If one equates economic development with an increase in per capita real income, it is clearly indicated that a rapidly increasing population can seriously impede economic progress in underdeveloped countries. According to Table 1 the annual rate of increase in per capita income in the 16 countries examined has tended to be in inverse proportion to the rate of population growth (Pearson $r = -.68$). With only a few exceptions, those countries which have experienced the highest annual rates of population growth since 1952 have realized the smallest gains as far as per capita income is concerned.

For those countries which have been growing at a rate of less than 1 per cent per year, the annual rate of increase in per capita income has ranged from 3.1 per cent to 7.5 per cent, with an overall average of 5.9 per cent a year. In contrast, the average annual rate of per capita income increase has been only 2.4 per cent for countries whose annual rate of population growth has been between 1 and 2 per cent, and only 1.7 per cent for those countries which have been growing at a rate in excess of 2 per cent per year. Furthermore, among the countries in this latter group, the rate of population growth has been, with the exception of the Philippines, as great as or greater than the annual rate of increase in per capita income. On the basis of the data for these 16 countries then, it can be concluded that rapid population growth has been strongly associated with a low level of economic progress.

CONCLUSION

Although the present analysis has been confined to only a few selected underdeveloped countries, it has clearly demonstrated a negative relationship between changes in man's material status and the rate of increase in population.[10] All of the countries examined are characterized by extremely low levels of per capita income, but all of them have been experiencing increases in per capita income Since economic development has been equated with an increase in per capita real income, it is apparent that all of these countries have been undergoing some degree of economic development. At the same time, however, this economic growth is seen to have been most pronounced among those countries which have been characterized by low or moderate rates of population growth. The evidence presented, therefore, supports the view that rapid population growth exerts serious retarding effects on economic changes in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

CITY-SUBURBAN INCOME DIFFERENTIALS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS *

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At least since the editors of a national magazine proclaimed the emergence of "The Lush New Suburban Market,"[1] there has been a tendency to attribute higher average levels of

[10] For a more sophisticated analysis of the adverse effects of rapid population growth on economic progress in underdeveloped countries, see Ansley J. Coale and Edgar M. Hoover, *Population Growth and Economic Development in Low Income Countries*, Part V, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

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[1] *Fortune* (November, 1953), pp. 128–131 and 230–237.

income to suburban areas. Compared to the large American city, it is generally believed that the socio-economic status of the surrounding area is markedly higher. This is one of the more firmly established "myths of suburbia" recently attacked by Berger.[2]

Now it should be made clear that there is a pronounced tendency for the average incomes of the very largest cities to be surpassed by those of their suburbs, but medium-sized and smaller cities tend to exhibit income levels in excess of their surrounding areas.[3] In fact, if one examines median family incomes for cities and suburban "rings" in all of the 168 Standard Metropolitan Areas (SMA's) identified in the 1950 census, one finds that only 60 areas—or 35.7 per cent—have suburbs in which incomes exceed those of the cities. One wonders how the opposite pattern could have become so firmly established in our thinking about contemporary American suburbanism. Further research into the subject of city-suburban income differentials is patently required.

One enlightening set of comparisons has to do with the incomes of whites and Negroes in cities and suburbs. Unfortunately, adequate data are not available for all metropolitan areas; family income, by color, for cities and suburban rings were published only for the larger cities of the South. Incomes of persons receiving income, however, were published for whites and Negroes in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1950, and the same information was made available for metropolitan areas of this size.[4] As a consequence, city and suburban income, for whites and Negroes, can be compared in 60 SMA's. Thirty of these areas are in the South; the remaining 30 are labelled as lying in the "North" throughout the balance of this note.

Examining median personal incomes in cities and suburbs without respect to color, one finds suburban income higher in a clear majority of SMA's within both broad regions:

Region	Total City Income Higher	Total Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
North	6	24	30
South	13	17	30
Total	19	41	60

This reversal of the previous generalization (for family income in all 168 SMA's) is a result of selecting only the larger areas—those for which personal income data are available for cities and suburbs by color.

Regionally, the suburban advantage is seen to hold only for the Northern areas when the incomes of city and suburban *whites* are examined:

Region	White City Income Higher	Same	White Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
North	7	0	23	30
South	17	1	12	30
Total (white only)	24	1	35	60

When *Negro* incomes in the two types of area are compared, it is seen that city income tends to be higher in both regions:

Region	Negro City Income Higher	Same	Negro Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
North	17	0	13	30
South	27	1	2	30
Total (Negro only)	44	1	15	60

Turning once again to the income of all persons, without respect to color, we find further evidence in support of the previous generalization regarding city-suburban differentials by size:

Size of SMA in 1950	Total City Income Higher	Total Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
1,000,000 or more	0	13	13
500,000–1,000,000	4	11	15
300,000–500,000	2	12	14
Under 300,000	13	5	18
Total	19	41	60

In a very general way, comparisons of city and suburban incomes show the same patterns with size when the two color groups are examined separately.[5] *White* income tends to be

[2] Bennett M. Berger, *Working-Class Suburb*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960, especially Chapter 1.

[3] Leo F. Schnore and David W. Varley, "Some Concomitants of Metropolitan Size," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August, 1955), pp. 408–414.

[4] The data appear in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950*, Volume II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952, Table 87 for each state. Median incomes were calculated only for those areas (cities or suburbs) containing at least 500 Negroes receiving income, since the data come from a 20 per cent sample. The same practice was followed by the Bureau of the Census.

[5] Data for Urbanized Areas in 1950 show a marked positive association between size of area

higher in the suburbs of large metropolitan areas, but the income of city whites tends to be higher in smaller areas:

Size of SMA in 1950	White City Income Higher	Same	White Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
1,000,000 or more	0	0	13	13
500,000–1,000,000	6	0	9	15
300,000–500,000	4	1	9	14
Under 300,000	14	0	4	18
Total (white only)	24	1	35	60

The income of city *Negroes* tends to be higher in each size class, but instances of higher suburban income among Negroes are more likely to appear in the largest SMA's:

Size of SMA in 1950	Negro City Income Higher	Same	Negro Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
1,000,000 or more	8	0	5	13
500,000–1,000,000	9	0	6	15
300,000–500,000	11	1	2	14
Under 300,000	16	0	2	18
Total (Negro only)	44	1	15	60

In some cases, a comparison of total income in cities and suburbs is grossly misleading. In the Chattanooga, Tennessee SMA, for example, the median income of all ring inhabitants ($1,691) is clearly higher than that of all city dwellers ($1,609). An examination of city-suburban differentials by color, however, reveals that city incomes are higher—on the average—for both whites and Negroes:

Color	Median Income, SMA	Median Income, City	Median Income, Ring
White	$1,840	$1,918	$1,768
Negro	$ 985	$1,015	$ 819
Total	$1,642	$1,609	$1,691

The explanation lies in the overwhelming "whiteness" of Chattanooga's suburbs (where Negroes constitute only 4.8 per cent of the total ring population) and the heavier concentration of Negroes in the city (where they make up 30.0 per cent of the Chattanooga population). The higher average income of the more numerous suburban whites raises the over-all suburban average above that of the city, despite the fact that city incomes are higher for each of the two constituent color groups taken separately.[6]

In summary, the prevailing impression of city-suburban income differentials conveyed by the literature is essentially the pattern displayed by Northern whites, particularly those residing in the larger metropolitan areas. Higher suburban income does *not* characterize Negroes, nor is it generally true of smaller metropolitan areas, especially in the South. It is true that the 13 SMA's of one million or more inhabitants all show the pattern that is commonly assumed in the literature, and these areas contained 43,323,987 people—51.3 per cent of the nation's metropolitan population in 1950. Yet the exceptions are numerous, whether one counts the population or the number of areas exhibiting the opposite pattern of city-suburban income differentials.

We have simply succeeded in establishing the fact of variation. Explanations have not been advanced in this brief note. Part of the explanation of these differences probably lies in the diverse occupational and industrial compositions of cities and rings, and especially in the varying importance of agriculture in the rings. Among the 60 areas under study, the proportion of the ring's employed labor force that is found in agriculture ranges from 1.1 per cent in the Boston, Massachusetts SMA to 44.9 per cent in the Montgomery, Alabama SMA, though the overwhelming majority exhibit values below 10 per cent.[7] The significance of this proportion lies in the fact that agricultural income is low, and the ring's median income is depressed in any area in which agriculture predominates in

and median income. See Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950,* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956, Chapter 9. The income gradient observed over the various size classes persists with controls for sex, age, color, and region. Among the 60 areas examined here, the following rank-order correlations with *size of SMA* were observed:

White income, entire SMA=+.444
Negro income, entire SMA=+.613
Total income, entire SMA=+.583

[6] The same kind of reversal can be observed in Youngstown, Ohio; Fort Worth, Texas; Tampa, Florida; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Cities generally contain higher proportions of Negroes than their rings, but exceptions are to be found in the following Southern and Western SMA's: Austin, Texas, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Dallas, Texas, Little Rock, Arkansas; Memphis, Tennessee; Montgomery, Alabama; Phoenix, Arizona; Shreveport, Louisiana; and Tacoma, Washington.

[7] The rank correlation between this proportion and the size of the entire SMA is —.701 for these 60 areas. In all, 21 of the 30 Southern SMA's revealed 10 per cent or fewer in agriculture in their rings, and the same is true of 24 of the 30 "Northern" SMA's. It should be pointed out, however, that five out of the six "Northern" cases with values above 10 per cent were actually located in the West.

the ring. The effects are clearly suggested by the following comparisons of total income (without respect to color) in cities and rings:

Per Cent of Ring's Employed Labor Force in Agriculture	Total City Income Higher	Total Ring Income Higher	Total Number of SMA's
Less than 5	1	23	24
5–10	3	18	21
11–16	8	0	8
17 or more	7	0	7
Total	19	41	60

These considerations call into question the practice—employed here and elsewhere in the literature—of equating metropolitan "rings" with "suburbs." Surely the Montgomery ring is not "suburban" in the sense implied in most discussions. If adequate data were available for suburban areas identified by reference to a meaningful taxonomy, it is possible that they would exhibit the income levels and other characteristics commonly attributed to them.[8] Until that task is accomplished, answers to the question of city-suburban income differentials must remain equivocal.

In any event, further research will be required in order to account for the different patterns documented here. This brief note, however, should serve to underscore the existence of a challenging problem and to point to some of the variables that seem relevant in further analysis of the subject—size, region, color, and industrial and occupational composition.

[8] A slightly improved operational definition of "suburb" equates it with that portion of the total Urbanized Area (UA) lying beyond the political limits of the central city. Some writers refer to this outlying area as the suburban "fringe." For *Southern* cities and UA's, income data for families, and for families and unrelated individuals taken together, can be secured for whites and *nonwhites* (not Negroes) by combining the data in Tables 37 and 37-a in Volume II. For families and unrelated individuals in 30 Southern areas, the results were as follows:

Color and Size of UA, 1950	City Income Higher	Fringe Income Higher	Total Number of UA's
White	9	21	30
500,000 or more	1	8	9
300,000–500,000	1	9	10
100,000–300,000	7	4	11
Nonwhite	18	11	29 *
500,000 or more	6	3	9
300,000–500,000	7	3	10
100,000–300,000	5	5	10 *
Total	8	22	30
500,000 or more	2	7	9
300,000–500,000	1	9	10
100,000–300,000	5	6	11

* El Paso, Texas had no nonwhites in the fringe.

It can be seen that the use of this different unit results in more cases in which "suburban" income exceeds city income for both color groups. Nevertheless, nonwhite city income remains higher in a clear majority of areas. It will also be seen that the previously observed pattern according to size of area persists for whites and for the total population without respect to color, but that the nonwhite pattern tends to be reversed, i.e., nonwhite suburban income is likely to be higher in smaller Southern UA's. These results are generally consistent with the findings on income presented by Duncan and Reiss, who found that "central-suburban differences [in favor of suburbs] are more pronounced for whites than for nonwhites, and the difference for females is in the opposite direction from that for males." See Duncan and Reiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–132.

COMMUNICATIONS

COMMUNIST RECTIFICATION PROGRAMS AND DELINQUENCY REHABILITATION PROGRAMS: A PARALLEL?

To the Editor:

I suspect that many of us who have read the Empey and Rabow article on "The Provo Experiment in Delinquency Rehabilitation" [1] have been profoundly impressed by it. Rarely have we been treated to a paper of such theoretical prowess coupled with rigor of implementation; and all of it stated succintly. It is within such a framework that I should like to raise a not unsympathetic question.

In many ways—some of them superficial and some of them not—the techniques used at Pinehills are reminiscent of those employed by the Communists in Korea on selected groups of American prisoners of war. One sees the leverage of the group being applied to the individual by way of public confessions, the demand for candor, the infinite patience and inscrutability of authority. There appears the "carrot and stick" technique along with the utilization of role disruption and social anxiety as motivating forces. Beyond that, one is reminded how systematically and thoroughly the integrity of psychological privacy is undermined.

I do not doubt that Empey and Rabow are fully aware of the parallels between their work and the efforts of the Communists in Korea.

The question which I should like to raise is the obvious one of values. In Korea we were shocked at what seemed to us the cynicism with which American was turned upon American. (We were horrified by some other social phenomena, too, which are not germane to the present discussion.) We perceived something Orwellian and "ghoulish" in the "Rectification Program." I do not wish to suggest that intellectual consistency and ethical gentility require that we dismantle such programs as Empey and Rabow's. Far, far from it. The *reductio ad absurdum* of that argument may delight that uninhibited imagination (over coffee), but our authors must face the day-to-day realities of delinquent careers.

What I should urge is that we once again return to the classic question of means and ends; that we must not hide from the larger, perhaps tragically futile, issues of social existence. Whether one is warped toward legitimate American society or legitimate Communist society is not the essential question. It would be a Koestler-like dream were Empey, Rabow and some of the rest of us to find ourselves "comrades" in a Communist rectification camp. What could we say?

I raise the question and do not propose an answer—an old but honest academic trick. Before we are caught in the position of many nuclear physicists, I should like to urge that we think through with honesty quite what we are doing and what precedents we are establishing. It would be a supreme indictment of the students of society were we not to profit *a priori* from another social group now often tortured and troubled by its awesome contribution to the modern world.

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[1] *American Sociological Review,* 26 (October, 1961), pp. 679–695.

REPLY TO WHITNEY H. GORDON

To the Editor:

Professor Gordon's provocative query is best discussed in terms of the two major questions he raises: (1) the possible parallel between techniques used in the Provo Experiment and those used by the Communists in Korea; and (2) whether, as a part of the larger question of the relations of means to ends, a similarity would not rule out such experimental techniques as unethical, perhaps dangerous, precedents.

Professor Gordon is correct regarding the Provo Experiment and the Communists: there are parallels between the two programs. However, a recognition of this fact does not permit any simple conclusion as to what should be done. The reason is that, as William Sargant has pointed out, there are also parallels between Communist techniques and many other common, often traditional social practices in religion, politics, medicine, psychology and others.

Professor Gordon's second question regarding the relation of means to ends, profound as it is, does not begin to address itself to all of the tremendous complexities involved. Prior to recent times Americans were seldom aroused, on any mass basis, by the use of drugs or electric

shock treatment as a means of heightening suggestibility, by the calculated down-grading (sometimes degrading) of personal identity in the Military in the interest of unquestioning obedience and *esprit de corps*, or even by the stress experienced by many college students when they encounter courses which question their basic religious, economic, and moral beliefs. Only when the techniques common to many of these practices were systematically applied by the Communists were people struck by their implications; yet they are all forms of "brain washing"—attempts to change perceptions, attitudes and behavior through emotional stress, confessions, the presentation of new alternatives, followed sometimes by analyses.

Any recognition and concern over these techniques, therefore, besides that of the relation of means to ends, would seem to require that we deal with another important question: "What are the ethical, social, and scientific consequences of *not* undertaking studies which would investigate the principles upon which such techniques operate?" Answers to this problem, because of its concern with human nature, social control, and the relation of individual to social "good," might well involve the whole of social science. They could not be determined solely upon the basis of an ethical concern for the maintenance of individual privacy. What is the precise contribution of change techniques to social solidarity, as well as to the invasion of privacy? What are important *differences* among them, as well as parallels?

The involvement of science in the investigation of problems of this type arouses minimal resistance so long as it remains abstract and withdrawn. But the problem is heightened by the development of any systematic and explicitly stated program like the Provo Experiment. It poses yet anothe intrusion by science into realms formerly reserved for religion, social welfare, and philosophy.

Perhaps, by using the Provo Experiment as an example, we can deal with specifics rather than generalities. A systematic examination denies easy solution.

Investigation suggests that we are dealing with a population of offenders who, although they have been reared in a society emphasizing democratic values and processes, have largely had experiences to the contrary. Currently their relationship to the community is a power relationship whose principal traditional function has been to imprison them. If one seeks other alternatives, several factors must be considered:

1. What are the consequences to both delinquents and the community if a program fails to use techniques which clarify alternatives and socialize offenders?

A failure to impel involvement by *both* authorities and delinquents in the treatment process encourages the old functional adjustment of removing the offender. The delinquent may be spared the necessity of having to change and social solidarity may be enhanced, but those in power in the community are also spared even minimal responsibility. What a multitude of ethical, practical and theoretical questions are raised by this circumstance!

2. What are alternative techniques for operating within the context of a community?

One issue that has to be faced is that the relationship between treatment personnel and delinquents is not a voluntary relationship. "Clients" in this case are much less volunteers than a two-week old draftee in the Army. Furthermore, in light of the parallels among various change techniques, it should be recognized that virtually any technique is going to involve the use of power, either seductively, in the guise of a gentle specification of alternatives and the use of positive transference relationships, or in a more direct way, perhaps as specified in our original paper. Decisions regarding this question involve not only ethics but the reality of community and delinquent life as we best understand it.

3. What are traditional techniques used by court and treatment personnel in the community? What are delinquent methods for handling them?

Most traditional treatment techniques, we believe, are rooted in middle-class perceptions and problems. As a consequence, two problems are raised:

a. They lend themselves to sometimes contradictory emphases upon: (1) one-to-one relationships which are warm and accepting; and (2) to the "correct" manipulation of language and behavior—*rehabilitation by definition*. In addition to the manifest function which these techniques serve, we suspect that they also serve the latent function of making the lives of authorities more comfortable. Tensions are avoided; everybody knows what he is supposed to do.

b. However, unlike neurotics who are often isolated and self-absorbed, delinquents, we believe, share techniques and rationalizations for dealing with these techniques By appearing to accept the middle-class definition of any treatment situation, they can make an implicit or explicit claim on authorities to be persons of the kind expected. They can exert a moral command upon authorities to treat them in a manner that persons of that kind have a right to expect.

Unfortunately, there is nothing in such a setting to encourage responsible individuality. The cynicism it engenders only strengthens delinquent perceptions and may actually contribute to further law-breaking.

4. What is a positive treatment experience?

An ethical concern for the subjects of any program would seem to require that they be able, ultimately, to understand both the objectives of their program as well as the means by which these objectives are to be realized. It is our impression, incidentally, that the Communists were not interested in this task. One of the striking things about returning American prisoners was their confusion and apathy, their lack of a personal or collective commitment to any ideology. Thus, it is one thing to break a person down under intolerable stress and quite another to use this stress

positively, not only to modify perceptions, but to permit a greater susceptibility for the examination of new alternatives, skills, and opportunities.

We hypothesize, for example, that, unless delinquents are made increasingly capable of independent, yet responsible action, through a modification of both self and environment, it will be too easy for them to resort again to the delinquent system as the most functional adjustment. Treatment in the Provo Experiment, therefore, does create stress but uses it as a means of breaking up stereotyped (often cynical) role-playing. In addition, it tries to provide opportunities by which candor and communication can lead to an exploration of new alternatives. Seen in this way, there is no reason why stress cannot be used constructively.

In contrast to the religious revival or Communist techniques which leave a person in a condition of high suggestibility, but without adequate means for understanding, our approach concentrates upon means by which a delinquent group can expand its understanding. Ideally, the group learns to function as a social microcosm, and any individual can profit from learning to deal with many of the social problems involved. Not only must group members deal with an ambiguous setting, but deal with the authoritarian demands of the delinquent system.

This approach suggests that before individuals can realize maximum benefits from treatment, they have to analyze the process problems, subgroupings, interpersonal relationships, and power structures which develop within the group. Therapy is seen as being derived both from the involvement of the members with the effective development of the group as a treatment instrument as well as with the analysis of individual problems. The ideal is to have members understand the social circumstances under which their problems developed, the whole process in which they are involved, and to have them accept some responsibility, not only for themselves, but for the other persons who have been involved with them in the reformation process.

The long-range success of such an approach would seem to hinge upon two things:

a. The granting of some power to the group by which its members can feel that they have a stake in group decision-making.

b. The subsequent opportunity in the community (training, employment, etc.) by which to utilize any new perceptions and motivations. Increased opportunity to be conventional would seem to be imperative.

It is a matter of opinion whether individuality is really lost in this process, or whether the means used are unethical. Before making any such judgment regarding this or any other program, it would be better to have information which only systematic investigation can provide: specific delineation of the means by which changes are to be effected, the ends to which these means are directed, an understanding of the processual relation of the two, and the criterion variables by which success or failure are actually measured At best, we have only a partial specification of these factors for any program.

LaMar T. Empey
Jerome Rabow
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BOOK REVIEWS

Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory. Edited by TALCOTT PARSONS, EDWARD SHILS, KASPAR D. NAEGELE, and JESSE R. PITTS. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. Vol. I, xix, 682, xiv pp.; Vol. II, xix, 1479, xiv pp. $25.00.

In the opening words of the editors these volumes "document what we believe to constitute a major revolution in scholarly and professional thinking about the nature and determinants of human conduct in society. It is a revolution that may well turn out to be as crucial as was the crystallization of the biological theory of evolution a century ago." The main theoretical assumption of this new perspective is that "analyses of the *patterning* of the phenomena of social interaction, of their *coherence* as social systems, and of the *establishment* of these systems through the internalization of normative culture within the personality of the individual, together constitute a mode of 'grouping and explaining' social facts." The new set of ideas is believed to constitute "in the most fundamental sense a unified movement." Elsewhere in the preface the editors state that the major trends in the theory of social systems have been convergent rather than divergent. They indicate that it is their particular concern to show the continuity of contemporary views with those of the recent past. The claim is made that they "have tried to link present problems with the principal themes represented in the selections themselves." Allegedly, Naegele's leading essay is "on the scope of theory in the social science field, and some of the problems involved in the construction of theory," whereas Parsons' contribution "is intended as a review of general theoretical problems and some of the more specific problems which contemporary sociology must face . . ."

That these claims are gratuitous should be apparent from the following considerations: (1) The respects in which the selections are revolutionary, or, by analogy, evolutionary, are not examined. No doubt, recent writers on society differ from their forebears; some new words have been added and there are fresh applications of ancient distinctions, but claims in favor of major discoveries are open to serious dispute. For this reason, historical analyses confirming the presence of a new body of highly probable theories are necessary to support the claim. (2) Concepts such as "patterning" and "coherence" are among the unstated assumptions of all who attempt to write consistently and intelligibly about society. The application of these assumptions to the *explanation* of social facts requires, in addition, exploration of the sociological equivalents of syntactic and semantic rules for combining and confirming statement forms. Otherwise such declarations are either arbitrary or programmatic. (3) The editors' claim that their body of ideas represents a unified movement appears, in the face of obvious differences, as a doctrinal device for converting the innocent. Such a claim is scientifically meaningful when a professional group accepts the validity of a minimum set of general principles after sustained attempts at refutation have failed. Moreover, the formulation of explicit procedures for constructing and testing theories is not a serious objective of the editors. (4) The predominance of convergent trends over divergent trends, of continuity over discontinuity in social theory, is repeatedly affirmed but never demonstrated, unless occasional remarks about parallel meanings in this or that author are taken as proof. To support such a claim, complementary and contrasting phrases from each selection should be linked together; in this way direct comparisons would be open to the inspection of the reader. Short of this device, cross-referencing of ideas would provide a contextual, if not a systematic, basis for assessing the editors' contentions. However, scarcely more than a quarter of Parsons' fifty references are to other authors than himself. Pitts, alone, cites a representative collection of scholars. Perhaps most damaging to the editors' views is their failure to provide a subject index whereby central concepts could be traced from their sources. This addition would facilitate careful analysis of the respects in which themes and problems are framed within similar perspectives. (5) The claim that Naegele's main essay treats of problems involved in theory construction is marred by the absence of any elementary attempt to explicate the logical structure of the subject. Likewise, Parsons' essay misleads the reader by offering no preliminary definition of "general theoretical problems." Presumably such problems refer to impasses in theoretical analysis, but Parsons' account is so filled with his own "solutions" that the problems of sociology escape attention.

The reviewer believes that the editor's main contributions should be viewed as self-contained essays rather than as sources for illuminating the selections. In his "Outline of the Social System," Parsons inserts such words as "analytical," "action," and "theory" into non-technical language, relying on repetition to give the semblance of significance. He does not show, by methods of conceptual reconstruction, how these terms may be precisely introduced into discourse. To mention a prominent example, he repeats the word "cybernetics" and then calls his revised scheme one of "societal inputs and outputs" without a whit of further concern for previous scientific usage. Unfortunately, Parsons' insights seem to depend less upon communicable norms of inference and designation than upon certain types of conventional word associations, supported, if at all, by incomplete analogies.

Naegele's contribution is an original addition to the literature of sociology when viewed from the perspective of the questions it asks. The author is keenly sensitive to the divergence and "severalness" of sociological usage. We read of complementary notions, of the distinctions and discrepancies between contrasts, of the duality of the self, of the difference and link between the actual and the possible within social order. We are alerted to the fact that commitments are surrounded by debate and that puzzles, dialogue, and paradox are not without relevance for sociology. Since consensus, continuity, and integration are given attention, this essay may prove to be a valuable reservoir for formulating dialectical issues in sociology.

Shils' epilogue is sophisticated, imaginative, and paradoxical. Containing a mixture of radical and orthodox beliefs, it offers disconcerting inconsistencies. On different occasions we are told sociology is humanistic, moral, ethical, political, rhetorical, dialectical, progressive, and cumulative. Still, sociological theory is not scientific, does not encompass changes of whole societies, and cannot proceed deductively. Although asserting that the theory of action may be only one possibility within a far more general theory and that existing models of an integrated society are too unrealistic to explain change, Shils states that "only a theory having much in common with the theory of action is in a position to criticize." Moreover, sociology has not succeeded in becoming a technological discipline; the technological application of sociology cannot claim to be fitting for a democratic society. The emphasis of "oppositional" sociology on dissensual processes is manipulative, defective intellectually, and provides a distorted picture of society. "Sociology can and almost certainly will divest itself of the quasi-Marxist, populistic, rationalistic anti-authoritarianism . . . the theory itself will need the guidance of the 'experience' or of the 'vision' of authority . . . ." If these lines represent action theory in its most honest moments its critics cannot be rightfully accused of strawmanship.

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Ressentiment. By MAX SCHELER. Edited, with an introduction by LEWIS A. COSER. Translated by WILLIAM W. HOLDHEIM. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. 201 pp. $4.00.

This is an excellent translation of one of the major writings of Max Scheler. Scheler took the concept of "ressentiment" as introduced by Nietzsche and made it into a major tool of social analysis. For him ressentiment was a deep-seated emotion appearing in a noble and benevolent guise, but composed actually of strong feelings of hidden hostility. The hostile feelings, such as hatred and revenge, are built up cumulatively over time. However, when conditions do not allow for their expression they may be repressed to the point where they are no longer seen or experienced as the hostile feelings which they are. Instead, they are covered over, paradoxically, by a sympathetic embracing of the very objects which are responsible for them. Thus, in ressentiment what is expressly condemned is secretly but unknowingly coveted Similarly, what is manifestly espoused is basically but unwittingly rejected. The attitude of "sour grapes" is a simple, although limited example of ressentiment.

Scheler regarded ressentiment as primarily a product of the social structure, specifically of positions of social inferiority and weakness, wherein occupants are unable to express their feelings of envy, rancor, hatred, or revenge. Hence, ressentiment is likely to arise among people who are socially disadvantaged and relatively impotent, such as women, priests, elders in a youthful society, displaced social classes, and emerging groups that are persistently blocked in the realization of their aspirations. The real importance of ressentiment, for Scheler, lies in the system of values to which ressentiment gives rise. These values are the product of the weak, the unequal, and the unfit; further, the values are unhealthy because of the core of unresolved hostility at their base. Thus, the moral schemes that emerge out of ressentiment are intrinsically diseased. To organize group life on their model is pathological. With this argument as his weapon, Scheler engages in a polemical attack on many

of the central moral values of our times, such as humanitarianism, the cult of equality, the idealization of "work," the exaltation of the idea of utility, and the mechanistic scheme of the universe. Most of the discussion in the present volume consists of this polemical analysis.

Many readers will hail Scheler's argument and analysis as sound. Others, as the reviewer, will regard them instead as speculative ingenuity, albeit brilliantly executed. I would merely note that before the concept of ressentiment is used as an analytical tool, its empirical validity should be established. This has not been done.

It would be unfortunate to reject the present work because of the questionable character of the concept of ressentiment and the use which Scheler makes of it. The present work is remarkable for the shrewd observations and penetrating discernments which it contains. Scheler was a gifted and acutely sensitive observer of human experience, especially of social sentiments. A rich, even though scattered array of his insightful observations, are given in this volume Many of them have been captured by Lewis Coser in his very fine introduction. Large numbers remain to be garnered by the discerning and sympathetic reader. In the judgment of the reviewer, it is these sensitive and penetrating insights that make the present work somewhat of a social psychological classic.

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Philosophy, Science and the Sociology of Knowledge. By IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ. Foreword by ROBERT S COHEN. American Lecture Series No. 442. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1961. xiii, 169 pp. $7.75.

This survey of the historical background and the philosophical issues related to the sociology of knowledge developed out of a series of lectures first given at the University of Buenos Aires, which later served as a basis for a seminar at Bard College. The book to a certain extent shows its pedagogical origins; for a number of the topics covered, particularly in the earlier sections, receive very brief treatment, and one suspects that they served as a basis for much more elaborate presentation and discussion in the class room. This is, perhaps, the chief weakness of the book, for although it opens up a number of significant areas of analysis, and in this way provides an excellent basis for seminar discussion in courses in the sociology of knowledge, it is primarily a course manual rather than a monograph.

The second chapter, "The Pre-History of the Sociology of Knowledge," is especially illustrative in this connection. In somewhat less than twenty-five pages, the reader is given a survey of the contributions made to the field by Lao Tzu, Chaung-Tzu, Motse, Han Fei Tzu, the Confucians, Plato, Lucretius, the Epicureans, Bacon, Hume, Malebranche, Helvetius, Kant, Hegel, and Feuerbach.

Because of the number of topics covered, the analysis of the relations between metascience, epistemology, politics, and the sociology of knowledge often proceeds by assertion rather than by demonstration. Here again, the reader receives the impression that in the give-and-take of seminar discussion these topics received the elaboration and analysis which they require; but in the book they remain in the form of a number of seminal clues and hypotheses to be explored.

Although the author takes pains to indicate the metaphysical presuppositions and sociological determinants which are operative in the formation of ideological and utopian forms of thought (and here the analysis is often brilliant) his own approach remains unexamined, and the reader cannot help noticing Professor Horowitz' own positivistic biases. "False consciousness" for example is equated with mythology and mystery cults (p. 81), and in general the reader receives a strong impression that the author shares the orthodox Freudian opinion that religious and mystical experiences are delusions.

The book should prove to be highly useful for inclusion in the reading lists of courses in the sociology of knowledge, but for use as a basic text, Werner Stark's *The Sociology of Knowledge* (1958) provides much more complete coverage, and considerably less dogmatism. The professional sociologist and philosopher will find much of interest in the problems raised concerning the interrelations of philosophical analysis, sociological theory, and the problem of knowledge.

GERARD DEGRÉ
Bard College

Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx. By ROBERT C. TUCKER. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. 263 pp. $5.50. (Paper, $1.75.)

The author offers a brilliantly and lucidly argued account of the rise of dialectical thought from the philosophy of Kant through that of Hegel, Feuerbach, and Hess to that of the young Marx of the unpublished manuscripts of

1844. He shows how "alienation," a concept signifying different kinds of personality splits for each thinker, becomes the central concept in the thought of the young Marx who was still deeply immersed in problems of Hegelian dialectics. The sailing is, on the whole, smooth, and the reader follows the author willingly, up to the point where he begins to detect inaccuracies in matching German concepts with their English equivalents. For example, *Selbstentaeusserung* is not "externalization of self," *Geldwesen* is not "essence of money," or, later, *Verwertungsprozess* cannot be rendered faithfully as "process of creating surplus value." The author's reasoning is often very exact with regard to shades of meanings, and whether these are his translations or somebody else's, the suspicion remains that, perhaps, some of his grand sweep is anchored in linguistic quicksands.

The second part of the book carries the message that the mature Marx still thought in the same terms basically as the young Marx. The alienation of the self is projected into the outside world and thus becomes the class struggle, but what Marx really wants to achieve in the communist revolution is the reintegration of the self. In this part of the book—and undoubtedly the author considers it as the most important one—the working of Marx's mind and his motives in leaving unpublished the manuscripts of 1844, which are said to carry his true message, are elucidated by many courageous acts of *Verstehen*. In the end we are assured that nothing changed in Marx's thinking but the vocabulary and that the manuscripts were withheld from publication by him because he thought that they might discourage potential followers from joining the movement. The author finally deplores the fact that Marx did not stick to his style of work of 1844 and solve the problem of alienation which is so fashionable in our time. It is indeed too bad that Marx did not choose to spend his time on this insipid and more than ambiguous subject matter. Had he done so, today's nuclear competitions might center around different and perhaps more amenable foci. But should Marx not receive credit for trying to shake off the nonsense of Hegelian dialectics, so abundant in the early manuscripts, and to find a scientific base for his theory, even if, as the author points out, his concept of science is not up to date and his collection of data is markedly biased? Obviously, Marx never succeeded in ridding himself completely of the Hegelian influence; in fact, he never desired to do so. But this hardly entitles us to claim that the key to the understanding of his work lies in certain youthful essays, which he himself and later Engels considered unsuited for publication and out of date, rather than in any of his published works. The author has failed to convince at least this reviewer that this claim is justified.

FRANZ ADLER

Los Angeles State College

Arms and Insecurity: A Mathematical Study of the Causes and Origins of War. By LEWIS F. RICHARDSON. Edited by NICOLAS RASHEVSKY and ERNESTO TRUCCO. Pittsburgh and Chicago: The Boxwood Press and Quadrangle Books, 1960. xxv, 307 pp. $10.00.

Statistics of Deadly Quarrels. By LEWIS F. RICHARDSON. Edited by QUINCY WRIGHT and CARL C. LIENAU. Pittsburgh and Chicago: The Boxwood Press and Quadrangle Books, 1960. xlvi, 373 pp. $12.50.

There could hardly be a more auspicious time, now that the world appears to be on the brink of total annihilation, to report major social research on the problems of war and peace These two volumes, published posthumously, represent three decades or more of work by a dedicated man, one dedicated to peace and to scientific research, who was a brilliant mathematical physicist and who is also credited with major contributions in meteorology and numerical processes.

Statistics of Deadly Quarrels lists more than 300 wars from 1820 to 1949, classified by magnitude, the index of which is the number of estimated dead. This work can indeed prove to be, in the editors' words, "a mine of information for social scientists and historians as well as for statistical analysts." The author has obviously been most meticulous in attempting to obtain the best possible estimates of number of deaths for each conflict; but while this may be an adequate index of the magnitude of "deadly quarrels," this is not necessarily the best index of the size of wars. The correlation between number of deaths and sheer numbers involved, resources committed, length of time of conflict, etc., may be high, but it certainly must be far less than perfect. And, what is more to the point, the author has not bothered to consider why his index is or is not reasonable in terms of the investigated associations of national conflict with economic, geographical, linguistic, religious, and governmental factors.

No convincing associations are uncovered, and this is perhaps a service in laying to rest certain notions such as that of common language serving as a pacificatory influence or the periodicity of war. The distribution of wars in time is found to approximate a Poisson dis-

tribution, i.e., at any given time war is not likely to occur. Since war is not, of course, a "chance" event comparable to death from being kicked by a horse or the emission of alpha particles from radioactive substances, no great understanding (or comfort) can be derived from this finding.

Arms and Insecurity seems to me essentially a curve-fitting exercise, but the author maintains that he is presenting "a theory as to whether fighting is likely to break out." The ingredients of the mathematical formulas are the "defenses" of rival nations (variables), "national ambitions and grievances" (constants), and the "fatigue and expense" of keeping up the military defenses (variables and constants). Remarkably, Richardson obtained numerical values for his formulas (differential equations) and demonstrates that an arms race is an unstable system that can end only in war. But the implications for control, and hence peace, are not clear. I think he has in effect said that if the ambitions and grievances become zero—is this possible?—then, and only then, will bilateral disarmament result in a "just stable system"; and unilateral disarmament will always make for instability.

In both volumes the author interjects into the developments of his arguments Socratic dialogues between himself and a critic, raising questions that will probably occur to most readers. As often as not, it seems to me, the critic has the best of the exchange.

It would be exciting and gratifying to be able to report that this work is a major social science breakthrough in dealing with problems of war and peace. There have been a number of laudatory references to these works since they have appeared. In particular, attention has been called to the scientific spirit which permeates these works. But it seems to me that Richardson did not, in fact, bring to his *social* research one essential element which must characterize scientific research. He never asked questions with sufficient precision so that it was possible to determine what empirical data were relevant, much less what the form of the answers might be. Instead he engaged in rampant Baconianism, with a curiously näive belief that the data, any data, if gathered with care and attention to reliability would speak for themselves. It is clear that Richardson's "heart was in the right place," and one cannot help but be impressed by his bold imagination. The heuristic value of this work can prove to be great. Nevertheless, this work is science in its most superficial state.

DAVID GOLD

State University of Iowa

Radicalism and the Revolt Against Reason: The Social Theories of Georges Sorel. By IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ. With a translation of his essay on *The Decomposition of Marxism.* New York: Humanities Press, 1961. viii, 264 pp. $6.00.

With the dogged patience of a scholar, Professor Horowitz has labored hard to give us some kind of ordered presentation of the disorderly social theories of Georges Sorel (1847–1922)—social ideas that were at all times dramatic, usually inconsistent if not deliberately wayward, and occasionally obnoxious. The author has imposed an admirable external organization on his book. Fifty pages of the 200-page essay cover brief preliminaries together with a longer section on *fin de siècle* France, seen through remarks about and around Péguy, Pelloutier, and Bergson. The four final chapters present respectively the political, historical, socio-psychological, and "socialist" aspects of Sorel's work.

To call Sorel "an ideal type in the history of political ideas of the modern period" (p. 6) is perhaps an exaggeration. Yet in his confused thinking are to be found many strands: the desire to build nothing less than a general theory of social action from a fusion of intuitionist psychology and a radical philosophy of history; the cult of the hero and the cult of "direct action"; the critique of capitalism and the quest for a true proletarianism; *realpolitik,* disdain for parliamentary mechanisms, and the rejection of political appearances in favor of a theory of social *myth;* the justification of cataclysmic social change and violence, combined with prudish moralism and a fastidious shrinking from "politics"; above all, the relentlessness of a deeply pessimistic, probing mind, in search of some ultimate social reality.

Professor Horowitz is critical of much of Sorel and recognizes the minor role he plays in the history of social thought. Certainly Sorel was no sociologist; but it would be surprising indeed, under the circumstances, if one could find no sociological insights in his work. The insights arose in part from Sorel's existential concern for the concreteness of human experience and in part from his recognition of the role of the nonrational in human affairs. Insofar as his concern for concreteness is expressed in a quasi-functional analysis of the institutions of his day (the military, the bureaucracy, the state), what Sorel has to say is of interest to modern social scientists; insofar as he rejects existing society in its entirety in favor of an ill-defined, spontaneously-organized syndicalist moral order of the future, cemented by "tradi-

tion," and fails to see the functional significance of certain institutions (for instance, stratification) in *all* social orders, what Sorel has to say is of little meaning to sociology today.

Sorel had a blinding contempt for the Enlightenment, for bourgeois mediocrity, and the self-satisfied rationalist dogma of gradual progress; his burning desire was to "liberate" mankind from bourgeois society. But since he rejected reason and was in no position to invoke religion, we may well ask, "Emancipation—for what end?" As Professor Horowitz rightly concludes, radicalism undermines its own foundation when it revolts against reason. On the other hand, Sorel's sustained interest in the nonrational characterizes a period in the history of sociology. He owed much to Durkheim, Le Play, and Le Bon, and to some extent he applied his own very powerful reason to analyze the social role of the irrational. How could he do otherwise? His rational analysis of crowd behavior, the general strike, and social conflict was thus—as far as he took it (not very far) —an unwitting contribution to enlightened social theory.

Professor Horowitz's book is not easy reading. Its usefulness is impaired by the disconcerting and curious style—sometimes labored and stodgy, poorly digested, repetitive, loose in the use of words and of arguments, and often quite unclear. Yet throughout the book occur happy, succinct phrases to bring a measure of relief and direction for the reader. An especially good idea was the inclusion of the first English translation of Sorel's "Decomposition of Marxism," an essay of less importance to the sociologist perhaps than the "Reflections on Violence," but nonetheless of intrinsic merit in the body of Marxist exegesis.

PETER D'A. JONES

Smith College

Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education. By EMILE DURKHEIM. Foreword by PAUL FAUCONNET. Translated by EVERETT K. WILSON and HERMAN SCHNURER. Edited, with an Introduction, by EVERETT K. WILSON. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. xxx, 288 pp. $6.00.

This book, a translation of Durkheim's lectures in 1902–1903, is well-edited and succeeds in preserving the sharp clarity of his expression. In it, Durkheim first analyzes the elements of morality: regularity demanded by authority, the individual's sense of reaching beyond himself in attachment to social groups, and autonomy as informed consent. From these he derives consequences for moral education: discipline and self-discipline, use of the school as a social group between family and nation, and teaching of science to impart a sense of the real complexity of things and an experimental outlook, as against simplified rationalism or obscurantist mysticism. In deriving these policies, Durkheim articulates clearly his underlying premises concerning the human condition, the psychology of children, and the state of social organization: e.g., the need for restraint and limitation in human life and growth, the necessary role of social groups in fashioning and even constituting a human self, the progressively liberating role of scientific knowledge (including scientific study of the moral order). A constant background is provided by the overarching task of his day, formulated to be the development of a secular morality in which the school takes over functions hitherto carried by the church.

Durkheim is at his keenest in discussing particular issues, such as proper modes of punishment, what the school as contrasted with the family can do, or the finer moral shades of science teaching. His mode of interrelating theory and application makes these discussions intellectually vital, even where the psychology is out of date or where the picture of social groupings is local. However, he does not sense sufficiently the role of value assumptions in shaping his theory. One has only to contrast Durkheim's emphasis on restraint as morally central with Dewey's focus on habit conflicts and the need for intelligence as the moral crux to see how profoundly value outlook is involved in the doctrines being advanced. Durkheim is Apollonian, certainly anti-Faustian, and constantly battling against utilitarian prudential morality. His familiar exaltation of society similarly calls for clearer separation of descriptive, causal, and evaluative judgments.

ABRAHAM EDEL

The City College of the City University of New York

Collective Dynamics. By KURT LANG and GLADYS ENGEL LANG. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1961. xii, 563 pp. $7.25.

Collective Dynamics is a very welcome addition to the textbooks in this field, one that has been so neglected by social scientists for the past two decades. Written in a style that is highly readable, the book is not without substance and should put demands on the teacher as well as on the student. It will also serve as a valuable reference for those scholars who have

not yet given up on the field of collective behavior.

Part I of the book, the first of five parts into which the volume is divided, gives the reader a conceptual introduction. The field of collective dynamics is defined and its relationship to the study of social structure is articulated. Here, the Langs explain their substitution of "collective dynamics" for the more conventional term of "collective behavior." They report this has been done to "emphasize that the interactions to be studied were in process and that the relationships revealed in these interactions had not yet congealed into some kind of recurrent pattern, or, if they had, that they were temporarily disrupted or transformed." The authors then proceed to summarize past efforts to study collective dynamics, grouping them under the three general approaches of progressive, pathological, and natural history. Their own approach to collective dynamics does not represent a radical departure from those of the past, but is instead viewed as a "modest attempt" at a synthesis.

Fundamental to this synthesis is their premise that five basic processes emerge out of interaction when unsettling influences disrupt the normal functioning of the social system. These collective processes consist of: (1) *collective definition*—the attempt of individuals to define unstructured situations in which they may find themselves, (2) *demoralization*—the loss of faith in norms or norm bearers, (3) *collective defense*—the development of aggregate behavior to meet anxieties arising during periods of stress, (4) *mass conversion*—the manner in which fundamental beliefs are changed unexpectedly, and (5) *crystallization*—the emergence of more permanent forms of organizations out of collective behavior.

Part II is devoted to a chapter by chapter treatment of each of these five processes and the prototypically distinctive forms of behavior accompanying them (e.g., rumor, panic, crowd behavior, political conversion, and gang formation). In their treatment, the Langs readily acknowledge that these five processes do not necessarily occur in any intrinsically logical order, and no pretense is made of offering a systematic scheme for analysis.

In parts III and IV, a more traditional approach to the study of collective behavior is adopted. Dealt with here are such phenomena as leadership, conformity, public opinion, mass movements, and fashion. The final section of the book, Part V, contains a short but incisive critique of the problem of doing research and developing theory in the field of collective dynamics.

The chief weakness of this otherwise imaginative effort is that no systematic attempt has been made to link the last three parts of the book to the introductory sections. As a consequence, the reader is left to wonder precisely how the content of collective dynamics, so richly illustrated by the Langs in the latter parts of the book, is related to the five collective processes. Furthermore, the authors' willingness to draw upon findings from such diverse fields as psychoanalysis, public opinion research, military sociology, and history constitutes both a source of strength and weakness. While the illustrative materials and hypotheses are highly suggestive and serve to enrich the book for the reader, the concepts employed are so widely varied that effective synthesis is rendered impossible. Yet, in spite of these shortcomings, it can in all fairness be said that this work of the Langs represents an up-to-date inventory of what we now know and still need to know of collective dynamics.

WILLIAM V. D'ANTONIO
Notre Dame University

La Sociologia Delle Communicazioni. By ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE. Turin, Italy: Casa Editrice Taylor, 1960. 253 pp. L. 1250, paper.

This book is an Italian translation of a compilation of original papers, specially prepared for this volume, and previously published materials as well as lectures given at Catholic University in Milan, where Professor Lee was a UNESCO specialist in 1957–58 to help establish a center for sociological research in mass communication. While the work is primarily intended for an Italian audience, the original English version would make, with slight modification, an excellent American introductory textbook in the field of mass communication.

There are four natural divisions in the text: Part one represents an introductory section of some eighty-seven pages that is devoted largely to a brief discussion of basic introductory concepts useful in the analysis of mass media of communication. These include the areas of sociology, the nature of culture, and related phenomena such as cultural variability, personality, social organization, social interaction, and social change. In each instance the relationship to the study of mass communication is clearly shown. Parts two and three focus attention on the application of sociology to media of mass communication and problems of research in this field. The usual concern with content analysis, opinion research, research design, interviewing problems, and instruments for obtaining data and methods of analyses of

data are dealt with in a brief but adequate manner. The fourth and final section on the role of sociologists in the future would seem unrelated in an American text on mass communication. However, since this work is intended primarily for an Italian audience consisting in the main of persons with a genuine interest in American sociology, it is indeed relevant; for this part is devoted to an argumentative, but penetrating, discussion of the fads, foibles, weaknesses, and strengths in present day American sociological research, theory, and methodology.

This excellent treatment of mass communication by an American sociologist has been tailored to a foreign audience as one of a series of sociological publications recently launched in Italy by Casa Editrice Taylor of Turin. Both Professor Lee and Casa Editrice Taylor are to be congratulated for adding to a much needed Italian list of contemporary sociological publications.

PAUL J. CAMPISI
Southern Illinois University

A Stochastic Model of Social Interaction. By KULLERVO RAINIO. Transactions of the Westermarck Society, Vol. VII. Copenhagen, Denmark: Munksgaard, 1961. 119 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This monograph makes an important contribution to the mathematical investigation of social processes. In it, the author conceives of individual decision-making among behavioral alternatives as comprising a stochastic (or sequential probability) process. Such decisions are assumed to be made at each of a set of points that are ordered in time. The probability of a specified individual act at a point in time is made to depend jointly on the actor's probability of manifesting the behavior at the preceding point in time and on his contact with a second decision-making individual (or, more generally, with a group of such individuals). Both the sequence of contact probabilities and of decision probabilities are posited to satisfy the Bush-Mosteller two-operator theory of learning.

All of this is indeed a promising beginning to one who sees in mathematics a possibly useful language tool for social scientists. Unfortunately, this work is little more than a promise. If there is to be a payoff from mathematical applications in social science, it must come from efforts of two sorts. First, salient *formal* consequences of the axioms must be culled deductively. These consequences then must be put to an empirical test. In this monograph, neither end is achieved, although some preliminary experimental work is described briefly in an appendix. Instead of serious data, illustrations of the model in operation are presented using Monte Carlo procedures. Instead of deduced theorems, the reader is offered numerous hints as to ways in which the assumptions could be broadened and as to what *might* happen as a result. In a few important instances, even the assumptions are glossed over. For example, the probability of a "group configuration" is set equal to the product of individual behavior probabilities. The assumption is not discussed despite the fact that, by this odd view, a group becomes nothing more than an aggregate of (statistically) independent actors. Despite these shortcomings and the more trivial fact that the monograph suffers in translation, editing, and printing, the work should not be dismissed lightly. If nothing more, it offers potentially valuable guidelines for research.

ROBERT MCGINNIS
Cornell University

The Precarious Vision: A Sociologist Looks at Social Fictions and Christian Faith. By PETER L. BERGER. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961. 238 pp. $3.95.

The precarious vision is, the author says, a perspective on society which transforms "a world we take for granted into one that is very questionable indeed." The perspective referred to is a characteristic result of the social scientists' inquiry into the nature of man and society. The argument of the book can be stated briefly. Society is a structure of dramatic fictions—a stage. If we look at it closely, we discover that the stage is made of cardboard Fictions, if taken as reality, function as moral alibis, leading man to become Heidegger's "das Man," and to live in what Sartre calls "bad faith."

Berger bases the development of his theme upon three aspects of current sociological theory—role theory, reference group theory, and sociology of knowledge—suggesting that reference group theory provides a nexus between role theory and sociology of knowledge. His view is obviously predicated on the earlier ideas of Cooley and Mead, as well as on the more recent work of Goffman and Strauss.

Insofar as religion is concerned, Berger accepts the functional sociologists' view as being substantially correct, though he notes the difficulties with it. Religion, he asserts, contributes to bad faith because it assists in sanctioning systematized delusions in the form of social fictions. It performs certain vital social and psychological functions. This, however, is not a

recommendation for it, since these functions are performed because man needs bad faith. Berger attempts to make a case for the idea that Christian faith challenges social delusions, providing a perspective in terms of which to see society as social comedy. He points to a "Christian resolution" of the argument in "a confrontation of our perception of society with the figure of Jesus Christ," implying that in this way religion transcends the level of being "that which validates the carnival of masks."

Berger writes with deftness and skill. He has considerable talent as a satirist, and his work displays evidence of useful employment of "the sociological imagination." A competent sociologist, he is very careful to distinguish between what he says as a sociologist and what is the result of his reasoning as a committed Christian.

OLIVER R. WHITLEY
Iliff School of Theology

The Shaping of American Religion. Edited by JAMES WARD SMITH and A. LELAND JAMISON. Vol. I. *Religion in American Life.* Princeton Studies in American Civilization No. 5. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. 514 pp. $8.50.

Religious Perspectives in American Culture. Edited by JAMES WARD SMITH and A. LELAND JAMISON. Vol. II *Religion in American Life.* Princeton Studies in American Civilization No. 5. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. 427 pp. $7.50.

A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America. By NELSON R. BURR. Vol. IV. *Religion in American Life.* Princeton Studies in American Civilization No. 5. In Collaboration with the editors: JAMES WARD SMITH and A. LELAND JAMISON. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xx, xv, 1219 pp. In two volumes, $17.50.

This ambitious work grew out of several year-long seminars on religion in American life which were conducted at Princeton University as a part of its Special Program in American Civilization. A large number of scholars from the humanities and the social sciences have contributed work bearing in some way on American religion. Among them are Richard Niebuhr and Will Herberg, both well known to sociologists of religion. The perspective of the contributors is for the most part historical and analytical. It is also sympathetic to religion.

The first three volumes consist of original essays, and the last contains a comprehensive bibliography of American religion. Volume One is devoted to a largely historical analysis of selected facets of American religion. There are adequate and informed treatments of Judaism Catholicism, and religions of the "Christian perimeter," but most of the essays treat problems of special concern to the Protestant intellectual. Central to all these latter essays are the problems posed by the rapid changes in religion and society that have taken place during the past 200 years. Implicit in them is a quest for firm new ground on which to reconstruct a Protestantism that has been profoundly shaken by the course of events.

The second volume contains essays on the interaction between religion and various phases of secular culture. There are articles dealing with politics, one each on education and law, and several on literature. As of this date, the third volume has not been published. It will consist entirely of a treatment by Jacob Viner of the interplay between religion and economics in historical perspective.

Because of its length, the fourth and last volume is bound as two separate books. It contains an exhaustive bibliography of a great variety of subjects pertaining to American religion. Anyone not intimately acquainted with the literature in a given area will find this volume most rewarding. There is ample annotation and in most cases the various works in a field are compared and evaluated.

The sociologist of religion might wish that more reference to strictly sociological works had been included in the bibliographical volume and that more attention had been given to an analysis of religion in contemporary America in the other volumes. These and other considerations will serve to limit the appeal of these books to sociologists. At the same time, their usefulness as a basic reference work should not be underestimated.

BENTON JOHNSON
University of Oregon

Science and the New Nations: The Proceedings of the International Conference on Science in the Advancement of New States at Rehovoth, Israel. Edited by RUTH GRUBER. Preface by ABBA EBAN. New York: Basic Books, 1961. xv, 314 pp. $6.50.

From 40 countries (with a heavy representation from the newer nations of Africa), some 120 delegates to the International Conference on Science in the Advancement of New States met for two weeks in August, 1960 at the Weizmann Institute of Science. Among the participants were heads of state, ambassadors, government ministers, scientists, educators, and many others. They touched on many aspects of the

role of science in developing new societies including, e.g., energy sources, radiation, food and natural resources, water, public health, education, and international cooperation in science. The papers ranged from the very specific and highly technical to the other extreme, from a discussion of algae in the human diet to the promises of solar energy.

The conference proceedings were edited, abridged, and rearranged by a professional writer who apparently was not present at the meetings. (It is disturbing to find no indication as to which papers were simply edited for style and which were cut; nor whether the original contributors assented to the alterations.) In addition to the formal papers, the book also includes several excerpts from the discussion sessions, committee reports, the text of the "Rehovoth Declaration" (embodying points of agreement emerging from the conference), and finally, a list of participants.

Despite the lack of a specific focus and some inevitable superficiality, the conference opened up many new questions and has already stimulated new research. Sociologists interested in comparative analysis, in the processes of social change, and in the interrelations of science and society should find much in this book to fascinate them—as much for what is neglected as for what is included. Only one of the fifty-odd papers is by a sociologist (Edward Shils' "Scientific Development in the New States"), but almost all the other papers have explicit references to the relevance of sociological factors. Sociologists might well ponder their absence at such a conference and be curious to know what they have missed.

NORMAN KAPLAN
University of Pennsylvania

Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes. By ANDREW HUNTER WHITEFORD. Logan Museum Publications in Anthropology, Bulletin Nine. Beloit, Wis.: Beloit College, 1960. viii, 156 pp. $3.50, paper.

The literature on social stratification in Latin America is very scarce. After the pioneering effort of the Pan-American Union with its series on the middle classes, which included valuable material but was of rather limited scientific value, only a few studies have been published. Notable exceptions are, perhaps, the important book by B. Hutchinson and others on São Paulo, Brazil, and the volume under review. A large scale cross-national sample survey, now being completed in the metropolitan areas of Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Aires may be expected to represent another significant contribution in the field of social mobility and social stratification in Latin American cities. In this respect, the Whiteford volume adds valuable and much needed information in a field of high theoretical—and practical—importance. Also, this study is the first one to attempt a direct comparison of social classes in two cities located in different Latin American countries.

The basic contrast between the urban centers described by Whiteford consists in their different degree of "modernization" and "industrialization": the Colombian city of Popayán is offered as an example of a relatively traditional urban community, while Querétaro, in Mexico, is presented as a case of a developing, "progressive" city. The contrast is clearly reflected in their respective stratification systems. In Popayán, the strata tend to constitute closed distinctive groups, neatly separated one from another, with little "status incongruency." In Querétaro, by contrast, stratification appears to be more fluid and complex, more a "continuum" of positions than a hierarchy of discontinuous groupings. The author gives a description of the strata in both cities and of their reciprocal relationships and attitudes, including the contrasting class perceptions found at different levels in each community.

The scope and methodology of the study offer positive as well as negative aspects. The method is mainly "anthropological"; and even though the research is focused on social stratification, the comparison is made in terms of contrasting two "global" societies. In his description and in the interpretation of the data, the author ably takes into account the historical and social context in its rich concreteness. Unfortunately, the theoretical and empirical imprecision of the study limits the value of the volume.

GINO GERMANI
University of California (Berkeley)

Industrial Growth and Population Change: A Regional Study of the Coalfield Areas of North-West Europe in the Later Nineteenth Century. By E. A. WRIGLEY. Cambridge Studies in Economic History. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961. xi, 193 pp. $6.00.

The burden of the argument in this book is to show the superiority of regional analysis in explanations of industrial growth and population change over analyses based on general features of national life. The latter, the author contends, when not weakened by resort to "monolithic variables" such as national char-

acter, is subject to the familiar propensity of averages to conceal more than they disclose. He makes his point tellingly.

Part I of the book presents a detailed historical study, covering the period 1850 to 1910, of industrial growth in eight different and noncontiguous communes located in the Austrasian coal field, including four in the German Ruhr, two in France, and two in Belgium. The account begins with an examination of the organization of the iron and steel industry in 1850. By that date all the essential ingredients for industrial development were at hand—technology, entrepreneurial skill, capital, and labor. They were, moreover, widely distributed over the coal field area despite the existence of national boundaries. The one variable factor was the availability of a raw material as affected by the irregular geological structure of the coal deposits. Thus the requisites of a simple model for regional analysis of industrial development are met: all production factors but one, raw material availability, are constant by virtue of their mobility in this case. The historical outcome confirms the hypothesis. Productivity per worker, the per ton costs of coal, and hence the growth of industrial population varied with the accessibility of coal.

Part II is devoted to an intensive demographic analysis of trends in mortality, fertility, the sex ratio, and marriage rates in the political units embracing the eight commues. The objective of that material appears to be to expose further the unreliability of national averages for the description of trends in small areas.

The author's regional argument is far from naive. He is well aware that the accumulation of additional variables, which accompany the rise to national political and industrial maturity, alter the influence of regional factors. But he does not expect that their influence will ever be vitiated. This book is to be commended not only for its able demonstration of a regional hypothesis, but also for its adroit use of historical material to that end.

AMOS H. HAWLEY
The University of Michigan

Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas. Edited by WILBERT E. MOORE and ARNOLD S. FELDMAN. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960. xv, 378 pp. $3.75.

This collection of fifteen separately authored articles and five editorial chapters takes up the question of how a society could, should, and does become industrialized under conditions of a late start. In recognition of the complexity of the processes they are examining, the editors offer the concept of labor commitment, "both performance and acceptance of the behavior appropriate to an industrial way of life," as a strategy for bringing order to the subject, for deciding what is more and less relevant, and for making predictions concerning the ease or difficulty of reaching a state of industrialization.

However, as the editors develop their conception of labor commitment, it turns out to cover virtually everything that social scientists are concerned with in the analysis of industrial societies. As a means of ruling out the irrelevant, the concept is rather weak.

There are, nonetheless, many ways of reading the book with profit and pleasure. Suspending intolerance for disorder, the stay-at-home reader may acquire a great deal of vicarious experience through the writings of colleagues who have observed Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans coming into contact with factories and cities for the first time. Almost half of the contributions are case studies of industrialization: forced laborers in the French Sudan, clothing workers in Puerto Rico, textile workers in Bombay, town workers in Uganda who commute to their family farms Every page enriches our view of the tremendous range of potential combinations of the old and the new ways of life. The story of the English cotton mills in the eighteenth century, we are forcibly reminded, represents only one of those combinations. In some respects it is a cautionary tale, in other respects a usable blueprint, and in still others too limited a story to have much bearing on industrialization as it is proceeding now.

The book is successful in shaking the reader's mind into a state of stimulating disarray. Consider the case of the Mossi in the French Sudan, forcibly moved with their families to a newly irrigated cotton and rice producing area. They were housed in compounds, but assigned to them randomly, rather than according to kinship relations. Artifical "chiefs" were created, who were stooges for the French administrators, rather than having ascriptive claims to authority. European foremen, who did not share a language with the Mossi workers, kept them as much in the dark as possible in order to preserve their own jobs. Then came a turn of events that transformed the incredibly mismanaged project into an experiment designed to put an "industrial way of life" to the supreme test: forced labor was abolished, and the Mossi were permitted to return to their tribal homes if they chose. That many did is far less surprising than that some remained "because they had become adjusted to the satisfactions

offered by life at the Project." As Clark Kerr states elsewhere in the book, "It is not the resistance to change but the acceptance of change that is the more remarkable." At least this is how it appears to us who have no tribal homes and, hence, no choice.

And then one realizes that Moore and Feldman were perhaps right in including far more than the worker at his job in their concept of labor commitment. Examples are drawn not only from all parts of the world, but from all parts of the social structure—the family, politics, the market, education, and so on. The wide-ranging conception of industrialism enables the editors and authors to engage in a free-flowing debate, a book-long question period without firm answers, ending with a chapter on moot points. Such questions as the compatibility of a flourishing extended kinship system with industrialism, and of the necessity of an "achievement-oriented attitude toward life" for economic development, are put before the reader who eventually loses any lingering traces of a sense of separateness, of unmixableness among the societies of the world. It is only yesterday that anthropology represented the most civilized attitude the West had developed toward the rest of the world. By tomorrow, it will yield to comparative studies of societies that differ more in what they have developed *from* than in what they have developed *into*.

NATALIE ROGOFF RAMSØY
University of Oslo

Equitable Payment: A General Theory of Work, Differential Payment, and Individual Progress. By ELLIOTT JAQUES. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1961. 336 pp. $6 00.

This is an important book on an important subject. I have come to believe that the degree of solution of the problem of distributive justice, or the equitable distribution of the rewards available in a society, is the most important determinant of individual satisfaction and effectiveness and of social peace. So have many philosophers thought, yet it is surprising how few social scientists have given their minds to the problem, though it is readily subject to empirical research.

Elliott Jaques, a psychoanalyst employed as consultant to the Glacier Metal Co. of Great Britain, considers the problem in its special form of equitable payment for work in industry. He points out that, for any worker, the problem has three main factors: (1) the requirements of the man's job, particularly its responsibility, (2) the amount of his payment, and (3) his capacity for doing the job as determined by ability plus experience. In a more general treatment, there are other elements that may enter the problem, but I believe they may still be grouped into three main classes, of which Jacques' factors are representative. Also, the problem is always one of differentials: the relation between one man's job, payment, and capacity and those of another.

There is very general agreement on the part of mankind, as expressed from Aristotle onwards, that, for distributive justice to obtain, the values of the three factors must be in line with, or proportional to, one another. The whole problem lies in applying the rule in practice and amounts to obtaining agreement among men as to how the values are to be measured. Jaques proposes a method of measuring responsibility—the time elapsed before performance on a job is reviewed by higher authority—that seems to me as objective as any yet suggested. And he shows that, in their *private* expressions of opinion, employees in British industry express high agreement on the amount of pay a job of any given level of responsibility, so measured, ought to receive, relative to the general level of wages and salaries in the economy. But since he admits that he has not obtained agreement to the use of his measure from even the workers in his own company, he has not brought us much closer to the practical solution of the problem. We shall continue to use our present rough methods for attaining a limited equity. Yet in the course of examining the problem he has many wise things to say. Indeed he has written the best, though perhaps the only, book on equitable payment.

GEORGE C. HOMANS
Harvard University

The Politics of Small Business. By HARMON ZEIGLER. Introduction by ROBERT E. LANE. Washington, D.C.: Public affairs Press, 1961. vii, 150 pp. $3.25.

The small businessman ranks high among American folk heroes, but an uneasy feeling has long pervaded the nation that he may need legislative aid and governmental support in order to survive. During the depression of the 1930's this hitherto rather passive concern erupted into political activity with the formation of organized interest groups, special Congressional Committees, and the introduction of hundreds of bills in Congress and in the state legislatures, some of which have been enacted into law. Since then the public discussion of small business problems has remained with us in a persistent manner, engendering much heated argu-

ment but only negligible results of a tangible nature.

In this brief book Professor Zeigler, a political scientist, subjects the protagonists of the small business political struggle to a searching scrutiny. Content analysis of the publications of the three or four national pressure groups that presume to speak in the name of small business shows that these associations were founded and are still operated by a handful of individuals who manipulate purely symbolic values. Since there is no common denominator for the four million small firms who operate in the interstices of the American economy, these pressure groups represent no common tangible interests at all. They derive a large share of their financial support from big business firms who use them as a convenient ideological smokescreen for their own ends.

The Congressional Small Business Committees try to counteract the use of small business symbolism by the big corporations but their activities, too, can provide only symbolic comfort that "something is being done" in Washington for small business. Since small businessmen have nothing politically significant in common, the Committees cannot produce tangible benefits. This is evident in the phenomenal impotence of their brainchild, the Small Business Administration, established as an independent government agency in 1953 and given permanent status in 1958. Its activities have reduced rather than increased the number of government loans and contracts awarded to small firms.

Although one wishes that the author had made his methodology more explicit—for example, there are quotations from interviews but it is not clear just who was and who was not interviewed—this study throws some much needed light into a very murky corner of the American political scene. It is a pity that this useful book is marred by very sloppy proofreading; misprints abound and whole words are missing.

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

Conceptual Foundations of Business: An Outline of the Major Ideas Sustaining Business Enterprise in the Western World. By RICHARD EELLS and CLARENCE WALTON. Preface by COURTNEY C. BROWN. Irwin Series in Management. Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1961. x, 533 pp. $7.00.

This is a strange, interesting, and disappointing book. It is devoted to the environment of ideas and institutions in which modern business operates in this country. It is intended as a textbook that may broaden the horizons of business students and deepen their understanding of the concepts and social arrangements that have shaped and are shaping the conduct of business activities.

The authors take the reader on a Cook's tour of past and present attitudes and institutions affecting business. A brief historical review of business in Western Europe is followed by an unrelated interlude dealing with business in pre-Columbian Mexico. Then follow sections on freedom, ownership, the economy, governance, progress and stability, and value. The twenty-one chapters are rich in historical references and contemporary comment that add to the interest of the volume.

The strangeness of the book derives from its lack of cohesion. The treatment is more one of independent essays than an integrated account of how the conceptual foundations have influenced the development of modern business, or how as a process business has influenced the attitudes, concepts, and institutions of its environment. Though everything is mentioned from absolutism to zoning, the concept of business itself as a process and function is but sketchily treated. Mass production, mass distribution, science and technology, international trade, and tariffs are rarely mentioned, and their role as influence is inadequately explained The basic weakness is the lack of an adequate integrating concept for the volume itself.

The sociologist may find the treatment interesting and suggestive, but he will find himself wandering through the storeroom of stage scenery rather than observing a ready stage on which any action is taking place.

The subject lends itself to a fascinating account of the process by which concepts, attitudes, and institutions have changed and molded the institution of business and in turn been changed and molded by business. But that is not what the authors have attempted. For instructional purposes the book is a useful reference book, but it is little more than that.

ROBERT D. CALKINS

Brookings Institution

Gli Uomini E Le Masse: Saggio di Ricerca su Atteggiamenti di Vita e di Lavoro in una Grande Citta Industriale. By LEONE DIENA. La Nuova Società—3. Turin, Italy: Giulio Einaudi, 1960. 246 pp. L. 1000, paper.

Industrializzazione E. Sottosviluppo: Il Progresso Technologico in una Provincia del Mezzogiorno. By EUGENIO PEGGIO, MARIO MAZZARINO and VALENTINO PARLOTO. La Nuova Società—4 Turin, Italy: Giulio Einaudi, 1960. 277 pp. L. 1200, paper.

Communità E Razionalizzazione: Ricerca Sociologica su un Caso di Sviluppo Industriale. By ALLESSANDRO PIZZORNO. La Nuova Società—2. Turin, Italy: Giulio Einaudi, 1960. 431 pp. L. 1500, paper.

The resurgence of interest in sociology and the growth of the science in Italy during the past decade is a topic worthy of sociological analysis. Many factors account for the increasing academic productivity in the field. Certainly contact with foreign scholars has been important; however, these three volumes reveal that a uniquely Italian sociology is being developed. The Fourth World Congress of Sociology (Milano-Stresa, 1959) received excellent press coverage in the Italian newspapers and, undoubtedly, contributed to an increased interest in sociology among the literate populace. Perhaps most important of all has been a changing Italian cultural milieu that demands the creation of a sociology. Until recent years, the deeply entrenched historicism of the Italian academic world held sway. The postwar years brought with them problems of a different nature, problems well known to the sociologists in the United States: internal migration, booming industrialism, the growth of the urban metroplex, and a host of other pressing situations. These changed conditions brought forth a "New Society" that could be analyzed only by a new generation and a new sociology.

The present volumes are but a portion of a projected series of sixteen works prepared under the patronage of the National Research Council for the International Congress on the Study of Technological Progress and the Italian Society (Milan, 1960). Appropriately, each volume is subtitled: *The New Society (La Nuova Società).*

It would be incorrect to say that Italy has been without a tradition of social investigation, for one of the agencies sponsoring this series, *la Società Umanitaria,* has conducted investigations into social problems since 1903. The Diena volume comes out of this tradition but focuses upon problems that could not have occupied the attention of researchers one decade ago. The study is concerned with the attitudes on life and work held by a variety of Milanese workers. Particular emphasis was placed on gathering a sample representative of the younger workers in a *typical* section of Milan. In contrast to some areas of South Italy, Milan is, in every way, a modern industrial community. Leisure time, unheard of by the vast bulk of the populace ten years ago, has become a problem of sufficient dimension to occupy the attentions of the researcher. With the advent of television, the conditions for the creation of the "mass society" known in America have become firmly fixed in Italy. Diena attempts to explore the manner in which these factors have impinged upon the life-ways and personalities of his interviewees. The final chapter is devoted to a series of representative portraits of respondents. The reviewer wishes that a complete copy of the questionnaire had been appended to the study.

Peggio and his co-workers studied the impact of industrialization in the Province of Siracusa Sicily. They convey a sense of excitement to the reader as they explore the many changes taking place as a result of the relatively recent discovery of oil. The development of electric power installations made possible the growth of petro-chemical industries, which, in turn, brought other industrial complexes to what had been a primarily agricultural economy in Eastern Sicily. The authors illustrate the mutual interdependence of industrial and agricultural development. The growing depopulation of the rural hinterland poses new problems for Sicily and Italy, in particular, and for all industrializing areas, in general. The lack of adequate planning, which stems in part from little previous research, makes the solution to these problems even more difficult. The effort by Peggio *et al.* is an important step in the direction of providing the basic research tools necessary for rational long-term economic and social planning. More studies of this type will prevent the scurrying from crisis to crisis that had, heretofore, been the hallmark of politically expedient development programs. The careful exploration of the Province of Siracusa includes an historical analysis as well as an investigation into the demography of the labor force and general population. A detailed discussion of work conditions, wages, union efforts, social security measures, and other factors forms an important picture of the region. Finally, the authors attempt an analysis of the meanings of accelerated change for the population and their social institutions. Particular emphasis is placed upon the public schools and the need for a more widely educated labor force to face the continuing problems of industrialization.

An excellent companion piece to the previous volumes is the work by Pizzorno. The author chose a town of 7,750 inhabitants, about 22 kilometers from Milan, in a region dominated by highly advanced industrialization. His careful analysis of the town follows a pattern of the American "community study" with particularly heavy emphasis given to analysis and interpretation of the historical factors so important in shaping the present conditions of the community. Pizzorno proceeds from the geographic and demographic materials to a sociological

analysis of the community and its industry. He finds it necessary to spend some considerable time discussing two concepts alien to the Italian vocabulary (except in certain restricted usages). *Comunità* (community) is a term that has only recently begun to mean the same thing to Italian readers as it does to Americans. *Razionalizzazione* requires a highly theoretical chapter to indicate its use in the Weberian sense.

Pizzorno details the relationship between industrialization and the social organization of the community and the lives of the residents. He moves deftly from work group to family to parish to the general culture of the town. He discusses the impact of leisure time, the advent of mass communications, and the rise of voluntary associations. His final chapter is devoted to the problems of community power and the role of the various associations in ordering this power. An excellent appendix is formed out of a series of autobiographies of community residents. This technique puts human flesh on the demographic bones of his study. Another appendix includes a detailed discussion of the methodology and a facsimile of the questionnaire used.

These three volumes will serve as fine examples for the present day students of sociology in Italy. Careful research and careful theorizing will provide the new science with the aura of academic legitimacy. The social policy makers well be forced to utilize the skills of the sociologist in the planning of social change.

LEONARD W. MOSS
Wayne State University

Society: An Introduction to Sociology. By ELY CHINOY. Foreword by CHARLES H. PAGE. New York: Random House, 1961, xii, 404 pp. $6.50.

Chinoy, in preparing this most recent entry in the introductory textbook field, was governed by four specific objectives: "first, to present the principal concepts that define the sociological perspective; second, to explain and illustrate the nature of sociological analysis; third, to provide a comprehensive picture of society by examining the major institutions and forms of social organization contained within it; and fourth, to suggest the dimensions of important theoretical problems of persisting relevance."

Regarding his first objective, Chinoy follows a pattern of analysis similar to that used in *Sociological Perspective* (1954), so that with but a few exceptions the conceptual framework is drawn from MacIver and Page, Parsons, Davis, and Merton. Likewise, this version retains both the merits and the deficiencies of his well-known earlier work. Thus, by way of example, Chinoy continues in some places to equate the concept of "norm" and "institution" (beyond the point of specifying that his idea of an institution refers exclusively to normative elements) and to write as if he is following Parsons in this regard. He also continues to create some confusion regarding the nature and uses of nominal definitions. Thus, we are told that "mores are *usually* looked upon as essential to the well-being of the group." (P. 23, italics mine.) This is presumably taken from Sumner directly, but to Sumner this quality was one of *the* defining properties of the mores. The same kind of difficulty also occurs frequently in the newer portions of Chinoy's writing. This can be illustrated by his later treatment of Weber's ideal-type of bureaucracy. Here, the reader is told that a hierarchical order is an "*essential* bureaucratic characteristic" and that in a bureaucracy "offices are *usually* arranged in a hierarchical order." (Pp. 188–9, italics mine.) As in most texts, the term "status" is used both to refer to a social position and to the prestige ascribed to such a position, along with the usual apologies. These ambiguities are somewhat less serious when one is teaching in a small liberal arts college and using essay exams, but they make for a great deal of difficulty in larger universities where objective examinations are used. However, these problems are no more numerous here than in most texts, and on the whole the writing is both lucid and engaging to an unusual degree.

As regards his second goal, Chinoy explains the nature of sociological analysis more effectively than he illustrates it. This seems to reflect, in part, the imbalance of available empirical materials under even the most favorable circumstances and, in part, Chinoy's decision to utilize history (social change) in a framework of "functional analysis" as the dominant recurrent theme. Still, in his chapter on demography, he demonstrates very effectively the kind of vigor that must be employed in a historical-functional analysis; and in his treatment of juvenile delinquency (as an example of social deviancy), he draws on the cumulative works of Sutherland, Merton, Cohen, Ohlin and Cloward, and others to present a very effective illustration of functional analysis in a field context.

Chinoy, in implementing his third objective, prudently draws a "comprehensive picture of society." While he endeavors to inquire generally into the interrelations among his major analytic concepts, he repeatedly cautions the reader against hasty conclusions.

To meet his fourth objective, Chinoy carefully delineates at the outset of each chapter the

major sociological questions of persisting relevance. The effort here is outstanding and will prove to be a valuable asset to the student.

The level of the book is not particularly advanced; nor is the book as broadly ambitious as, say, Johnson's *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction.* But its framework is generally firm, and its length is relatively short, giving it as much flexibility as the recent introductory text by Young and Mack. Thus, there is little for any teacher to want to contradict, and its pleasing flexibility permits much opportunity for each teacher to assign additional library readings or inexpensive reprints of his own choice.

HARRY V. BALL

University of Wisconsin

Marriage and the Family. By ALFRED McCLUNG LEE and ELIZABETH LEE. College Outline Series No. 87. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961. xxix, 367 pp. $2.95, paper.

The general reader is afforded an excellent introduction to the subjects of marriage and family in this book. Encyclopedic in scope, with a little to say on almost any topic one would expect to find in a book with this title, it, for the most part, does an excellent job of summarizing the main ideas and points of view on each of its many topics. The emphasis is sociological, mainly within an institutional framework, although many sections are devoted to the practical problems of family life.

The book is divided into six main parts: "The Changing Family," "Childhood and Adolescence," "Courtship and Marriage," "Parenthood," "Family Crises," and "Conclusion."

The organization of the material is excellent, and the authors have been quite successful in avoiding the expression of value judgments. The style of writing is clear and concise, although there has been no effort to "write down" to the public. As a consequence, the general reader occasionally may have trouble with some of the terminology.

Sociologists will find this a handy volume to refer to the layman who wants a brief yet broad introduction to the subject of the family. Some instructors may also find it useful for assignment as a brief summary of topics that are to be covered in greater depth in lectures and outside readings. The latter objective is facilitated by an excellent "Quick Reference Table to Standard Textbooks" and 13 pages of selected readings that can be used to fill out each chapter.

CHARLES E. BOWERMAN

University of North Carolina

The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England: A Study of Non-dramatic Literature. By EDWIN HAVILAND MILLER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. XII, 241 pp. $5.00.

Again we are indebted to a professor of English for a major contribution to the sociology of culture. Several years ago, Ian Watt in "The Rise of the English Novel" gave us a definitive exposition of the social function of the novel in 18th century English society. Now Edwin Miller, who teaches English at Simmons, analyzes one of the most decisive phenomena of social change in Western civilization. He deals with the emergence of the writer as a professional, conscious of his dependence on a market for his livelihood as well as for his status, during the last two decades of the 16th century when "young men, fresh from the universities or from the wars, came to London in order to wrest a livelihood from authorship."

For a sociology of the profession, Miller's fourth chapter on the decline of patronage is of special import. This decline was due in part to the precarious position of the English nobility in the 14th and 15th centuries, which meant that the writer had to shop around, so to speak, from one patron to another; and in the course of this unstable process, "literary diplomacy" developed, with its painful, unctuous praises for prospective patrons. By the same token, those who were willing to serve as patrons rewarded the religious and political pamphleteers rather than the creative writers. By 1600 this new trend had reached its peak.

This leads to the analysis of the relationship between the writers and publishers or "stationers." Except for the most popular writers, fees paid to writers were small, but at the same time, the publishers themselves were not outright villains. Their commercial risks were considerable, and yet it is exactly the venturous investment of capital in the book trade in this period which, by 1600, not only had resulted in good business but "in turn had produced a new literary profession."

The seventh chapter of the book dealing with Grub Street is particularly commended to the students of popular culture. In my opinion, Miller has astutely assessed the social psychological makeup of the successful hack, and what he has to say about the Elizabethan practitioner has not lost its validity for his present-day successor.

Finally, Miller has given genuinely sociological treatment to censorship. After analyzing institutional controls, such as the official governmental censors and the Stationers' Com-

pany, he states that more important than all "laws promulgated by the Tudors" are the social pressures for "conformity of opinion." He also has wise words to say about the "climate of opinion" which, no less than in other societies, is created in the Elizabethan Age by collective interaction and largely "through the unconscious assumptions of a people." This climate was one of the emerging capitalist society: "Middle class businessmen dominated the Elizabethan literary profession, . . . middle class authors accepted . . . the hire of these businessmen, . . . and readers from the same class purchased their wares and imposed to a large extent their tastes upon the new trade." With this summary, Miller concludes his literary as well as sociological treatise on the development of a new stratum within a newly stratified social universe.

LEO LOWENTHAL
University of California (Berkeley)

The Scientist in American Industry: Some Organizational Determinants in Manpower Utilization. By SIMON MARCSON. Foreword by FREDERICK HARBISON. Published in Cooperation with the Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. ix, 158 pp. $3.50.

Marcson's volume is a helpful one; it sets the stage for research that is yet to come. This pertains not only to the work which the author is continuing, but also to the investigations of other behavioral scientists who are engaged in similar projects concerning the effect of bureaucracy on professional personnel.

The present study grew out of the general interest of the Industrial Relations Section at Princeton University in the "adequate use of high-talent manpower." It is based mainly on a case history analysis of one laboratory that employs engineers, chemists, and physicists and is part of a larger business organization. No claim is made that the findings are representative and little in the way of hard fact data is presented. Meaningful questions, however, are asked. The answers describe the dilemma of the employee scientist who is caught in the conflict between executive and colleague authority, and the difference in orientation, values, and goals that these competing systems imply. The salaried professional worker often finds his autonomy curtailed, his right to carry on basic research limited. His independence is subordinated to the requirements of team-play and managerial tradition. The conflicts which ensue are sources of strain that affect the work of the scientist.

Both the organization and the scientist adapt in order to ease some of their conflicting demands. This is not sufficient, however, to solve the problem of rational use of scientific manpower by business organizations. Marcson suggests that industry must provide further means of promoting the independence of the scientist, of reducing his strains, and of encouraging his creativity—not an easy task.

ERWIN O. SMIGEL
New York University

Negro and White in Connecticut Town. By FRANK F. LEE. New York: Bookman Associates, 1961. 207 pp. $5.00.

Negro-white relations in a Connecticut town provide the theme of this work prepared originally as a doctoral dissertation in sociology at Yale University. Data were secured principally through the medium of interviews conducted by the author with white and Negro residents of the town in 1951–52. The objectives of the study were (1) to determine the "place" of the Negro in the community, and (2) to ascertain the processes of social control that operated to perpetuate the race relations pattern.

In regard to the first objective, the author finds difficulty in delineating the Negro's exact "place" in this community. The issue is clouded by the fact that while Negroes are not segregated in some areas, such as public schools, there nevertheless is considerable segregation in other areas, such as housing and social activities. In regard to the second objective, he finds that informal types of social control, in the main, are utilized to perpetuate the separation of the races. These findings would not seem to be peculiar to a small town, but rather characterize the situation found in many types of communities in the North.

Lee has done a creditable job in describing race relations as reflected in the reactions of his respondents, subject however to certain limitations imposed by the location of his project and the type of sample he utilized. As for the location, the town is situated within ten miles of a large metropolitan area. Since Negroes constitute only one percent of the population (1960 Census), it is possible that many of their social and cultural contacts, and even some economic activities, are tied closely to the neighboring central city. As for the sample of respondents, the whites were drawn principally from the business and professional class, with virtually no representation from the

blue collar class. On the other hand, the Negro respondents were virtually all drawn from the semi-skilled and unskilled classes. Although the latter were representative of the town's Negro population, the attitudes and actions of the white respondents were those of a middle and upper white class toward a lower Negro class of respondents. It would have been desirable to try to separate class attitudes from race attitudes where possible, as well as to include a sampling of lower class white respondents.

HENRY G. STETLER

Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights

BOOK NOTES

The Friendly Societies in England 1815–1875. By P. H. J. H. GOSDEN. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1961. v, 262 pp. $6.50.

Between the late seventeenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the English lower classes evolved a significant set of voluntary associations known as friendly societies. Variously organized as small local groups, moderately large county groups, and extensive affiliated orders, such as the Foresters and Oddfellows, which were composed of many widely scattered lodges, their object was to provide conviviality and good fellowship as well as maintenance during illness, infirmity, and old age, and the expenses of burial. Sometimes, too, they supplied medical attendance and educational facilities, such as classes, lectures, and libraries.

Gosden's study treats these societies during the period in which they burgeoned under the stimulus of rapid industrialization. Essentially a descriptive work, it is both thorough and comprehensive, setting forth in detail their organization, geographical distribution, composition, rituals, entertainments, financial problems, and changing relations with the state. It should prove of particular value to sociologists interested in the tension-management functions of such "popular" institutions.

J. JEAN HECHT

New York City

Making an Inter-American Mind. By HARRY BERNSTEIN. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1961. vi, 190 pp. $5.50.

This work on inter-American history reveals evidence of much painstaking care and labor. The commendable objective of the author was to show that ". . . the New World possessed a respectable and admirable [intellectual] antiquity of its own . . . [and] that cultural interest in Latin America and Spain is as valid a part of North American life as is capitalism, expansion, the material standard of living." Yet, this reviewer found the book disappointing and unsatisfying in the development of these aims.

In the first place, Bernstein delimits "cultural history" so narrowly as to exclude much that certainly is a vital part of the culture of both continents (and Spain) in the period from Cotton Mather's interest in Spanish America up to 1900. Bernstein also tends to view the interest that some few North American intellectuals hold in the other Americas as "good" cultural relations. In contrast, the contacts and interests of other North Americans (e.g., politicians, businessmen, soldiers) are regarded very coldly. The interests of the literary and scientific people from North America, however, have played a minor role in the development of over-all attitudes and relations between the two Americas throughout all our history.

The detailed and tedious listing of a handful of persons from Latin America who were elected members of North American professional and literary societies shows how small in number was the group of people actually involved in Bernstein's study. Nor were these individuals particularly influential even in their own circles. It is difficult indeed to accept Bernstein's contention that "the future structure [of inter-American relations] so energetically sought and cultivated in the twentieth century rested upon the hard rock of history. cultural relations solidified precedent upon precedent." One can accept this view only if one adopts Bernstein's restricted concept of cultural relations or the idea of an "inter-American mind" generally.

JOHN F. GANGE

University of Oregon

Human Nature and Political Systems. By HADLEY CANTRIL. Brown and Haley Lectures No. 9. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961. xiii, 112 pp. $3.00.

In these three essays, originally presented as the Brown-Haley Lectures at the University of Puget Sound, Cantril's purpose is to relate the needs, values, perceptions, and beliefs of men to the operation of political systems. He

particularly, though not exclusively, concentrates on the psychological world of people in underdeveloped countries.

The first essay focuses on the human needs —from food and shelter to a sense of worth and identity—which must be satisfied if a political system is to be both stable and psychologically satisfying. The second essay examines conditions affecting people's willingness and ability to take effective social action. The discussion considers such cognitive factors as the amount of knowledge of alternatives of effective action and such motivational factors as the fear of losing an already precariously low standard of living.

The third essay is largely devoted to a discussion of the extent to which Communism and "the American Idea" offer wide-ranging satisfactions of human need. The political system embodying the American Idea is seen as the one more likely to satisfy man's need for dignity and freedom.

In order to illustrate his points, Cantril draws on a wide variety of sources, ranging from Dostoyevski and Camus to the New York Times Magazine Section and to surveys conducted in many countries. Lucidly written, these essays present a world of psychological wisdom to the layman. I doubt that social scientists will find them of equal value.

MAYER N. ZALD
University of Chicago

The Struggle for Penal Reform: The Howard League and its Predecessors. By GORDON ROSE. Foreword by HUGH KLARE. The Library of Criminology, No. 3. Published under the auspices of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. Chicago, Ill.: Quadrangle Books; London: Stevens and Sons, 1961. xii, 328 pp. $8.75.

Primarily, this is a history of the Howard League for Penal Reform (1921—) in England and of its predecessors, the Howard Association (1866–1921), and the Penal Reform League (1907–1921). Woven into the detailed discussions of the positions taken by these organizations on various penal problems before numerous governmental commissions are items showing the gradual evolution of England's progressive correctional system. Probation officers changed slowly from volunteers to paid personnel with increasing responsibility in recent years for what the English call "after care." Specialized institutions, first introduced in the Borstals for young adults, were later introduced in the prisons and in the approved schools for juveniles. Slowly constructive work for all able-bodied prisoners became universal, token payments being introduced after the Howard League demonstrated a sharp increase in production with that method.

Chapter 8 is interesting for its discussion of the contributions made by such conscientious objectors as Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway, and others who were imprisoned during World War I. More sociological is the final chapter on "Pressures and Policies." Here is an analysis of the prison reform society as a pressure group. The persons pressured are the senior civil servants and the Members of Parliament.

NORMAN S. HAYNER
University of Washington

Society Today and Tomorrow: Readings in Social Science. Edited by ELGIN F. HUNT and JULES KARLIN. New York: MacMillan Co., 1961. xvi, 507 pp. $3.95, paper.

Intended for use with introductory social science courses, this volume consists of an introduction and sixty-eight other selections that are grouped into five major sections dealing with social organization, social adjustment, economic and political organization, international relations, and the nature of the future. The sections and topic headings bear a close correspondence to those in Elgin F. Hunt's *Social Science: An Introduction to the Study of Society,* for which the present readings are presumably an adjunct. The editors indicate that they have attempted to put together an integrated series of readings from the different social science disciplines. Many selections are of excellent quality, but there are only brief editorial introductions to the sections and readings. No key is presented for relating the readings to social science texts, and there is no bibliography or description of contributors of selections. More attention to these details in any subsequent editions should increase the usability of this book.

MAURICE D. VAN ARSDOL, JR.
University of Southern California

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1961. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. 82nd edition. Prepared under the direction of EDWIN D. GOLDFIELD. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961. xi, 1037 pp. $3.50.

Although this invaluable reference volume is strengthened in its 82nd edition by the inclu-

sion of new data from the 1960 census whenever available, readers must wait for the next edition for more complete inclusion of these data. Sixty-six new tables have been added and 49 tables shown in the preceding edition have been dropped. Among the new tables are several of interest to sociologists including those showing information on prevalence of acute and chronic diseases, utilization of health services, medical care price indexes, education and income, and an itemized city worker's family budget for twenty large cities.

With over one thousand pages crammed with facts about our society, this $3.50 volume can only be recommended as a best buy for social scientists.

WALTER T. MARTIN

University of Oregon

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TAIT, DAVID. *The Konkomba of Northern Ghana*. Edited by JACK GOODY. Foreword by DARYLL FORDE. Published for the International African Institute and the University of Ghana. London; Ibadan; Accra: Oxford University Press, 1961. xviii, 255 pp. 42s.

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THOMPSON, ELIZABETH M. *Other Lands Other Peoples: A Country-by-Country Fact Book*. Second Edition. Introduction by PAUL E. SMITH. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1961. $1.50, paper.

THOMPSON, JAMES H. *Methods of Plant Site Selection Available to Small Manufacturing Firms*. Prepared by WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY under Small Business Administration Management Research Grant Program. Foreword by JOHN E. HORNE. Washington, D.C.: Small Business Administration, 1961. 151 pp. No price indicated, paper.

TORRES, CAMILO and BERTA CORREDOR. *Las Escuelas radiofonicas de Sutantenza-Colombia: Evaluacion sociológica de los resultados*. Preface by FRANCISCO HOUTART. Estudios sociologicos Latino-Americanos No. 5. Freiburg, Switzerland; Bogotá, Colombia. Oficina Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de Feres, 1961. 75 pp. No price indicated, paper.

TRIVEDI, HARSHAD R. *The Mers of Saurashtra: An Exposition of Their Social Structure and Organisation*. Baroda, India: Maharaja Sayajiro University of Baroda, 1961. 114 pp 6Rs, 75nP

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WALLERSTEIN, IMMANUEL. *Africa: The Politics of Independence*. An Interpretation of Modern African History. New York: Random House (Vintage Books), 1961. 173, vi pp. $1 25. paper

WEBER, ARNOLD R. (Editor). *The Structure of Collective Bargaining: Problems and Perspectives* Foreword by W. ALLEN WALLIS. Proceedings of a Seminar Sponsored by Graduate School of Business—University of Chicago and the McKinsey Foundation. A Publication of Graduate School of Business, The University of Chicago, Third Series. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962. xxxii, 380 pp. $8.50.

WHYTE, LANCELOT LAW. *The Unconscious Before Freud*. Republication. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor Books), 1962. xii, 211 pp. 95 cents, paper.

WINN, RALPH B. (Translator and Editor). *Psychotherapy in the Soviet Union*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. x, 207 pp. $6 00.

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YANG, C. K. *Religion in Chinese Society*. A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors. Berkeley: Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1961. viii. 473 pp. $9 50.

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THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee

November 18, 1961, New York City

Present were: Paul Lazarsfeld, Chairman; Everett Hughes; Alex Inkeles; William Kolb; Talcott Parsons; William Sewell; Ralph Turner; Robert O. Carlson and Janice Hopper, *ex officio.*

Also present: Robert Bierstedt, outgoing Executive Officer; Nellie Keshishian, Executive Office.

Actions of the Executive Committee were as follows:

1. Location of the Executive Office; the Committee voted:

a to accept with gratitude the offer of office space in the East Building of New York University and,

b. to authorize Robert O. Carlson as Executive Officer to rent supplementary outside space and make the necessary arrangements for office needs within specified limits

2. Replacement of Reuben Hill on the Executive Committee; the Committee nominated Philip Hauser and Rudolf Heberle as candidates to replace Reuben Hill, who is in Belgium this year. The Executive Office was authorized to canvass Council by mail ballot.

3. 1964 Montreal Conference Committee; the Committee voted to invite David N. Solomon of McGill University to serve as Chairman, and Guy Rocher of the University of Montreal as Vice-Chairman.

4. American Sociological Association-International Sociological Association 1962 Meetings; the Committee voted:

a that for A.S.A members, payment of the $10.00 registration fee for the I.S A. meetings shall be considered registration for the A.S.A. meeting;

b. that the Executive Office shall be authorized to work out with the A.S.A.-I S.A. Organizing Committee the disposition of funds accruing from registration;

c. that the Executive Office shall be authorized further to work out the details of arrangements and charges for book exhibits and program advertising for the 1962 A.S.A. and I.S.A. Washington, D.C. meetings;

d to go on record as sharing President Lazarsfeld's concern over the problem of travel arrangements and related matters in connection with the 1962 International Meeting. The Committee would like to bring this concern to the attention of the A.S.A.-I.S.A. Organizing Committee.

5. Committee to Study Social Science Curriculum in High Schools; the Executive Committee:

a confirmed President Lazarsfeld's appointment of Neal Gross as Chairman, and authorized the President to consult with the Chairman and appoint a suitable slate of additional members,

b instructed the Administrative Officer to draft a memo communicating the following points to Neal Gross:

(1) that the new committee be advised to make no commitment which would mitigate against cooperation with anthropologists, political scientists, economists, and psychologists in the study of the high school social science curricula;

(2) that the committee avoid accepting as a foregone conclusion the proposition that earlier study of sociology is desirable;

(3) that it is desirable to look into high school counseling practices as they have bearing on student's notions of what sociology is;

(4) that the August 1961 memorandum of the Section on Sociology of Education should be called to the attention of the Chairman;

(5) that a demographer should be among the members of the new committee.

6. Committee on International Order; the Executive Committee:

a. voted to accept the recommendations of the Committee on Organization and Plans that

(1) "a Committee on International Order be

established with instructions to concern itself with the sociological aspects of international order, i.e., research, analysis, and dissemination of knowledge. It was further recommended that the new Committee be reminded that the Association is barred by the Constitution from making public statements on policy affairs.

(2) "A sub-committee composed of Wilbert Moore, Talcott Parsons, and Guy Swanson was appointed to draw up a list of possible members."

b. Elected Robert Bierstedt Chairman.

7. The Executive Officer and the President were instructed to go into the question of the proper form of reporting membership and related matters of use of IBM equipment, and were authorized to make the indicated decisions and recommendations. The Executive Office was authorized to budget for publication of a new Membership Directory.

8. Proposed Section on Axioms, Postulates and Assumptions; the Executive Committee voted to accept the recommendation of the Committee on Organization and Plans, "that the organizing committee of the proposed Section on Axioms, Postulates, and Assumptions be informed that it is believed that the creation of such a Section would interfere with the later establishment of a Section on Theory of wider interest to the members of the Association." Sponsors of the proposed section are, however, invited to join in a movement to establish a Section on Theory.

9. Study of social research institutes in the United States; the Executive Committee voted to empower Paul Lazarsfeld, Robert Bierstedt, and Peter Rossi to write a proposal for Association sponsorship.

10. The Executive Office was authorized to operate on the 1961 budget in the interim between the close of the fiscal year on November 30 and the approval by the Council of the 1962 Budget.

11. Committee to Study Recruitment to the Profession; the Executive Committee voted to appoint a committee chaired by Amos Hawley and including Leonard Cottrell, Elbridge Sibley, Henry Riecken, and Milton Yinger with a mandate to look into orderly ways for recruitment to positions in sociology.

12. Discussion of the relations between *Sociological Abstracts* and the Association was postponed pending further exploration by the President and the Executive Officer.

13. The Executive Office was voted discretionary power to reduce membership dues of retired professors who are long-time members but do not meet the twenty-year requirement for Emeritus status; the reduced dues shall at least cover the cost of a year's subscription to the *Review*.

14. A motion to appoint a committee to consider the content of college introductory courses in sociology was tabled for a year, in view of the large number of commitments already assumed by the Association.

15. The proposal of the Membership Committee to appoint regional representatives was approved.

16. An informal mandate was given to the Committee on Publications for continuation of its overall study of Association problems and policies on publications and the presentation of a written report to the Executive Committee and the Council before the next Council meeting.

17. The Executive Committee acknowledged with gratitude the gift of Mrs. Ellsworth Faris towards the expenses of the 1961 Annual Meeting.

18. The Committee accepted with regret the resignation of Lloyd Ohlin as Association representative to the American Correctional Association and elected Daniel Glaser to replace him.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, *Secretary*

Analysis of *American Sociological Review*, Volume 26 (1961)

Number of articles and research notes published, including four articles in the "The Profession" section	65
Number of articles and research notes per issue	10.8
Number of articles and research notes in which acknowledgments for support by federal agencies is noted	12
Number of authors and co-authors of articles and research notes	88
Institutional affiliations of authors and co-authors:	
Number of different American colleges and universities represented	37
Number of different American colleges and universities represented once or twice	27

Colleges and universities represented three or more times:

University of Michigan	(8)
University of Chicago	(6)
Harvard University	(5)
University of California (Los Angeles)	(4)
Dartmouth College	(4)
Purdue University	(4)
Michigan State University	(3)
Stanford University	(3)
University of Wisconsin	(3)
Yale University	(3)

Other affiliations:

U.S. government agencies	3
Hospitals and welfare agencies	5
Foreign institutions (English)	2
Other and independent	3

Number of obituaries published	16
Number of publications received for review	838
Number of publications received for review per month	69.9
Number of book reviews and book notes published, including 1 review article	397
Number of book reviews and book notes per issue	66.1
Total number of pages printed	1,006
Total number of pages devoted to Official Reports and News and Announcements	79
Total number of pages devoted to Book Reviews, Book Notes, and Publications Received	265

Data relating to Editorial Year September, 1960 to August, 1961:

Total number of manuscripts received	308*
Number rejected	253
Percentage rejected	82.0%
Number conditionally accepted	30
Percentage conditionally accepted	9.9%
Number accepted	25
Percentage accepted	8.1%

* Does not include 133 manuscripts received from previous editor.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

American Sociological Review. Effective with the February, 1963 issue, the *American Sociological Review* will be under the editorship of Neil J. Smelser, of the University of California (Berkeley). David Matza will serve as Book Review Editor.

Calendar of Annual Meetings, April and May. (For the April and May annual meetings of the regional sociological societies, please see this section of the February, 1962 *Review*.) **National Council on Alcoholism,** April 11–13, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, N.Y.C. **American Academy of Political and Social Science,** April 13–14, Philadelphia. **American Personnel and Guidance Association,** April 16–19, Chicago. **American Association on Mental Deficiency,** May 1–5, Statler Hotel, N.Y.C. **American Psychoanalytic Association,** May 4–7; **American Psychiatric Association,** May 7–11; and **Academy of Psychodrama and Group Psychotherapy,** May 6; Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada. **Academy of Religion and Mental Health,** May 16–18, Biltmore Hotel, N.Y.C. **National Conference on Social Welfare,** May 26–June 1, N.Y.C.

The American Home Economics Association is sponsoring a national Workshop on Aging at Purdue University from April 29 to May 2. Main participants will be Dorothy Lee, Harvard University, Donald P. Kent, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Edna Nicholson, Chicago Institute of Medicine, and Leonard Z. Breen, Purdue University.

American Social Health Association. In a new program concerned with narcotic addiction, the Association will act as a professional information center in the study of addiction and function as a resource for communities and groups seeking assistance in coping with local narcotic problems. Publication of a comprehensive annotated bibliography is planned. Organizations or individuals are invited to submit pertinent material and reports to the Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

Bureau of the Census. During the latter part of 1962, reels of magnetic tape and a set of punchcards containing the separate records of the population characteristics of each of approximately 180,000 persons, a one-tenth-of-one-per cent sample of the population of the United States will be made available. The information recorded will cover substantially all of the characteristics of these persons as enumerated in the 25 per cent sample portion of the decennial population census of 1960. A more detailed statement of the content of these various records and information concerning the cost of materials may be obtained by addressing inquiries to the Director, Bureau of the Census, Washington 25, D.C.

The Family Institute and ***The Mental Research Institute of the Palo Alto Medical Research Foundation*** are publishing *Family Process,* a new multi-disciplinary journal devoted to furthering and integrating the various investigations of the behavioral sciences which deal with the family. The biannual Journal, appearing in March and October, reports on problems of family diagnosis and treatment, integration of individual and family dynamics, theories of family systems, and cross-cultural aspects of family organization and development. Inquiries should be addressed to *Family Process,* 428 East Preston Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

Institut International de Sociologie. Sociologists are invited to participate in the Twentieth Congress which meets in Cordoba, Argentina, September 12–18. (For the program announcement, see this section of the February, 1962 *Review.*) Interested persons may write to Carle C. Zimmerman, Secretary, United States and Canada, 200 Emerson Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The International Humanist and Ethical Union will hold its Third Congress August 2–7 at Oslo University. The program themes will be "Towards a Mature Personality" and "Towards Freedom in an Organized World." Among the participating social scientists are Raymond Aron of France, G. R. Dalvi of India, and L. V. Vladar of Venezuela. Further information may be obtained from IHEU Secretariat, 152 Oudegracht, Utrecht, Netherlands.

International Sociological Association. The four complete volumes of *Transactions* of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology (Milan-Stresa, September, 1959) have recently been published as announced in the advertising section of this issue of the *Review.* These may be obtained by single volume as well as in a set, as follows: *Volume I* (five dollars); "Sociology in Its Social Context;" contributors—B. Barber, F. Bourricaud, J. Chalasinski, P. N. Fedoseev, G. Germain, E. Gomez Arboleya, R. Lukic, R. N. Saksena, M. Shimmei, R. Treves. *Volume II* (six and a half dollars); "Sociology: Applications and Research;" contributors—R. Bauer, C. Bettelheim, Rene Clemens, Jean Floud, E. Franklin Frazier, H. Friss, N. Graschenkov, R. Hill, E. W. Hofstee, R. Konig, Paul Lazarsfeld, L. Livi, G. Myrdal, S. Ossowski, G. Reader, J. Stoetzel. *Volume III* (thirteen dollars, or fourteen dollars together with *Volume IV*); Papers by Georges Friedmann, T. B. Bottomore, R. K. Merton, Morris Janowitz, Ruth Glass; also, Abstracts of Papers, Reports of Discussions. *Volume IV* (three and a half dollars); "Sociology of Knowledge;" contributors—F. H. Blym, H. Garfinkel, T. Parsons, G. Roth, W. Stark, K. H. Wolff.

For information and orders, please address the International Sociological Association, 116 Rue des Flamands, Louvain, Belgium.

The Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council has formed the Subcommittee on Chinese Society to encourage research, on the culture and society of China by cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists. Members of the Subcommittee are John C. Pelzel, Harvard University, Chairman; Morton H. Fried, Columbia University; and G. William Skinner, Cornell University. The Subcommittee, aided by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, plans to hold seminars on various research problems, to develop and maintain contacts with interested scholars in the United States and abroad, and to survey bibliographic and other resources on the subject. Robert M. Marsh, Cornell University, was appointed to compile a directory of interested scholars.

During the past year, The Joint Committee has sponsored conferences of sociologists, anthropologists, economists, and geographers to explore questions of research and training in these disciplines on contemporary China.

National Institute of Mental Health. Grants were awarded last fall to the following: Benjamin Malzberg, Research Foundation for Mental Hygiene, Inc.; Dorothy Swaine Thomas, University of Pennsylvania; Alexander Thomas, New York University; Murray Melbin, McLean Hospital, Massachusetts, Edwin M Lemert, University of California, Davis; Robert W. Habenstein, University of Missouri; Murray A. Straus, Cornell University.

The National Reading Research Foundation invites research proposals on the psychology and sociology of reading. It is particularly interested in supporting projects designed to explore some of the social aspects of literacy and limited to basic (as opposed to applied) research. Suggested areas of study include: impact of literacy on social change; industrialization and literacy; the role of literacy in the rise of nationalism; the relative effects of "oral" versus "book cultures" on socialization. No closing date or special form is required. Proposals should be submitted as complete statements describing the nature and purpose of the research with a budgetary statement amended to the following address: Chairman, Research Advisory Committee, National Reading Research Foundation, Tudor Arms Hotel, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

The National Science Foundation announces that the next closing date for receipt of basic research proposals in the social sciences is May 1, 1962. Proposals received after May will be reviewed following the fall closing date of October 1, 1962. Inquiries should be addressed to the Division of Social Sciences, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C.

Organization of American States. Jiri Nehnevajsa, Professor of Sociology, University of Pitts-

burgh, and Abram J. Jaffe, Project Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, have been appointed consultants to the Department of Social Affairs, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C. Nehnevasajsa was recently made *Miembro Correspondiente* by the Instituto de Estudios Politicos, Madrid, Spain.

Pacific Sociological Association. The following officers were recently elected for the year 1962–1963: President, Harry Alpert, University of Oregon; Vice-Presidents, Southern—William Klausner, University of Redlands, Central—Mervyn L. Cadwallader, San Jose State College, Northern—John James, Portland State College; Advisory Council (3-year terms) S. Frank Miyamoto, University of Washington, and Edmund H. Volkart, Stanford University. Officers who continue their terms are Secretary-Treasurer Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., Council Members C. Wilson Record, Aubrey Wendling, Otto N. Larsen, Robert A. Nisbet, and Walter T. Martin, Representative to the American Sociological Association. Robert Nisbet, ending his term as President, will deliver the Presidential Address, "Sociology as an Art Form," at the annual meeting. This will be held in Sacramento, California, April 5 to 7 with C. Wilson Record in charge of local arrangements.

Social Security Administration. Under a Cooperative Research and Demonstration Grant Program, the first sixteen awards were made during 1961 to thirteen universities and three private social agencies for basic research projects relating to prevention and reduction of dependency, coordinated planning between private and public welfare agencies, or the administration and effectiveness of programs carried on or assisted under the Social Security Act. Members of the Advisory Panel who make award recommendations to the Commissioner of Social Security are: Paul Webbink, Social Science Research Council, Chairman; Angus Campbell, University of Michigan; George Hildebrand, Cornell University; Wayne Holtzman, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, Texas; Otto Pollak, University of Pennsylvania; and William B. Tollen, State Commissioner of Public Assistance, Pennsylvania.

Sozialforschungsstelle (at the University of Muenster) Dortmund, Germany. Helmut Schelsky has been made Director of the Institute and Heinz Hartmann, formerly of Princeton University, is now in charge of one of its four research departments. Thirty-one full-time professional research workers make the Institute one of the largest among the German centers for social research. In recent years, research in sociology has been given increasing attention while projects in economics, social history, and related social sciences have been de-emphasized. Much of the current research is focused on industrial sociology; two projects are being conducted on selected consequences of advanced mechanization in offices and workshops, while other investigations are underway on women in the labor force, private budgeting and consumption standards, reactions to social security programs. More recently, the Institute also has developed an interest in military sociology, and in the sociology of leisure, of education and research; four projects have been launched in these areas. At the same time, the traditional interests in urban sociology and demography continue.

During 1961, several completed investigations were published in the Institute's series, *Soziale Forschung und Praxis* and *Dortmunder Schriften zur Sozialforschung*. Members of the research teams also contributed to *Soziale Welt*, a social research and applied social science quarterly published by the Institute. Complimentary copies of the Quarterly's cumulative index, 1949–1959, are available on request from Verlag Otto Schwartz and Company, Gottingen, Germany.

The *Sozialforschungsstelle* maintains close relationships with sociologists and sociology in the United States. In 1961, Rockefeller Foundation fellowships were awarded to Wolfram Fischer for study and research at Harvard University and to Rainer Mackensen to spend 1961–1962 in several American centers of research on urban sociology and demography. American scholars visiting the Institute this year included K. H. McCartney, Smith College, D. S. Landes, University of California, H. Kish, Michigan State University, W. McPherson, University of Illinois, and R. H. Tilly, University of Chicago.

Southern Sociological Society. Erving Goffman, 1961 MacIver Award winner, will give the MacIver Award Lecture on April 13th at the Society's annual meetings. His address has been tentatively entitled "Stigma Management." The meetings will be held April 12 to 14 in Louisville, Kentucky.

Southwestern Sociological Society. Everett C. Hughes, President-Elect of the American Sociological Association, will deliver the principal address on April 20, at a special session of the Society's annual meeting. W. G. Steglich is Program Chairman of the meeting which is being held in Dallas, Texas, April 20 and 21.

State Planning Organization, Turkey. The Social Planning Department, presently engaged in long-term surveys and research on administrative districts, man power, community development and other social and economic questions, invites institutions and scholars from other countries, interested in conducting social research in Turkey, to contact the Department with their research plans. These may be addressed to Necat Erder, Head of Social Planning, The State Planning Organization, Ankara, Turkey.

University of British Columbia, Vancouver. **Appointed to the Staff**—*Martin Meissner*, (Sociology);—*William Dunning* and *William Willmott*,

(Anthropology). **On leave**—*Cyril Belshaw,* to be Director of the Regional Training Centre for United Nations Fellows at the University;—*Bernard Blishen,* to serve for two years as Director of Research for the Royal Commission on Health Services;—*Wayne Suttles,* to complete studies of native Indian languages. **Other**—A small groups laboratory has been added to the Department;—*Kaspar D. Naegele* will be on leave during the next academic year to conduct a study of the work and education of nurses.

Brooklyn College. ***Appointed***—*Clarence O. Senior,* Professor, formerly Chief of Employment and Migration Bureau, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and Lecturer at Columbia University;—*Oscar Glantz,* Associate Professor, formerly of Michigan State University;—*Hilda Weiss, Leo P. Chall, Judith Kramer,* formerly of Pennsylvania State University, and *Dorothy Hammond,* Instructors. **Promoted**—*Robert W. Ehrich,* to Professor;—*Joseph Jablow* and *Charles R. Lawrence,* to Associate Professors;—*Sidney Aronson* and *Gerald Henderson,* to Assistant Professors. **Awarded**—to *Leo P. Chall,* a National Science Foundation grant of 27,600 dollars to be administered by the American Sociological Association for *Sociological Abstracts* of which he is Editor;—*Feliks Gross,* a 2,600 dollar grant for research at New York University in the field of foreign policy.

On leave—*Seymour Miller,* at the Youth Development Center, Syracuse University;—*Hugh H. Smythe,* to serve with the United States Mission to the United Nations;—*Sidney Aronson,* on a sabbatical year with a grant to do research at the Harvard University Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America. **Returned to the Department**—*Herbert A. Bloch,* after a year in Ceylon as Chief of Mission for Public Safety under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration;—*Alfred McClung Lee,* after a year as Fullbright Lecturer at the University of Rome where he was named a Fellow of L'Associazione Italiana di Science Sociale, and elected to the Executive Committee of the International Council on Scientific Research in Visual Information, Milan. **Retired**—*Marion Cuthbert* and *Walter Dyk,* both Professors of Sociology with eighteen years of service in the Department. **Other**—*George Simpson* was Morton Wellman Fund Lecturer, speaking on the sociology of business at the Graduate Division of the Baruch School of Business and Public Administration this fall.

Cornell University. **Established**—The International Population Program, within the Department, under a 250,000 dollar grant from Ford Foundation to train scientists in the techniques of population study and the social and social-psychological factors of population change. University programs such as the Latin American and Far Eastern Studies that deal with underdeveloped countries having rapidly expanding and shifting populations will be utilized. Two graduate fellowships in the new Program are available through funds from the National Defense Education Act. **Appointed to the new Program**—*J. Mayone Stycos,* Director; *Rose K. Goldsen* and *Robert McGinnis,* members of the Executive Committee.

Erratum: The report, below, was published incorrectly under the heading, *University of Kentucky* in the February, 1962 *Review.* It is repeated here under its proper heading.

University of Kansas. **Appointed**—*William N. Stephens,* Assistant Professor of Sociology and staff member of the Bureau of Child Development;—*Felix Moos,* Instructor, formerly a University of Maryland lecturer in Japan and Korea;—*Norman C. Jacobs,* Assistant Professor and staff member of the East Asian Studies Program;—*Ray D. Zinser,* Visiting Lecturer in Sociology. **Promoted**—*Ray P. Cuzzort,* to Associate Professor;—*William M. Bass,* to Assistant Professor. **Awarded**—to *Charles K. Warriner,* a renewed General Research Fund grant to study complex organizations. **On leave**—*E Jackson Baur,* to spend his sabbatical teaching at the University of Amsterdam under a Fullbright award. **Other**—During the past Spring semester, *Everett C. Hughes* completed his tenure as Rose Morgan Visiting Professor and conducted research on student culture;—*Wayne Wheeler* was Visiting Lecturer in the Department.

Announcement—A special Ph.D. program to train nurses with research interests in community and therapeutic settings has been arranged by the Department under a continuation grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Participants who wish to qualify for a grant up to 3,000 dollars a year may address inquiries to Charles K. Warriner, Program Director.

Goddard College. **Other**—The Vermont Youth Study, a program of research directed by Jerome Himelhoch on adolescent behavior in rural communities, held its Third Annual Conference last January. Twelve social scientists, invited to participate with Vermont social workers, health and probation officers, psychologists, educators, and clergymen, were Albert K. Cohen, James F. Short, Jr., Martin Gold, Lamar Empey, Seymour Rubenfeld, Walter B. Miller, John R. Thurston, Irwin Deutscher, Archie O. Haller, Raymond Gould, Robert H. Hardt, and Stuart Palmer.

University of Michigan, Flint College. ***Appointed***—*Arthur J. Field,* Assistant Professor of Sociology, formerly of the University of Saskatchewan.

Morris Harvey College. **Awarded**—to *Nathan L. Gerrard,* Chairman of the Department, a Wenner-Gren Foundation grant to complete a study of snake-handling Holiness cults in West Virginia.

State University of New York, Downstate Medical Center. **Appointed**—Leo Srole, Profes-

sor of Sociology in the Department of Psychiatry; formerly of Hobart College, and also serving with the recently completed Midtown Manhattan Study on Mental Health in the Metropolis.

Northeastern University. **Appointed**—Theodore N. Ferdinand, Assistant Professor of Sociology, formerly of Central Michigan University, who is currently developing an evaluation study of a juvenile delinquency program. **Awarded**—to Morton Rubin, a National Institute of Mental Health grant to continue research on neighborhood associations and urban rehabilitation in a local Negro community. **Other**—Donald S. Pitkin, Department Chairman, is completing for publication his study of an Italian village.

Ohio State University. **Appointed**—*H. Kent Geiger,* Associate Professor to develop a graduate program in Russian studies, formerly of Tufts University; he is also directing a study of Soviet juvenile delinquency supported by a grant under the Ford Foundation's Youth Development Program;—*James W. Vander Zanden,* Assistant Professor, formerly of Duke University;—*Norman Jepson,* Land Grant Centennial Lecturer in Criminology, visiting from the University of Leeds, England;—*Nancy M. Krueger, Ronald G. Corwin,* and *Halliman H. Winsborough,* to the teaching staff; —*Saad Z. Nagi,* Research Director of the University's Hospital Rehabilitation Center. **Promoted**—*Robert P. Bullock* and *Christen T. Jonassen,* recently a participant in the Syracuse University Seminar on Metropolitan Research Problems sponsored by the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs and the Brookings Institute of Washington, D.C., to Professors;—*Leo A. Estel, Erika E. Bourguignon, Alfred C. Clarke,* who serves as Research Consultant for the University's Center of School Experimentation, Talent Development Project, *Russell R. Dynes,* and *J. Eugene Haas,* recently made Executive Secretary of the University's Personnel Research Board, to Associate Professors;—*Margaret L. Helfrich,* to Assistant Professor. **Awarded**—to *E. L. Quarantelli* and *Margaret Helfrich,* a five-year grant to study the professionalization of dental students;—to *Eugene Haas,* a four-year grant by the U.S. Air Force, Office of Scientific Research to study and develop a taxonomy of complex organizations;—to *Walter C. Reckless,* recently starting a five-year term as Chairman of the Ohio Department of Corrections' Advisory Council, *Simon Dinitz,* and *Thomas G. Eynon,* State funds to continue research on juvenile delinquency at Boys Industrial School. **Returned to the Department**—*Raymond F. Sletto,* who spent the Winter Quarter as Visiting Professor at the University of Georgia. **Other**—A laboratory for urban sociology and one for physical anthropology have been added to the Department.

Pennsylvania State University. **Appointed**—*William M. Smith, Jr.,* Assistant Director and Professor of Agricultural Extension for Family, Youth, and Community Development Program; he continues as Professor in Family Relationships.

St. Lawrence University. **Appointed**—*Cherry Carter,* Instructor, formerly of Indiana University. **Others in the Department**—*Myles W. Rodehaver,* Professor and Chairman; *Paul R. Ducey* and *Donald Auster,* Assistant Professors; *Earl Quinney,* Instructor; and *Dorothy H. Wood,* Lecturer in social work.

Washington State University. **Appointed**—*Joseph W. Rogers,* Instructor in Sociology;—*Eugene C. Erickson,* Assistant Rural Sociologist;—*Robert E. Ackerman,* Instructor in Anthropology, formerly Research Fellow at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute. **Promoted**—*Richard H. Ogles,* to Assistant Professor of Sociology;—*William W. Elmendorf,* to Associate Professor of Anthropology. **Returned to the Department**—*Peter G. Garabedian,* after a year at the University of Arizona;—*Milton A. Maxwell,* after a year as Director of Programming, Alcoholism Foundation of Alberta, Edmonton. **On leave**—*James F. Short, Jr.,* to direct the Youth Studies Program at the University of Chicago;—*Paul H. Landis,* for a sabbatical year of world travel to observe social changes in areas visited in 1955 and 1958; —*John B. Edlefsen,* to serve as head of the Department of Sociology, Punjab University, Lahore, on the Intercollege Exchange Program, Pakistan Project.

University of Wisconsin. **Appointed**—*Edgar F. Borgatta,* Professor, formerly of Cornell University;—*Harry P. Sharp,* Associate Professor and Director of the Survey Research Laboratory, formerly of the University of Wisconsin;—*Robert R. Alford,* Assistant Professor and Associate Director, Survey Research Laboratory, formerly of the University of California, Berkeley;—*Joseph W. Elder,* formerly of Oberlin College, and *Stanley Lieberson,* formerly of the University of Iowa, Assistant Professors;—*Jack Ladinsky,* from the University of Michigan, and *Austin T. Turk,* Instructors. **Promoted**—*Norman B. Ryder,* to Professor. **Elected**—*Eugene A. Wilkening,* President-Elect of the Rural Sociological Society.

Awarded—to *Leo Schnore,* a three-year grant for research in metropolitan growth and structure from the University's Urban Program supported by Ford Foundation funds; he is also co-editing a volume of essays for the Committee on Urbanization, Social Science Research Council;—to *William H. Sewell* and *David Mechanic,* a five-year research training grant for the sociology of mental health from the National Institutes of Health, and to Mechanic, an additional Health Information Foundation grant for research into family health and illness behavior;—to *Edgar Borgatta,* a two-year grant from the National Institutes of Health and another from the United States Air Force for problems of cumulative scaling and error estimation;—to *Marshall B. Clinard,* a 5,000 dollar Ford Foundation grant for research awards to younger

scholars to assist in the systematic development of new concepts and practices of delinquency prevention; he is also preparing a research monograph on problems of India's cities. **Announcement**—A new Ph.D. program, offering National Institute of Mental Health traineeships of 1,800 to 3,000 dollars a year for research training in social psychology relevant to the mental health field has been instituted in the Department. The program consists of academic training in sociology with special emphasis on social psychology, advanced research training, and research internships in collaboration with state and local mental health facilities. For further information, write to Professor David Mechanic, Department of Sociology, Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6.

Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point. **Announcement**—The Department received authorization for undergraduate majors in sociology. **Members of the Department**—*George I. J. Dixon,* Professor and Chairman, who will introduce graduate sociology courses in a combined graduate program with education this summer;—*Gladys Ishida,* Associate Professor, who was elected Chairman of the Social Science Council and is Wisconsin representative of the Midwest Sociological Society's Executive Committee;—*Robert Scheurell,* Instructor.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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ARTICLES

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

(Continued on following page)

Concerning manuscripts and book reviews, address **Editor/Book Review Editor, American Sociological Review, 206 South Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, California**

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BOOK REVIEWS—Cont.

BOOK NOTES

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

IN MEMORIAM

Official Reports and Proceedings

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

to the *American Sociological Review*

I. ***Preparation of Articles, Research Reports, and Book Reviews sent to Editor***

Papers are evaluated by the editors and other referees and are judged without author's name or institutional identification. Therefore, contributors are asked to attach a cover page giving the title, author's name, and institutional affiliation; the manuscript should bear only the title as a means of identification. At least two, and preferably three, copies should be submitted to enable prompt evaluation, but the author should retain a copy in his own files.

Manuscripts are accepted subject to usual editing.

An abstract of about 100–125 words should accompany articles (but not research reports); it should present the principal substantive and methodological points.

Please prepare copy as follows:

1. *All* copy, including indented matter, should be typed *double spaced* on white standard paper. Lines should not exceed 5–6 inches.

2. A footnote to the title, author's name, or his affiliation should be starred (*). Other footnotes should be numbered serially, typed *double spaced,* and should be listed at the *end* of the article or research report. Sample footnote formats are presented below. Please note that full names are used, not initials.

3. Each table should be typed on a separate page. Insert a guide line, e g., "Table 1 about here," at the appropriate place in the manuscript. See current issues of the *Review* for tabular style

4. Figures should be drawn on white paper with India ink and the original tracings or drawings should be retained by the author for direct transmission to the printer. Copies should accompany the manuscript.

5. Mathematical notation should be provided both in symbols and words. Explanatory notes not intended for printing should be encircled in pencil.

6. If any symbols are used that might confuse the printer, please clarify in the margin of the manuscript.

Sample Footnote Formats

* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1959.

1. Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice,* Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 298.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 299–300.

3. Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," *American Sociological Review,* 24 (August, 1959), pp 482–501.

4. Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice,* New York: Harper, 1950.

5. Robert K Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in Robert M. MacIver, editor, *Discrimination and National Welfare,* New York: Harper, 1949, pp. 99–126.

6. Herbert Menzel, James C Coleman, and Elihu Katz, "Dimensions of Being 'Modern' in Medical Practice," *Journal of Chronic Diseases,* 9 (January, 1959), pp 20–40.

7. Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics of the American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual: Mental Disorders,* Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1952, pp 12-13.

II. ***Preparation of News and Announcements sent to Executive Office (New York City)***

These columns may include notices of academic appointments, promotions, resignations, visiting professorships, leaves of absence, special awards, appointments to governmental and private organizations, new training programs, and *major* curricular developments, special research projects and grants, special conferences and institutes, retirements, and deaths. *Do not include:* publications by department members (these will appear in "Publications Received" and many will be reviewed), appointments to graduate assistantships, the conferral of graduate degrees (which are reported annually in the *American Jounral of Sociology*) or of graduate work in progress, public lectures, televised courses, papers delivered at conferences, and brochures. Notices should be *concise.* See current issues of the *Review* for editing style. It is suggested that each department assign one person the responsibility of assembling and transmitting news and announcements.

Notices of professional interest from governmental and other non-academic agencies are welcome.

Foreign sociologists planning to visit the United States who are interested in meeting American sociologists are invited to send their itineraries and other pertinent details to the Executive Office. These will be published under the heading, "Sociologists from Abroad." Please see ***Time Schedule.***

The ***Review*** reserves the right to edit or exclude all items.

Time Schedule: To insure publication, announcements must be received no later than the beginning of the third month preceding the month of issue; for example, to be included in the October issue, material must be received by July 1.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

June, 1962 Volume 27, No. 3

VALUE CONSENSUS AND NEED COMPLEMENTARITY IN MATE SELECTION *

Alan C. Kerckhoff
Duke University

Keith E. Davis
Princeton University

For college couples who were seriously considering marriage, measures of need complementarity (Schutz's FIRO scales) and value consensus (Farber's index of consensus) were compared with progress toward permanence over a seven month period. Consensus was found to be significantly related to progress for only the short-term couples, and complementarity was significant for only the long-term couples. These findings are interpreted as indicating that a series of "filtering factors" operate in mate selection with social status variables (class, religion, etc.) operating early in the relationship, consensus on values somewhat later, and need complementarity still later. The delay in the effectiveness of the complementarity factor is seen as due to stylized boy-girl interaction and unrealistic idealization of the loved one in the early stages of the relationship.

One of the continuing interests in family research has been the attempt to define the factors which lead to a lasting relationship between a man and a woman. The two major concerns in such research have been with the process through which mates are chosen and the characteristics of mates which are predictive of "success" in the marital relationship. A considerable body of knowledge has been assembled based on data gathered in both the premarital and postmarital periods.[1] Although there have been somewhat inconsistent results at times, the most general conclusion suggested by these data is that individuals who are similar to each other are most likely to choose each

* The research was supported by a Faculty Research Grant from the Duke University Research Council to the first-named author. Helpful counsel was received from Kurt Back, Glenn McCann, Joel Smith and Herman Turk, and we gratefully acknowledge their assistance. The present paper is a revision of a briefer report given at the meeting of the American Sociological Association, St. Louis, August 31, 1961.

[1] Relevant studies involving subjects in the premarital period are C. E. Bowerman and B. R. Day, "A Test of the Theory of Complementary Needs as Applied to Couples During Courtship," *American Sociological Review,* 21 (October, 1956), pp. 602–605; Joseph S. Himes, Jr., "Value Consensus in Mate Selection Among Negroes," *Marriage and Family Living,* 14 (November, 1952), pp. 317–321.

Studies utilizing married couples only are R. J. Corsini, "Understanding and Similarity in Marriage," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 52 (May, 1956), pp. 327-332; A. B Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review,* 15 (October, 1950), pp. 619–627; I. Katz, S. Glucksberg, and R. Krauss, "Need Satisfaction and Edwards PPS Scores in Married Couples," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 24 (June, 1960), pp. 205-208; E. L. Kelly, "Consistency of the Adult Personality," *American Psychologist,* 10 (November, 1955), pp. 659–681; T. Ktsanes, "Mate Selection on the Basis of Personality Type: A Study Utilizing an Empirical Typology of Personality," *American Sociological Review,* 20 (October, 1955), pp. 547–551; R. F. Winch, T. Ktsanes, and V. Ktsanes, "A Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study," *American Sociological Review,* 19 (June, 1954), pp. 241–249; R. F. Winch, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: Final Results on the Test of the General Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review,* 20 (October, 1955), pp. 552–555; R F. Winch, *Mate-Selection,* New York: Harper & Bros., 1958.

Some studies have employed subjects in both the premarital and married stages of the relationship: J. A. Schellenberg and L. S. Bee, "A Re-Examination of the Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection," *Marriage and Family Living,* 22 (August, 1960) pp. 227–232; J. A. Schellenberg, "Homogamy in Personal Values and the 'Field of Eligibles'" *Social Forces,* 39 (December, 1960), pp.

other as mates and are most likely to be successful in the relationship. Similarities have been noted in a large number of characteristics such as area of residence, socio-economic level, religious affiliation and activity, and many kinds of attitudes and values. This tendency toward homogamy in mate selection, however, is not the only tendency noted in the literature. A strong case has been made, for instance, for the proposition that heterogamy or complementarity of personality needs is an important principle of selection. Winch [2] has indicated that those variables normally associated with the theory of homogamy in mate selection simply define the "field of eligibles" from which each individual then chooses a mate who is likely to complement himself on the personality level.

The present study is intended as a contribution to this body of knowledge. The major innovation it introduces is a longitudinal perspective during the selection period so that further knowledge of the actual selection process is gained. This is in contrast to most of the earlier studies which have compared a number of cases at a single point in time. The present study attempts to examine the relationship between progress in the mate selection process in the premarital period and measures of homogamy and complementarity.

METHOD

In October, 1959 an attempt was made to enlist the cooperation of a number of women students at Duke University as participants in this study. This was done both through calling a meeting for this purpose and through making the study instruments available in the dormitories. Women who were engaged, pinned or "seriously attached" were asked to participate. The latter term was used to refer to those who were seriously considering marriage even though not actually pinned or engaged. Since the women were told that the man would be asked to take part also, we assume the group was limited to those who were fairly confident of the relationship. The women filled out an extended questionnaire (including materials not reported here) and gave us the names and addresses of their fiancés or boy-friends. The same questionnaire was sent to the men by mail. One hundred and sixteen women filled out the questionnaire, and 103 of their boy-friends returned completed question-

157–162; E. W. Burgess, and P. Wallin, "Homogamy in Personality Characteristics," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 39 (October, 1944), pp. 475–484.

There are also quite a number of studies bearing on the general issues of factors determining selective association. Among the most relevant of these are: J. Altrocchi, "Dominance as a Factor in Interpersonal Choice and Perception," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 59 (November, 1959), pp. 303–308; L. R. Hoffman, "Similarity in Personality: A Basis for Interpersonal Attraction?" *Sociometry,* 21 (December, 1958), pp. 300–308; C. E. Izard, "Personality Similarity and Friendship," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 51 (July, 1960), pp. 47–51; E. E. Jones and B. N. Daugherty, "Political Orientation and the Perceptual Effect of Anticipated Interaction," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 59 (November, 1959), pp. 340–349; G. Lindzey and J. A. Urdan, "Personality and Social Choice," *Sociometry,* 17 (February, 1954), pp. 47–63; T. M. Newcomb, "Varieties of Interpersonal Attraction," in D. Cartwright and A. Zander, editors, *Group Dynamics,* Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1960, pp. 104–119; J. A. Precker, "Similarity of Valuings as a Factor in Selection of Peers and Near-authority Figures," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 47 (April, 1952), pp. 406–414; W. C. Schutz, *FIRO: A Three-Dimensional Theory of Interpersonal Behavior,* New York: Rinehart, 1958; H. Zimmer, "Motivational Factors in Dyadic Interaction," *Journal of Personality,* 24 (March, 1956), pp. 251–262.

In addition to the discussions to be found in the empirical studies, important theoretical analyses relevant to the problem of selective association may be found in A. M. Katz and R. Hill, "Residential Propinquity and Marital Selection: A Review of Theory, Method, and Fact," *Marriage and Family Living,* 20 (February, 1958), pp. 27–35; I. Rosow, "Issues in the Concept of Need-Complementarity," *Sociometry,* 20 (September, 1957), pp. 216–223; J. W. Thibaut and H. H. Kelley, *The Social Psychology of Groups,* New York: Wiley, 1959, pp. 31–50.

Other relevant studies would include: H. M. Richardson, "Studies of Mental Resemblance between Husbands and Wives and Between Friends," *Psychological Bulletin,* 36 (February, 1939), pp. 104–120; P. F. Lazarsfeld and R. K. Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process," in M. Berger, T. Abel, and C. H. Page, editors, *Freedom and Control in Modern Society,* New York: Van Nostrand, 1954, pp. 18–66; E. Gross, "Symbiosis and Consensus as Integrative Factors in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review,* 21 (April, 1956), pp. 174–179; W. Kernodle, "Some Implications of the Homogamy-Complementary Needs Theories of Mate Selection for Sociological Research," *Social Forces,* 38 (December, 1959), pp. 145–152.

[2] *Op. cit.,* 1958.

naires. In May of 1960 both members of the 103 couples on whom we had complete October data were sent another short questionnaire. Data for the present report on 94 couples[3] were derived from these returns.

Four factors were considered in the analysis. The dependent variable was the degree of movement toward a permanent union between October and May. The two independent variables were: (a) the degree of consensus between the man and woman on family values, and (b) the degree of need complementarity. In addition, the length of time the couple had been going together was used as a control variable since it was expected that the relationship of either or both of the independent variables with the dependent variable might differ at different stages of the mate selection process.

Two hypotheses guided the analysis:

(1) Degree of value consensus is positively related to progress toward a permanent union.

(2) Degree of need complementarity is positively related to progress toward a permanent union.

The variables were measured as follows:

Progress toward a permanent union. In May the subjects were asked: "Is the relationship (between you two) different from what it was last fall when you filled out the first questionnaire?" There were three possible responses: "Yes, we are farther from being a permanent couple," "No, it is the same," and "Yes, we are nearer to being a permanent couple." Since only twelve gave the first response, the sample was divided into those who said they were *closer* to being a permanent couple (56 couples) vs. all others (38 couples). This factor will be referred to as "progress toward permanence."[4]

Value consensus. Bernard Farber's "index of consensus" was used for this purpose. As in Farber's original work, both members of the couple were asked (in October) to rank order ten standards by which family success might be measured.[5] The rank correlation between the two sets of rankings was the index of consensus. The distribution of correlation coefficients is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF SPEARMAN RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR VALUE CONSENSUS

Coefficient	Frequency	
Below −.40	1	Low
−.21 to −.40	3	
−.01 to −.20	10	
.00 to .19	11	
.20 to .39	21	
.40 to .59	25	High
.60 to .79	14	
.80 & above	9	
Total	94	

Need complementarity. William Schutz's FIRO-B scales were used in the October questionnaire.[6] There are six of these scales consisting of nine items each. Each scale is concerned with one of the content variables which Schutz calls "inclusion," "control," and "affection," and each is also concerned with either the desire to have others act in some way toward one's self or the desire to act in some way toward others. These two directions are called "wanted" and "expressed" by Schutz. Before computing the complementarity scores for each couple, the scalability of the six scales was tested. It was found that it was necessary to reduce the size of the scales to five items each in order to arrive at equal-sized scales which

[3] An examination of the data on the thirteen women whose partners did not respond indicates that no systematic bias was apparent. However, it seems likely that these thirteen men were not as serious about the relationship as were those who did respond. It is also likely that most of the nine couples for whom we do not have complete information in May are cases of "failures," although this could not be clearly predicted from the October data.

[4] Here, as in all other such cases, if the man and woman did not agree, the most conservative choice was made. That is, if one said they were closer to being a permanent couple and the other said the relationship was the same, the couple was recorded as *not* closer to being permanent. Although there were not many such cases, they are an indication of the problems encountered when using individual responses to form a group response. The decision made here was based on the argument that if either of them was in doubt about being closer, it was questionable that they were in fact closer.

[5] The items are published in: "An Index of Marital Integration," *Sociometry,* 20 (June, 1957), pp. 117–134.

[6] *Op. cit.,* pp. 58–65.

met the scaling criteria [7] for both men and women separately.[8] Using the scale scores on the six five-item scales, need complementarity was computed using Schutz's formula for what he calls "reciprocal compatibility." The formula is $rk_{ij} = |e_i - w_j| + |e_j - w_i|$ where e_i and w_i are the expressed and wanted scores of the man and e_j and w_j are the expressed and wanted scores of the woman. A separate rk was computed for each need area (inclusion, control, and affection). Since the scale scores varied from 0 to 5, it was possible for rk to assume values of from 0 to 10, lower values indicating greater complementarity.[9] The distribution of these scores is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF NEED COMPLEMENTARITY SCORES BY CONTENT AREA

Score	Inclusion	Control	Affection	
0	6	6	2	High
1	12	13	12	
2	13	18	23	
3	22	20	21	Low
4	15	12	16	
5	13	11	7	
6	9	10	9	
7	3	3	2	
8	1	1	1	
9	0	0	1	
10	0	0	0	
Total	94	94	94	

Length of association. For the purposes of this analysis, couples were divided into approximately equal groups, the "long-term" group having gone together for 18 months or more, the "short-term" group having gone together less than 18 months.

RESULTS

Since the dependent variable was a dichotomy and since the independent variables could not be assumed to be more than ordinal scales, the form of analysis used was the test of significance of the difference in the proportions of couples showing progress toward permanence in the categories defined by the hypotheses. In all tests, the distributions of cases on the independent and control variables were dichotomized as close to the median as possible. One-tailed tests were used.

When the simple relationships between the independent and the dependent variables were tested, only that between value consensus and progress in the relationship proved to be statistically significant at the .05 level or better. Two of the measures of complementarity (inclusion and control) approached this level of significance, however, and the third relationship was in the predicted direction. (These relationships are reported in the "Total" rows of Table 4.) Although these findings lead to the tentative acceptance of the first hypothesis and the

[7] The scaling method used and the criteria applied are those outlined by Robert N. Ford, "A Rapid Scoring Procedure for Scaling Attitude Questions," in Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Jackson Toby, editors, *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1954.

[8] This reduction was also effected because we were in doubt about the justifiability of including in the same scale two items which differed only in the form of the response categories and the cut points among these categories. For instance, Schutz uses the following as two separate items in the same scale, the slash line indicating the cut point: "I like people to act close toward me: most people, many people, / some people, a few people, one or two people, nobody." "I like people to act close toward me: usually, / often, sometimes, occasionally, rarely, never." All such duplications were left out of the final five-item scales.

[9] Schutz also offers two other compatibility formulae. One is called "interchange compatibility," the formula for which is: $xk = (e_i + w_i) - (e_j + w_j)$. The second is called "originator compatibility," the formula for which is: $ok = (e_i - w_i) + (e_j - w_j)$. The possible range of the first, using our scales, is 0 to 10, the possible range for the second is −10 to +10. Neither of these measures seems to involve the reasoning normally used in discussions of need complementarity. The first simply takes the overall quantity of a particular need area (wanted *and* expressed) for one person and compares it with the overall quantity for the other person. Thus, for instance, a woman's high need for control by others can be balanced off with the man's high need for control by others, which would be the opposite of what is normally called complementarity. The second formula gives the balance between the *excess* of e or w one person has in an area and the excess of the other person. It includes the confounding factor of balance *within* each individual which is of doubtful utility for our purposes. In contrast, the formula we used seems to be exactly the kind of measure called for by the concept of complementarity. As Winch puts it, two people are complementary "when A's behavior in acting out A's need X is gratifying to B's need Y and B's behavior in acting out B's need Y is gratifying to A's need X." (*Op. cit.*, 1958, p. 93.)

rejection of the second, further analysis presents a somewhat different picture.

As we have noted, all four of the differences in the "Totals" rows of Table 4 are in the predicted direction. It may also be argued that *if* the two hypotheses being tested are true, we should find a general pattern of relationships among the categories of couples defined by a combination of the two types of independent variables (homogamy and complementarity). This pattern should be: HH>Mixed>LL. (Since the original hypotheses did not include a statement about the relative importance of the two independent variables, there is no basis for predicting a difference between the HL and LH cases within the Mixed category.) Table 3 indicates that, with one exception, this pattern is found in each of the combinations of value consensus with one of the complementarity measures.

In all three sets of comparisons, the difference between the HH and the LL cases approaches significance.[10] Although this table does not provide unequivocal support for the hypotheses, it does present a rather consistent pattern of relationships which may be derived from those hypotheses.

The introduction of the control variable of length of association provides even more information about the adequacy of the hypotheses. The data relevant here are provided in Table 4. In all four cases, the introduction of the control variable points up a difference in the pattern for short-term and long-term couples. Most interesting is

TABLE 3. PROPORTIONS OF COUPLES INDICATING PROGRESS BY VALUE CONSENSUS AND NEED COMPLEMENTARITY COMBINED

(Total P=.596)

(A) VALUE CONSENSUS AND INCLUSION COMPLEMENTARITY

	High Consensus	Low Consensus	Groups Compared	Significance of Diff.
High Comp.	.760 (25)	.571 (28)	HH>LL	.01
			HH>HL	—
			HH>LH	.10
Low Comp.	.696 (23)	.278 (18)	HL>LL	.01
			LH>LL	.10

(B) VALUE CONSENSUS AND CONTROL COMPLEMENTARITY

	High Consensus	Low Consensus	Groups Compared	Significance of Diff.
High Comp.	.692 (26)	.636 (11)	HH>LL	.05
			*HH<HL	—
			HH>LH	—
Low Comp.	.773 (22)	.400 (35)	HL>LL	.01
			LH>LL	.10

(C) VALUE CONSENSUS AND AFFECTION COMPLEMENTARITY

	High Consensus	Low Consensus	Groups Compared	Significance of Diff.
High Comp	.750 (16)	571 (21)	HH>LL	.01
			HH>HL	—
			HH>LH	—
Low Comp.	.718 (32)	.360 (25)	HL>LL	.01
			LH>LL	.10

NOTE: The cell frequency is presented in parentheses in each cell In the cell comparisons the value consensus measure is listed first in all cases. Thus, HL means high consensus, low complementarity.

* The asterisk marks the single reversal of direction of relationship from that predicted.

[10] The consistency of the pattern is of particular note given the fact that the three complementarity values are not highly correlated. The Pearsonian coefficient for Inclusion-Affection is .332, for Inclusion-Control it is —.105, and for Affection-Control it is —.018. Only the first deviates significantly from zero.

TABLE 4. PROPORTIONS OF COUPLES INDICATING PROGRESS BY VALUE CONSENSUS, NEED COMPLEMENTARITY AND LENGTH OF ASSOCIATION

(Total P=.596)

	(A) VALUE CONSENSUS		
	High Consensus	Low Consensus	Significance of Diff.
Short-term	.783 (23)	.350 (20)	.01
Long-term	.680 (25)	.538 (26)	—
Total	.729 (48)	.457 (46)	.01
	(B) INCLUSION COMPLEMENTARITY		
	High Comp.	Low Comp.	Significance of Diff.
Short-term	.560 (25)	.611 (18)	—
Long-term	.750 (28)	.435 (23)	.02
Total	.660 (53)	.512 (41)	.10
	(C) CONTROL COMPLEMENTARITY		
	High Comp.	Low Comp.	Significance of Diff.
Short-term	.588 (17)	.577 (26)	—
Long-term	.750 (20)	.516 (31)	.05
Total	.676 (37)	.544 (57)	.10
	(D) AFFECTION COMPLEMENTARITY		
	High Comp.	Low Comp.	Significance of Diff.
Short-term	.588 (17)	.577 (26)	—
Long-term	.700 (20)	.548 (31)	—
Total	.649 (37)	.561 (57)	—

NOTE: The n on which each proportion is based is presented in parentheses after the proportion.

the fact that the pattern is consistently different for value consensus and the three measures of need complementarity.

The relationship between value consensus and progress toward permanence is still significant for the short-term couples as it was for the total sample. However, for the long-term couples, although the direction of the relationship remains the same, the degree of significance falls even below the .10 level. On the other hand, when the relationships between progress toward permanence and the three measures of complementarity are examined, the reverse is true. For the short-term couples there is no hint of a relationship between complementarity and progress toward permanence. But for the long-term couples the relationship is significant at the .02 level in the inclusion area and at the .05 level in the control area. In the affection area the direction of the relationship is the same, but it is not statistically significant.[11]

Although it had originally been considered necessary to control for length of association while examining the relationship between

[11] It may be worth noting also that both long-term and short-term couples experienced progress toward permanence in about the same proportions. This may seem surprising at first since we would expect that the long-term couples were originally more committed to the relationship and would have less "distance" to move in the seven months. However, when one remembers that the measure of progress is a subjective one, it becomes apparent that, even if the long-term couples were objectively closer to a permanent union in October, their sense of progress would be a function of the expectations for *that* stage of the mate selection process. Not only would we expect that objective and subjective "distances" might not be directly comparable, it is also important to remember that the measure is a very crude one differentiating only between progress and no progress rather than between amounts of progress or "distances."

the independent and dependent variables, the particular pattern of relationships which was found had not been hypothesized. The original hypotheses simply dealt with the overall relationship between progress toward permanence and value consensus and the three measures of complementarity. Thus, it is not possible to state that the original hypotheses were clearly either confirmed or denied by the data, although value consensus was significantly related to progress toward permanence for the total sample.

DISCUSSION

If we accept the pattern of relationships discussed above as significant for the research enterprise, two further issues remain: (a) How do we interpret or explain the pattern of relationships noted? (b) How does this research fit into the body of knowledge about the process of mate selection?

Turning to the first question, it is necessary to argue on a somewhat *ad hoc* basis since the specific pattern of relationships found had not been explicitly predicted. However, the pattern does fit rather well with some earlier work in the field of inquiry. It was noted above that Winch speaks of the "field of eligibles" from which one presumably chooses a spouse who complements one's personality needs. In his discussion of the concept "field of eligibles" Winch says:

> There is a set of variables upon which homogamy has been shown to function: race, religion, social class, broad occupational grouping, location of residence, income, age, level of education, intelligence, etc. It is my opinion that these variables function to select for each of us the sort of people with whom we shall be most likely to interact, to assure that the people with whom we otherwise associate are more or less like us with respect to that set of variables and also with respect to cultural interests and values.[12]

Although neither this particular passage nor others in Winch's writings make the point explicit, he seems to be lumping social structure variables and attitude and value variables together in his discussion. The expectation that the two kinds of variables would be highly correlated is a reasonable one, but, we would argue, further understanding of the selection process might be gained if we examined the concept "field of eligibles" more closely.

The present study indicates that such a blanket statement concerning the homogamy variables may give a misleading image of the mate selection process. The homogamy variable discussed above is value consensus. However, other measures of homogamy were also made in this study, such as education, religion, and father's occupation. It is of interest to note that such social categories did not discriminate effectively among the couples. That is, the subjects of this study were very homogamous with respect to social attributes.[13] On the other hand, the use of the more individual measure of values reported here led to a much clearer discrimination among the couples, as indicated in Table 1, although even here the degree of homogamy is notable.

Thus, a different kind of homogamy is evidently represented by family value consensus than by similarity in social characteristics. Evidently the couples of the present study had *already* limited their field of eligibles with respect to social characteristics but were far from having limited it with respect to value consensus.

This leads us to the tentative suggestion that there are various "filtering factors" operating during the mate selection period. The social attributes presumably operate at an early stage, but values and needs are more clearly operative later on.

Our data do not fit neatly into the logic

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[13] The degree of homogamy is evidenced by the following: (a) Seventy percent of the couples had the same level of education If we accept as homogamous those cases in which the man has graduated from college and is no longer in school and the woman is still in college, only fourteen remain. Of these fourteen, ten are cases of men in graduate school and women in college and only four are cases of women in college and men who are high school graduates. (b) Eighty-seven per cent of the couples are members of the same religious groups (Protestant, Catholic, Jew). Forty per cent report the same rate of attendance at services and 83 per cent are within one category on a five-point scale ranging from "never attend" to "four or more times a month." (c) Using Hollingshead's seven-category classification of occupations, the fathers of the man and woman are in the same category in 45 per cent of the cases; in 76 per cent of the cases they are in the same or adjacent categories.

of a serial set of filtering factors, however. If they did, and if we assume that social attributes, value consensus, and complementarity operate in that order, we would expect a significantly higher proportion of high value consensus couples in the long-term group, since many of the low consensus couples would have broken up (been filtered out) in the early stages of courtship. This is not the case. What we do find is that *if* the couple survives the earlier stages despite having low value consensus, they are more likely than short-term low consensus couples to progress toward permanence, and this greater likelihood is largely explained by the variable of complementarity.

TABLE 5. PROPORTIONS OF LOW CONSENSUS COUPLES SHOWING PROGRESS BY LENGTH OF ASSOCIATION AND NEED COMPLEMENTARITY
(Total P=.467)

	Inclusion		Control		Affection	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Short term	357(14)	.333(6)	.400(5)	.333(15)	.333(9)	.364(11)
Long term	.786(14)	.250(12)	.833(6)	.450(20)	.750(12)	.357(14)

NOTE: The n on which each proportion is based is presented in parentheses after the proportion.

This may be seen in part from the fact (see Table 4) that long-term low consensus couples show progress more often than short-term low consensus couples (.538 *vs.* .350). If the low consensus couples are sorted according to *both* length of association *and* one measure of complementarity, however, it is even more striking. Table 5 shows this analysis. In the case of each measure of complementarity, there is a negligible difference in the short-term row but a very sizeable difference in the long-term row. Thus, complementarity evidently does have a differential effect in long-term and short-term low consensus couples. What remains unspecified is the mechanism through which some short-term low consensus couples manage to stay together.

However, even if this question were answered adequately, our data raise another question about the order of influence of these filtering factors, namely: How does it happen that the filtering effects of need complementarity are not noticeable until the later stages of courtship? Although our data do not provide a wholly satisfactory answer to this question either, some light may be shed on the issue. One of the measures used in the October questionnaire was the other half of Farber's "Index of Marital Integration," the measure of value consensus being the first half. This second measure involves the rating of one's self and of one's partner on a set of personality characteristics. Some of these characteristics are "negative," such as "irritable," "stubborn," "easily excited," etc. Scores are computed for each person according to the number and intensity of such negative personality traits he attributes to his partner. If we sum the two scores for the couple, we have a measure of negative person perception in the couple or what Farber calls "an index of role tension."

When we analyze these scores according to the length of association, we find that short-term couples have much lower scores than long-term couples. That is, short-term couples were less likely to attribute negative personality characteristics to each other than were long-term couples. Also, there is a greater tendency for the person perception scores of short-term couples to become *more* negative between October and May, even when we hold original scores constant. This seems to be in keeping with the point so often stressed in the literature that couples go through a period of idealization and perception distortion which may lead to disillusionment (or "reality shock") at a later date.

In the light of our other findings, we would interpret this to mean that the short-term couples were likely to be responding to an idealized version of the love object which would make the effectiveness of any personality complementarity less probable. They were responding to a stylized role relationship rather than to another personality. Not until the idealization is destroyed can they

interact at the more realistic level of personality, and only then can need complementarity "make a difference" in the relationship.

We may now turn to our other question: How does this research fit into the body of knowledge about the process of mate selection? First, the research gives added support for both the homogamy and complementarity theories, and it provides a tentative statement of the relationship between these two during the selection process.

Second, rather than simply comparing married or engaged couples with a random pairing of other individuals in order to show greater complementarity in the couples, this study attempts to demonstrate that complementarity "makes a difference" in the actual selection process. So far as we know, this is the first time such a longitudinal perspective has been provided.

Third, this is the first study of mate selection in which paper and pencil measures have pointed to a significant contribution of complementarity in the selection process. One of the criticisms of Winch's work has been that his measures were not adequately freed of rater bias.[14] On the other hand, one of Winch's criticisms of other attempts to test the importance of complementarity with paper and pencil instruments has been that such instruments are not sufficiently sensitive to tap the relevant need area.[15] Although there may be some disagreement over the adequacy of our operational definitions of the needs involved, the fact remains that this study has been more successful in showing a contribution of complementarity than any other of its kind.[16]

Finally, although the present study has added to our knowledge, it still leaves many unanswered questions which are also left unanswered by earlier studies. One of the most critical of these is the question of the importance or the salience of the needs being studied. In order for complementarity to make much of a difference in the selection process, one would expect that the needs involved must be of some importance to the individuals. Neither the present study nor the earlier ones has provided a means of determining the salience of the needs. It would be possible with the present measuring devices to use the intensity dimension of Guttman scaling as a measure of salience, but with such a small sample the simultaneous control of another variable in addition to those already included would not be feasible.

SUMMARY

We have reported on the findings of a study in which measures of value consensus and need complementarity have been shown to be related to a sense of progress toward permanence during a seven-month interval in the mate selection period. Although only value consensus was related to progress toward permanence for the sample as a whole, when the sample was divided into long-term and short-term couples, value consensus was related to progress for the short-term couples and two of three measures of complementarity were related to progress for the long-term couples. These findings are interpreted as indicating that a series of "filtering factors" operate in mate selection at different stages of the selection process. Our data generally support the idea that social status variables (class, religion, etc.) operate in the early stages, consensus on values somewhat later, and need complementarity still later. Our interpretation of the delay in the operation of the complementarity factor is that such personality linkages are often precluded by the unrealistic idealization of the loved one in the early stages of courtship.

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[14] Cf. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*

[15] Winch, *op. cit.*, 1958, p 83, footnote Winch is referring to the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule here, but presumably his point is a more general one.

[16] We have purposely avoided a discussion of the concept "need" in this article. It is defined in so many different ways in the literature that we feel it best to let the operational definition stand on its own feet rather than attempting to add still another definition. Let it suffice to note that Schutz refers to his scales as measures of "interpersonal needs," but they are certainly a very different kind of measure than that provided by the TAT.

THE SYSTEMIC LINKAGE HYPOTHESIS AND ROLE CONSENSUS PATTERNS IN HOSPITAL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS *

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This report accounts for the systematic differences observed when hospital administrators, hospital board members, and community leaders evaluate role expectations of their own and each other's positions. Taking as assumptions a systemic linkage hypothesis and an interaction-obligation hypothesis, specific predictions concerning the differences among the above groups are derived. The predictions conform to the actual patterns observed.

Structured questionnaires which included sections on role performance were received from 12 hospital administrators and 45 board members from ten non-Catholic general community hospitals in the Denver metropolitan area. Forty top community leaders were interviewed.

In their book, *Explorations in Role Analysis,* Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern lay to rest the frequently assumed but erroneous notion that there is complete consensus on role expectations among the incumbents of positions in a social system.[1] They point to the possibly fruitful consequences of inquiring into the kind and degree of consensus on role definitions among incumbents holding the same type of position (intra-position consensus), and between incumbents holding different positions (inter-position consensus), either in the same social system, or in systems of the same type. Their work provides instruments that proved useful in pursuing this line of research. Their results demonstrate that differences in the various definitions of roles by position incumbents are systematic rather than random, and can be accounted for in terms of social organization theory.

This paper reports research on an inter-position consensus problem. Are there, in fact, systematic differences in the ways incumbents of counter-positions in the same type of social system view each other's roles? What theoretical propositions enable us to predict the pattern of such differences?

In particular, we are concerned with the systematic differences observed when hospital administrators, hospital board members, and community leaders define the role expectations of their own and each other's positions. In this paper, we focus attention on those expectations which specify how an incumbent of one position relates to incumbents of various counter-positions in other social structures.

TWO GENERAL HYPOTHESES

The operational hypotheses tested in the study are derived from familiar theoretical propositions. The most general proposition may be labeled the interaction-obligation hypothesis, stated as follows:

Other things being equal, the more frequently persons cooperatively interact with

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[1] *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role,* New York: John Wiley, 1958, pp. 21–47.

each other, the stronger their perceptions of obligation to each other are apt to be.[2]

A corollary can be formulated immediately:

Because of their more frequent cooperative interaction with each other, *members of the same social system are apt to express more obligation to each other than to non-members.*

If additional consideration is given to the fact that position incumbents in one social system may, because of the requirements of the position, also be incumbents of positions in other structures, and thus stand in a *linkage position* uniting two different systems, then specific predictions about the direction of differences in the role consensus patterns of various position incumbents can be derived.

The concept of systemic linkage. According to Charles P. Loomis, "Systemic linkage may be defined as the process whereby the elements of two social systems come to be articulated so that in some ways they function as a unitary system."[3] In this case, the position itself is viewed as the nexus or link between two systems. It is because incumbents of counter-positions in a given system hold positions that link (and obligate) them to *different* other systems that systematic differences can be expected between groups who respond to the same set of role expectation items.[4] The analysis of the linkage relationship together with the interaction-obligation hypothesis will lead to implications predicting the direction of differences between incumbents of counter-positions defining their own and each other's roles.

Note, for example, Figure 1. The hospital administrator holds a position which links his own hospital system to his local, regional, or national professional associations of hospital administrators. In expressing various kinds of obligations of incumbents of positions in the hospital system, he will take into account his obligation to members of his profession.[5] Similarly, the hospital board member holds a position which officially links the hospital to the community system, particularly to the influential decision-makers, the leaders, in the community. The board member will take into account his obligation to these leaders when he expresses various obligations of position incumbents in the hospital system. Internally, the hospital administrator stands in a position between the board members and other hospital personnel—the medical staff, the nurses, etc. The administrator's interaction with the staff is more frequent than the board member's interaction with the staff. We may predict, therefore, that the administrator will express more obligation to staff than will board members.

In a more abstract formulation, the systemic linkage hypothesis may be stated as follows: *Incumbents of counter-positions in a social system will express different expectations for these positions in directions determined by their different linkages to other*

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[2] This is a simple variation of the interaction-friendship sentiments hypothesis presented by George Homans in *The Human Group,* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950, p. 111 ff. and p. 133 ff: "the more frequently persons interact with one another, the stronger their sentiments of friendship for one another are apt to be." (p. 133). The qualifying term "cooperative" is added to differentiate this type of interaction from inherently hostile interaction, as in fighting. See P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics,* New York: Harper, 1947, p. 93 ff.

[3] "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito," *Rural Sociology,* 24 (March, 1959), p. 55. See also: Charles P. Loomis, "Tentative Types of Directed Social Change Involving Systemic Linkage," *Rural Sociology,* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 383–390; Charles P. Loomis, *Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change,* Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1960, pp. 32–34; and Charles P. Loomis and Zona K. Loomis, *Modern Social Theories,* Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1961, pp. 16, 19, *et passim.*

[4] The same inference could be drawn from the implications contained in the concept of "role sector," or the concept of "role-set." See Gross, Mason, and McEachern, *op. cit.,* p. 62, and Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* revised and enlarged edition, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, p. 369.

[5] Besides the frequent cooperative interaction with his professional associates, the incumbent of a professional position depends on (and in turn is obligated toward) his colleagues external to his own organization to validate his position within it. See also related implications developed in Alvin W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects.* New York: Basic Books, 1959, pp. 415–417.

social structures or sub-structures. The specific direction of the expression of greater obligation toward a significant other person or group is determined by application of the interaction-obligation hypothesis to the situation.

It is not and could not be claimed that the board members in the sample are a "representative" group of general community hospital board members. About half of the board members who returned questionnaires are elected officers of their boards. It is possible

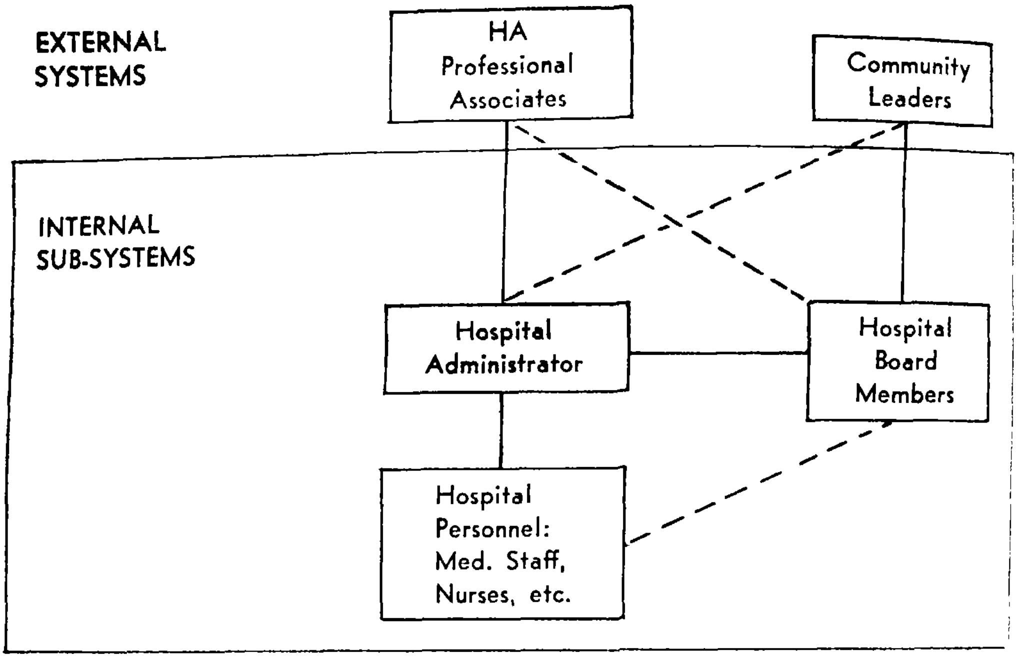


FIGURE 1. Main lines of Cooperative Interaction and Linkage Positions of Hospital Administrators and Hospital Board Members. The two solid lines in a triangle of relationships focus on a linkage position The dotted line in a triangle of relationships indicates less relative cooperative interaction. Therefore, for a particular triangle, the incumbent of the linkage position will express more obligation toward a 3rd party counter-position incumbent (tied by a solid line) than will the other counter-position incumbent (tied to the 3rd party by a dotted line).

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Structured questionnaires which included a series of "role performance" items for hospital administrators, hospital board members, and community leaders were completed by 12 administrators from 10 non-Catholic general community hospitals in the Denver metropolitan area. In addition, 45 board members distributed among 9 of these hospitals returned questionnaires, and 40 of 50 top community leaders were interviewed.[6]

that, as a group, the responding board members are the more active, involved members who take their role responsibilities somewhat more seriously than the average hospital board member.[7] Presumably, the consensus of this active group of board members represents the functionally important opinion that must be taken into account by the hospital administrator.

The top 50 community leaders were selected by a technique similar to that used by Floyd Hunter in his power structure studies.[8] A list of about 800 names obtained

[6] N for board members and community leaders in the 3 tables varies slightly from these figures because some respondents failed to fill out or complete various sections of the questionnaire. In Table 3 four community leaders who were also board members for the hospitals studied were classified as board members for purposes of the board member —community leader comparison.

[7] Some support for this claim may be found in the research note by Richard F. Larson and William R. Catton, Jr., "Can the Mail-Back Bias Contribute to a Study's Validity?" *American Sociological Review,* 24 (April, 1959), pp. 243–245.

[8] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure,*

from newspaper items and from information given by 5 initial informants was reduced to 200 on the basis of the comments and consensus among these key initial informants. The 200 names were placed on cards and taken to 36 "community knowledgeables" who were asked to select the 50 persons "most able to initiate and carry out community projects in Denver." The community knowledgeables were, for the most part, executive secretaries or heads of important community organizations in 12 "institutional sectors" (politics, business, labor, education, religion, mass communications, professions, government, cultural groups, "society," recreation, and welfare). A few of the knowledgeables were top leaders themselves. Three respondents from each sector were interviewed. The responses were tabulated and the 50 most frequently selected persons were designated the "top leaders" to be interviewed.

All of the hospital administrators from the voluntary, non-Catholic general community hospitals in the Denver metropolitan area participated in the study.[9]

The role performance items relevant to the test of the systemic linkage hypothesis are listed in the accompanying tables. They include all items inquiring about or implying a relationship between the position incumbent in question and some person or group other than the incumbent of the specific counter position. For each item, the respondent was asked to evaluate the expectation according to a set of responses devised by Gross, Mason, and McEachern. The respondent asserts that a position incumbent

1. Absolutely must,
2. Preferably should,
3. May or may not,
4. Preferably should not,

or 5. Absolutely must not,

act in the way the item states.

Thus, each expectation was evaluated by each respondent as being mandatory and prescriptive (absolutely must), mandatory but proscriptive (absolutely must not), preferred (preferably should or preferably should not), or permitted (may or may not) for the role under consideration.

The hospital administrators responded to items on their own role, on the hospital board role, and on the community leader role. The board members similarly were asked to define the expectations of their own role, the hospital administrator role, and the community leader role. The community leaders responded to expectation items on their own role and that of hospital board members.

In the various operational hypotheses in three test situations we attempt to predict which of two groups of respondents will express more obligation for the position incumbent toward a significant other person or group. If one group of respondents (e.g., hospital administrators) *consistently* assigns more obligation to the position incumbent in question than the other group of respondents (e.g., hospital board members) over a whole array of role expectation items, then a systematic pattern of difference in role orientation has been observed.

The tables show: (1) the role expectation items for a particular position that are evaluated by two groups of respondents; (2) the predicted direction of the consensus of one group of respondents toward either "absolutely must" or "absolutely must not" in accordance with the systemic linkage hypothesis; (3 and 4) the relative positions of the consensus of the two groups of respondents as indicated by the mean scores of the two groups; (5) the maximum deviation between the two cumulative distributions, i.e., the Kolmogorov-Smirnov D statistic; and (6) the sign indicating whether or not the maximum deviation was in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. A plus sign

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Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953 For a recent trenchant criticism of the "reputational" technique for designating influential community leaders, see Raymond E Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power'," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 636–644, and a reply by Howard J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (December, 1961), pp. 926–927. See also the article by William V. D'Antonio and Eugene C. Erickson in this issue of the *Review*.

[9] The relationship between Catholic hospital administrators and their *local* boards is quite different from the non-Catholic community hospital administrator-board relationship. Many expectation items in the schedule are not appropriate for either Catholic hospital administrators or their community board members. This is the reason why Catholic hospitals in the Denver area were not included in the study.

indicates a successful prediction and minus sign indicates an unsuccessful prediction. If predictions are more often successful than could be expected by chance at the 5 per cent level of significance as determined by the sign test, then a consistent pattern of difference exists between the two groups of respondents as predicted by the systemic linkage hypothesis. In addition, the outcome of a Mann-Whitney *U* test based on the distributions of summary scores of the two groups is included at the foot of each table.[10]

[10] As some readers of the earlier draft of this paper have pointed out, the sign test does not provide an adequate test of the systemic linkage hypothesis in the three test situations since a person's answers to questionnaire items do not constitute a series of independent events. For example, it is conceivable that administrators possess some psychological attribute differentiating them from board members. If a significant number of items in a test happened to tap this attribute, the outcome of a sign test would yield a spurious rather than a real consistency of pattern in relation to the systemic linkage hypothesis. The Mann-Whitney *U* test outcomes are presented to meet this objection to the exclusive dependence on sign tests of the hypotheses.

For a given test situation, the Mann-Whitney *U* test demonstrates whether or not two distributions of summary scores differ significantly in the predicted direction. For the purpose of the *U* test, some items had to be "reverse scored" so that all responses combined into summary scores were coded in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. For example, in Table 1, it is predicted that administrators will have smaller scores on items 1, 2, 5, 7, etc. when "Absolutely must" is scored 1 and "Absolutely must not" is scored 5. But it is also predicted that administrators will have larger scores on items 3, 4, and 6, i.e., more in the direction of "Absolutely must not" which is 5. In order to combine a person's score on individual items into a summary score for the purpose of the *U* test, the scoring of responses to items 3, 4, and 6 was reversed: "Absolutely must not" was scored 1, and "Absolutely must" was scored 5. This procedure makes it possible to test the alternative to the null hypothesis, that administrator summary scores are stochastically smaller than board member summary scores on Test 1. The same hypothesis is tested in Test 2, so responses to items 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14 in Table 2 were "reverse scored" for the *U* test. In Table 3, responses to items 4 and 7 were "reverse scored" in computing summary scores consistent with the hypothesis that community leader scores will be stochastically *larger* than board member scores. Finally, a few "no answer" responses (16 among 2280 possible responses) were assigned the mode of their group on that item so that each person's summary score is computed from the same number of responses.

TESTED HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

Test I: Internal relationships between the administrator, or board, and hospital personnel subsystems.

Application of the systemic linkage and interaction-obligation hypotheses to internal relationships in the hospital system. Within the hospital system, the hospital administrator holds a linkage position: (a) between the medical staff and the board, and (b) between various other personnel subsystems (e.g., nurses) and the board. Assuming relatively more cooperative interaction between administrators and the medical staff than between board members and the medical staff, and relatively more cooperative interaction between administrators and other hospital personnel subsystems than between board members and such subsystems, the following specific predictive hypotheses may be derived:

Hypothesis 1a: On items describing a relationship between the administrator and the medical staff, administrators will express more administrator obligation to the medical staff than will board members evaluating the administrator role.

Hypothesis 1b: On items describing a relationship between board members and the medical staff, board members will express less board member obligation to the medical staff than will administrators evaluating the board member role.

Hypothesis 1c: On items describing a relationship between the administrator and various hospital personnel subsystems, administrators will express more administrator obligation to such subsystems than will board members evaluating the administrator role.

Hypothesis 1d: On items describing a relationship between board members and various hospital personnel subsystems, board members will express less board member obligation to such subsystems than will administrators evaluating the board member role.

Table 1 shows the items and results of Test 1, i.e., a test of the systemic linkage hypothesis applied to the case of internal relationships between the administrator, or board, and various hospital subsystems. The items are presented under the appropriate

TABLE 1. HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATOR (HA) AND HOSPITAL BOARD MEMBER (HB) RESPONSES TO ROLE EXPECTATION ITEMS DESCRIBING INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE HOSPITAL SYSTEM. (1="ABSOLUTELY MUST;" 5="ABSOLUTELY MUST NOT." D IS THE MAXIMUM DEVIATION BETWEEN CUMULATIVE STEP FUNCTIONS OF THE TWO SAMPLES.)

Role Expectation Items	Predicted Direction for HA Toward:	HA Mean ($n_1=12$)	HB Mean ($n_2=42$)	D and Prediction Success (+ or −)
1a. *Hospital Administrator items, relating to the medical staff:*				
1. Report the wishes of the medical staff to the board even when he is not in agreement with what they want.	1	1.25	1.44	+.18
2. In a medical emergency, follow the orders of the attending physician even though these orders may be in direct violation of admission policies laid down by the governing board.	1	1.67	2.74	+.49
3. Make changes in rates and fees without consulting the medical staff.	5	3.25	3.93	−.46
4. Initiate action to terminate the appointment of a medical staff member who consistently violates rules on hospital procedures.	5	1.83	1.64	+.07
5. Consult with the medical staff when considering the appointment of a new Director of Nursing.	1	2.17	1.93	−.24
6. Review the personal life of a candidate for a medical staff appointment or renewal in order to protect the hospital against possible adverse criticism.	5	2.75	2.05	+.39
1b. *Hospital Board Member items, relating to the Medical staff:*				
7. Establish a regular procedure for communicating board actions to the medical staff.	1	1.42	1.57	+.19
8. Always authorize the purchase of all equipment that the medical staff and the administrator claim is needed to provide good quality medical care.	1	2.17	2.52	+.17
1c. *Hospital administrator items, relating to hospital personnel:*				
9. Help his nurses and other hospital personnel to get higher salaries.	1	1.42	3.00	+.13
10. Have in writing a policy statement on personnel hiring, promotion, and discharge.	1	1.42	1.71	+.21
11. Accept full responsibility for the decisions of his subordinates.	1	1.75	1.76	+.01
12. Require periodic examinations of all hospital personnel to assure their physical fitness.	1	1.67	1.72	+.05
13. Have in writing job specifications listing the duties and responsibilities of all hospital personnel.	1	1.67	1.70	+.06
1d. *Hospital board member items relating to hospital personnel:*				
14. See that hospital personnel salaries are at levels as high or higher than salaries in hospitals in other cities of the same size and character.	1	2.33	2.39	.08 (tie)

$P<.05$ by a sign test.
$Z=1.73$; $P<.05$ (one-tailed test) by a Mann-Whitney *U* test.

headings for testing each sub-hypothesis, 1a through 1d, but the total group of items are combined for the statistical tests.

Under a null hypothesis (assuming responses to items to be independent events), we would expect about as many unsuccessful predictions (indicated by minus signs) as successful ones (indicated by plus signs). Eliminating the tied case, the probability of only 2 unsuccessful predictions in 13 instances under the null hypothesis, when direction has been predicted in each case, is less than .05. The Mann-Whitney *U* test demonstrates that the two distributions of summary scores are significantly different in the predicted direction, i.e., the administrator summary scores are stochastically smaller than the board member summary scores. The probability that the two groups of scores are from the same population is less than .05. We therefore conclude that we have predicted and observed a consistent pattern of differences between two groups of respondents that confirms the systemic linkage hypothesis as applied to role relationships internal to a hospital system.

Test 2: Administrator or board relationships with various systems external to the hospital.

Application of the systemic linkage and interaction-obligation hypotheses to the external relationships case: Since the hospital administrator is a member of his professional association (or has such fellow professional associates as a reference group), the administrator position links this external system of professional associates to the hospital system. The hospital board member has an official responsibility to the community. Thus the board member position provides a link between the hospital and community members, perhaps especially other community leaders as a reference group. Assuming relatively more frequent cooperative interaction between the administrator and external professional associates than between board members and other hospital-related professional groups, and, assuming relatively more frequent cooperative interaction between board members and other community leaders than between the administrator and other community leaders,[11] the following specific predictive hypotheses may be derived:

Hypothesis 2a: On items describing a relationship between the administrator and external professional associates, administrators will express more administrator obligation to such professional groups than will board members evaluating the administrator role.

Hypothesis 2b: On items describing a relationship between board members and external professional groups, board members will express less board member obligation to such groups than will administrators evaluating the board member role.

Hypothesis 2c: On items describing a relationship between the administrator and community groups, especially community leaders, administrators will express less administrator obligation to such community groups than will board members evaluating the administrator role.

Hypothesis 2d: On items describing a relationship between the board member and community groups, especially community leaders, hospital board members will express more board member obligation to such community groups than will administrators evaluating the board member role.

Table 2 shows the items and results of Test 2 on administrator and board relationships to systems external to the hospital. The items are presented under headings appropriate for tests of sub-hypotheses 2a through 2d, but as in Table 1, the statistical tests are based on the total group of items. There were 2 unsuccessful predictions in 14 instances, a probability of less than .01 under a null hypothesis with a one-tailed test. The Mann-Whitney *U* test shows that the distributions of summary scores are different in the predicted direction, but not significantly different at the .05 level of significance ($P = .1492$). Taking into account the fact that the sign test assumption of independent events may be violated by our data and the lack of significant confirmation by the *U* test, we come to this tentative resolution: considering administra-

[11] This assumption can be substantiated with empirical data not presented in this report.

TABLE 2. HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATOR (HA) AND HOSPITAL BOARD MEMBER (HB) RESPONSES TO ROLE EXPECTATION ITEMS DESCRIBING RELATIONSHIPS WITH SYSTEMS EXTERNAL TO THE HOSPITAL. (1="ABSOLUTELY MUST;" 5="ABSOLUTELY MUST NOT." D IS THE MAXIMUM DEVIATION BETWEEN CUMULATIVE STEP FUNCTIONS OF THE TWO SAMPLES.)

Role Expectation Items	Predicted Direction for HA Toward:	HA Mean (n_1=12)	HB Mean (n_2=42)	D and Prediction Success (+ or —)
2a *Administrator items relating to external professional groups.*				
1. Work on committees sponsored by his state or national professional organizations.	1	1.50	1.91	+.25
2. Read professional journals regularly.	1	1.42	1.59	+.15
3. Make hospital records and facilities available to researchers who are attempting to advance knowledge in the field.	1	2.33	1.84	—.34
4. When purchasing supplies or equipment, let price be the determining factor rather than professionally determined standards and specifications.	5	4.25	4.16	+.24
2b. *Board member items relating to external professional groups.*				
5. Work immediately to correct faults outlined by hospital accrediting agencies even if large expenditures are involved.	1	1 67	1.78	+.12
6. Provide, on request, hospital statistics required for the development of an overall plan to meet future hospital care needs of the community.	1	1.42	1.71	+.28
7. Permit the use of the hospital for legitimate state or national research projects.	1	1.92	2.07	+.12
2c. *Administrator items relating to community groups.*				
8. Favor local firms in the awarding of hospital contracts even though this may increase hospital expenses.	5	3 75	2.51	+.18
9 Give consideration to local values or feelings regarding race, religion, and national origin in selecting personnel.	5	3 00	2.02	+.16
10. Fight any attacks on hospital procedures which he knows to be sound.	1	1.67	1.84	+.10
11. Take a neutral stand on community-wide issues involving health standards, e.g., a water fluoridation program.	5	3 42	3.30	+.10
2d. *Board member items relating to community groups.*				
12. Have all regular meetings open to top level community leaders.	5	4.00	3.29	+.37
13. Clear with top level community leaders before going ahead with hospital drives for construction, equipment or other items that require fund raising.	5	1.58	1.93	—.27
14. Have all regular meetings open to the press.	5	3.83	3 62	+.09

$P<.05$ by a sign test.
$Z=1.04$; $P=.1492$ (one-tailed test) by a Mann-Whitney *U* test.

tor or board relationships with systems external to the hospital, there is substantial but not conclusive evidence that a consistent pattern of differences in role expectations between the two groups exists in conformity with the systemic linkage hypothesis.

Test 3: Predicting an external position evaluation of role relationships internal to the hospital system.

Application of the systemic linkage and interaction-obligation hypotheses to the Test 3 case. As stated in the analysis of the linkage conditions in Test 2, the board member position officially links the community system to the hospital system. Top leaders may be conceived as an especially significant group of community members with whom the board members are expected to interact more frequently than will hospital administrators. Also, obviously, (to put it the other way) board members interact more frequently with hospital administrators than community leaders who are not hospital board members. We may therefore expect that community leader evaluation of the board member role will conform to a consistent pattern relative to board members' own evaluations, as formulated in the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: On items describing a relationship between the board members and the hospital administrator, community leaders will express less board member obligation to the administrator than will board members evaluating their own role.

Table 3 shows the ten items and results of a Wilcoxon rank test for paired observations. Although there were 3 unsuccessful predictions in only 10 instances (not significant by a simple sign test), all of these misses were minor differences in comparison with the total set of differences predicted according to the hypothesis. Consequently, when the magnitude of the differences is taken into account, as in the Wilcoxon test, the probability of the observed T occurring under a null hypothesis is less than .025 for a one-tailed test. The Mann-Whitney U test demonstrates that the summary scores of the two groups are not drawn from the same population ($P < .0002$). The community leader summary scores are stochastically larger than board member summary scores. This result confirms the hypothesis that a consistent pattern of difference in role definition exists between community leaders and board members as implied by the systemic linkage hypothesis.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The results of these tests are consistent with conclusions presented in *Explorations in Role Analysis*.[12] In the abstract view, the tests confirm the predictive power of a simple sociological principle: one's obligations to others are dependent on one's position in a social structure which in turn is defined by the character of the social interaction between one's self and others.

Given a network of social relationships such as illustrated in Figure 1, the social scientist is able to formulate predictions about role expectations based on the concept of systemic linkage. Information on the nature and frequency of interaction enables the observer to designate the linkage position in a triangular network or relationships. He can then state how various social obligations will likely be perceived among the parties in that social structure.

For example, a juvenile delinquent may be in a linkage position relative to his family and his peer group friends. The delinquent will perceive obligations to his friends that are not recognized by his family. The policeman caught up in cooperative interaction with criminal associates will perceive obligations to these associates which will be completely rejected by the policeman's superiors and judicial authorities.[13] The professional research person will recognize obligations toward his professional colleagues that a nonprofessional administrator of the research funds will fail to perceive. On the other hand, if such an administrator is in frequent cooperative interaction with the subjects of the research, he may feel obligated to protect them from some of the prying ques-

12 Gross, Mason, and McEachern, *op. cit.*, pp 128–134, on "Obligations to Incumbents of Counter Positions," and "Task Orientations to Different External Systems."

13 Recent cases of police corruption in Denver support this assertion. One convicted policeman brought into court to testify in the trial of others said in effect, "I will not inform on my (criminal) buddies." His superiors and the judge, of course, did not grant the legitimacy of such an obligation

tions of the researcher, an obligation likely to be perceived as irrelevant by the research person.

Although the substantive data of this paper deserve the special attention of specialists in the health field, the hypotheses under test merit a more general interest. Role analysis instruments and data analysis procedures now available permit sociologists to test with some precision specific predictions derived from the most abstract sociological principles. General hypotheses such as those confirmed by studies of school system roles and hospital system roles form part of a growing body of substantiated sociological theory.

TABLE 3. HOSPITAL BOARD MEMBER (HB) AND COMMUNITY LEADER (CL) RESPONSES TO ROLE EXPECTATION ITEMS DESCRIBING INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE BOARD. (1="ABSOLUTELY MUST;" 5="ABSOLUTELY MUST NOT." D IS THE MAXIMUM DEVIATION BETWEEN CUMULATIVE STEP FUNCTIONS OF THE TWO SAMPLES.)

Role Expectation Items	Predicted Direction for CL Toward:	HB Mean (n_2=43)	CL Mean (n_1=35)	D	Signed Rank of D	Least Frequent Signed Rank
Board member items on HA-HB relations.						
1. Appoint to the medical staff only physicians nominated or approved by the hospital administrator.	5	3.12	3.84	+.37	+9	.....
2. Protect the hospital administrator from community pressures to change hospital procedures.	5	1.88	2.56	+.31	+7	.....
3. Authorize the expenditure of hospital funds to permit the hospital administrator to attend meetings of his professional organizations, visit other hospitals, etc., to help him keep up to date on hospital developments.	5	1.57	1.51	−.07	−2.5	−2.5
4. Comply with the wishes of some influential community leaders who think the administrator should be discharged for failing to give their firms hospital contracts.	1	4.62	4.77	−.07	−2.5	−2.5
5. Always authorize the purchase of all equipment that the medical staff and the administrator claim is needed to provide good quality medical care.	5	2.52	3.50	+.33	+8	.....
6. Assure the administrator by word and action that they will support him on every administrative decision he may make.	5	2.45	3.51	+.40	+10	.....
7. Give orders to the hospital administrator as individuals outside of board action.	1	4.74	4.81	−.03	−1	−1
8. Accept the administrator's recommendations for contracts with specialists such as radiologists and pathologists.	5	2.36	2.45	+.12	+4	.....
9. Require the hospital administrator to attend all meetings of the board.	5	1.40	1.79	+.26	+6	.....
10. Follow the suggestions of the administrator when the board differs from him on procedures involving technical administrative or medical knowledge.	5	2.33	2.58	+.14	+5	.....
						T=6

P<.025 by the Wilcoxon matched pairs signed-ranks test.
Z=3.75; P<.0002 by a Mann-Whitney U test.

ALIENATION FROM WORK: A STUDY OF NURSING PERSONNEL

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Alienation, defined as subjectively experienced powerlessness to control one's own work activities, is examined among the nursing force of a large mental hospital. It is found that alienation is intensified where authority relations are such as to limit the reciprocal influence of subordinates. This is reflected in situations where there is great positional disparity between superordinates and their subjects, where authority is exercised in a peremptory fashion and where authority figures are physically inaccessible. Career experiences within the hospital opportunity structure are also related to alienation; limited achievement and dissatisfaction with extrinsic work rewards are alienative conditions. Finally, personnel working in isolation and without outside social ties to fellow workers are more subject to intense alienation.

THIS study examines some of the structural properties of a mental hospital relevant to the alienation of its nursing force from its work. Alienation is an interest of long standing to social scientists concerned with a broad spectrum of issues. Increased social differentiation, the disappearance of community, the breakdown of regulatory norms and the difficulty of realizing the total self in mass society are all problems that have drawn people to the concept.[1] Like other concepts, however, the diffusion of its meanings seems to be proportionate to the number of issues to which it is related. Thus, Seeman identifies no less than five major variants: powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement.[2] As employed in this paper, the principal theme of alienation is that of subjectively experienced powerlessness which, Seeman notes, is the most common usage among the five variants.

Regardless of how it is conceptualized, alienation is typically treated as occurring within the framework of the total society or its major social institutions.[3] One exception is John P. Clark, who stresses the importance of studying alienation in specified social situations.[4] There are, we believe, a number of advantages that can result from this. By taking a clearly delineated organization for study, it becomes more possible to pinpoint the particular structures, role sets or processes that have alienative consequences. When looked at on a societal level, by contrast, these antecedents of alienation are more obscured and are difficult to study reliably. In the present case the organization under study is a bureaucracy. This provides the opportunity to examine alienation within

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[1] According to Nisbet, alienation—as reflected in literature, social science and theology—represents the central concern of our age. The image of man presented by students of these areas is not of one who does things, but of one helplessly acted upon by alien forces. Robert A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 3–22.

[2] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review,* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 783–791. Another writer, Dean, attempts to circumvent the problem of conceptual diffusion by incorporating into a single measure of alienation feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and isolation. Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," *American Sociological Review,* 26 (October, 1961), pp. 753–758.

[3] Nettler conceives of alienation, for example, as disenchantment with some prevailing social values and non-participation in institutionalized political, religious and family activities. Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," *American Sociological Review,* 22 (December, 1957), pp. 670–677. Even where the conceptualization of alienation is in terms of powerlessness, the powerlessness refers to the shaping of general life chances rather than in dealing with specific social situations. See, for illustration, John W. Evans, "Stratification, Alienation, and the Hospital Setting," *Bulletin of the Engineering Experiment Station,* The Ohio State University, 29 (November, 1960), pp. 42–45. A third study, dealing with alienation among graduate students, also takes the larger society as the major contextual setting Jan Hajda, "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals," *American Sociological Review,* 26 (October, 1961), pp 758–777.

[4] John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," *American Sociological Review,* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 849–852.

an organizational form that pervades many areas of social life, thus yielding a degree of generality to our findings. It can also be noted that to study alienation within a work setting is particularly strategic, for the central importance of work means that occupational experiences have an impact on participation in other social institutions. Alienation from work, therefore, is an area of study that links a matter within the purview of industrial sociology to broadly patterned social problems.

Our measure of alienation is made up of a four-item Guttman scale, part of an extensive questionnaire constructed for this study. The scale has a coefficient of reproducibility of .91. It is presented here in scale order with the alienative responses italicized:

1. How often do you do things in your work that you wouldn't do if it were up to you? Never; Once in a while; Fairly often; *Very often.*
2. Around here it's not important how much you know; it's who you know that really counts. *Agree*; Disagree.
3. How much say or influence do people like you have on the way the hospital is run? A lot; Some; *Very little; None.*
4. How often do you tell [your superior] your own ideas about things you might do in your work? *Never; Once in a while;* Fairly often; Very often.

These items, it can be seen, involve more than the powerlessness that people experience; they also capture an overtone of resentment at being deprived by outside forces of greater control over one's own work. The scale approximates what Clark feels is the essence of alienation; namely, "... the discrepancy between the power man believes he has and what he believes he should have —his estrangement from his rightful role." [5]

Our attention in this paper will be on the way certain structures within the hospital bear on the intensity of alienation experienced by nursing personnel. We shall be particularly interested in the authority structure, opportunity structure and the composition of work groups. There is considerable evidence that, once established, alienation influences the way personnel go about their work, their treatment values and attitudes toward patients. In this paper, however, we shall limit ourselves to conditions producing alienation rather than its consequences.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 849.

SETTING OF THE STUDY

The subjects of the study are members of the nursing service at Saint Elizabeths Hospital.[6] This is a large Federal mental hospital, drawing its patients mainly from the District of Columbia. There are approximately 7500 inpatients on the rolls; about half are white and half Negro. The hospital itself is divided into twelve services and 156 wards. Two data collection instruments were used: one is a self-administered questionnaire given to all nursing personnel below the position of nursing supervisor. The other is a form, filled out by individuals in charge of each of the 156 wards, that asks for demographic and psychiatric characteristics of patient ward populations, the employment of various ward programs and policies, and staffing practices. Of the 1315 nursing personnel who received questionnaires, 1138, or 86 per cent, returned completed and usable questionnaires. Of the 156 ward forms distributed 152 were filled out.

Three nursing ranks are represented in the group to whom the questionnaire was directed, each differing in formally prescribed responsibilities, authority and rewards. The lowest rank, comprising 70 per cent of the nursing force, is called nursing assistants. Above them in authority are charge attendants who have been given the charge of wards in the absence of a professional nurse; this group represents 16 per cent of the total. The remaining group, smallest in number, is composed of registered nurses who head the lower ranks. These three groups are collectively referred to as nursing personnel. Forty per cent of them are males and sixty per cent are females.

ALIENATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY

Alienation, as we define it, is a feeling of powerlessless over one's own affairs—a

[6] The author is indebted to Saint Elizabeths Hospital, and particularly to Miss Lavonne Frey, Director of Nurses, and other members of the Nursing Service who gave wholehearted support to this study. Responsibility for the data and their interpretation, however, is solely the author's.

sense that the things that importantly affect one's activities and work are outside his control. By this definition, alienation is necessarily bound to the hierarchical organization of responsibility and authority. Indeed, one of the things that distinguishes an organization from other types of collectivities is the differential allocation to some members of authority over the activities of others. Thus, inherent in an hierarchical arrangement is the unequal distribution of opportunities to decide on and initiate actions, whether one's own or others. By its system of authority—that is, the distribution of rights to influence the actions of others—an organization separates its members to varying degrees from decisions regarding their activities. From these statements we may wonder how anyone can escape alienation. Even within the same hierarchical organization, however, some conditions serve to minimize these feelings while others intensify them.

One condition that arouses intense alienation is the inability of subordinates to act back upon their superordinates. We can begin to demonstrate this by first examining the positional relations between superordinates and subordinates on ward units. Although hospitals are typically characterized by a multiple authority system, it is possible in most cases to distinguish a single outstanding authority figure for an individual worker. This was accomplished by the question: "There are many people who have something to do or say about the way wards are run and the care of patients. Who has *most* say or influence in what you do in your daily work?" It was possible for a respondent to choose from the formally established line of authority one of these distinct figures: the doctor, the nursing supervisor of his service, the head nurse, or the charge attendant. Eighty-seven respondents were unable to designate a single most important authority, giving a variety of combinations; together with those not answering the question, they are excluded from the following discussion.

Knowing the position of the respondent, the discrepancy between his position and that of the person he indicated as most influential could then be observed. The widest positional discrepancy that can occur is in the situation where a nursing assistant designates a doctor as his most significant authority. This is called a four-step disparity, for on ward units the doctor organizationally is four positions above the nursing assistant, with charge attendant, head nurse, and nursing supervisor positions intervening. Following this scheme, a three-step disparity is represented in the designation of a supervisor by an assistant and of a doctor by a charge attendant. The two-step disparity is found in the designation of a head nurse by an assistant, the supervisor by a charge attendant and a doctor by a head nurse. Finally, the one-step disparities, occurring between adjacent positions, are: the designation of a charge attendant by an assistant, a head nurse by a charge attendant, and a supervisor by a head nurse.[7]

It is clear from Table 1 that there is a tendency for alienation to be most intense under conditions of great disparity and to decrease with positional distance between superordinate and subordinate parties.[8] This relationship is best understood by pointing up the limitations that positional disparity imposes on interaction between an authority and his subject. Interaction, even between

[7] The question arises as to whether these designations reflect authority relations as they actually exist or if they are only projections of something within the subjects. There is reason to believe that generally those designated are, in fact, most influential One reason is that the distribution of designations conforms to our observations in the hospital It is known that some doctors take an active interest in the operational details of one or more of their wards and are likely, as a result, to assume responsibilities that otherwise would fall to other people This is even more frequently the case among nursing supervisors. Thus, the designations of doctors and supervisors by personnel in low positions are not out of keeping with actual practice.

[8] Because the widest positional disparities necessarily involve those in the lowest positions, it might be wondered if this relationship is not accounted for by the position of the person making the designation rather than by the disparity. This does not appear to be the case, however. Looking at charge attendants alone, for example, we find that those designating head nurses as most influential express less intense alienation than those indicating supervisors or doctors. Head nurses alone display a similar pattern: those naming supervisors are less alienated than those designating doctors These results indicate that the relationship between positional disparity and alienation is not determined solely by the lowest group.

TABLE 1. POSITIONAL DISPARITY IN AUTHORITY RELATIONS AND ALIENATION

Score of Alienation	Four-Step Disparity	Three-Step Disparity	Two-Step Disparity	Adjacency
0	2%	12%	15%	19%
1	25	31	25	29
2	34	23	34	23
3	29	18	14	18
4	11	16	12	11
Totals	56	238	358	314

$\chi^2=30.5$
12 df
$P<.01$

superordinates and subordinates, is typically characterized by reciprocal influence.[9] This means that a subject ordinarily exercises some control over the actions of his superior and, indirectly, his own affairs. Wide positional disparity, however, restricts reciprocity by increasing restraint and inhibition and decreasing spontaneity between an authority and his subject. As a result, influence would flow more unilaterally along the lines of formal authority arrangements. Such restrictions on interaction limit the subordinate's ability to exercise influence on his superiors and, consequently, feelings of powerlessness are exacerbated. Interaction between authorities and subjects in adjacent positions, on the other hand, would be more free of these limitations and their alienative effects. Positional disparity, therefore, represents a condition that inhibits reciprocal influence by subordinates and it is for this reason that it is alienative.

In interpreting the findings in Table 1 we imply that the desire for influence over their own affairs is common among personnel and, when prevented from realizing what they feel is rightfully theirs, alienation results. It is obvious, however, that influence is not desired by all people nor are they equally alienated when found in the same situation of positional disparity. A characteristic of personnel that is relevant in this respect is status obeisance. By status obeisance we refer to the value placed on authority for its own sake and the deference shown those in positions higher than one's own. A highly obeisant individual, we expect, would not feel that it is part of his rightful role to share influence with his superior, even where his own affairs are involved. More likely, he regards influence as belonging exclusively to those in authority. Conversely, he would be most unwilling to share what authority

[9] The reciprocal influence of subordinates is not necessarily contrary to the desires of their superiors. Indeed, such influence may be actively invited; for, as Simmel pointed out, where subordinates are completely passive and do not act back upon their superordinates, the latter are deprived of the signs of their dominance. Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (translated by Kurt H. Wolf), Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950, pp. 181–183.

TABLE 2. STATUS OBEISANCE, THE POSITIONAL DISPARITY BETWEEN SUPERORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE AND ALIENATION

	Low and Moderate Obeisance				High Obeisance			
Alienation Score	4-Step Disparity	3-Step Disparity	2-Step Disparity	Adjacency	4-Step Disparity	3-Step Disparity	2-Step Disparity	Adjacency
0	..%	12%	16%	22%	5%	13%	12%	12%
1	22	30	21	25	32	32	32	36
2	28	18	33	20	41	27	35	31
3	34	22	16	20	18	18	12	13
4	16	18	14	13	5	11	9	8
Totals	32	148	248	220	22	85	98	86
	$\chi^2=33.2$ 12 df $P<.001$				$\chi^2=4.98$ 12 df $P>.05$			

he might possess with those he considers inferior to himself.[10]

Given such status values, situations of great positional disparity do not result in feelings of deprivation, for one does not experience loss in not having something he does not expect or feel is rightfully his. This is generally confirmed in Table 2, where it is seen that those low or moderate in obeisance are most alienated when their significant superiors are remote from them.[11] The alienative impact of this condition on the highly obeisant, by contrast, is quite insignificant. Evidently those who regard authority with deference and awe do not seek a voice in their own affairs; they are willing to have their superordinates speak for them.

We noted earlier that disparities discouraged unconstrained interaction, thus removing subordinates from opportunities for reciprocal influence. However, regardless of positional relations, alienation still results if authority is exercised in such a manner as to inhibit relatively free interaction. Included in the questionnaire is an item that allows us to observe how this quality of authority as it is exercised bears on alienation. It asks: "When [your superior] wants you to do something, how does he (or she) usually let you know what is wanted?" There are three major response categories: (a) simply tells me; (b) asks me if I will; (c) explains to me why he wants it. To exercise authority by telling the subordinate what to do effectively minimizes any exchange between superordinate and subordinate; when he is asked to do something, the situation becomes more transactional; and when it is explained why something is required, the subordinate tends to become more of a partner to the action. The first allows little or no reciprocal influence and the last a maximum of reciprocity. In Table 3 we find that alienation is greatest among subjects simply told what to do and least among those to whom the required action is explained.

TABLE 3. THE WAY AUTHORITY IS EXERCISED AND ALIENATION

Alienation Score	Told to Do It	Asked to Do It	Explained Why It Is to Be Done
0	6%	16%	21%
1	24	25	29
2	29	29	27
3	21	18	13
4	20	12	10
Totals	217	462	329

$\chi^2=34.8$
8 df
$P< .001$

Status obeisance is again an important characteristic in connection with the communication of authority. Just as it tended to soften the impact of positional disparity, status obeisance minimizes the alienation that otherwise results from being told what to do with little or no opportunity for reciprocal influence. The highly obeisant are more likely to react to such an authority style with the feeling that it is rightful and proper rather than with feelings of deprivation. It can be seen in Table 4 that feelings of alienation of those low and moderate in obeisance very closely depend on the way authority is exercised while the highly obeisant are generally insensitive to this condition. Instead of being alienated from something they want, such individuals are likely to experience peremptory authority as part of a natural and just order.

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[10] In an earlier paper it was shown that those most obeisant toward their superiors are also most likely to elevate themselves above patients of low social standing. Leonard I. Pearlin and Morris Rosenberg, "Nurse-Patient Social Distance and the Structural Context of a Mental Hospital," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (February, 1962), pp. 56–65.

[11] Obeisance, measured by a Guttman scale, is presented in scale order:

(a) Do you ever feel like disagreeing with *what* [your superior] wants you to do or *how* he (or she) wants you to do it?
Often, sometimes, rarely, or never?

(b) I figure my supervisor knows better than I what's good for my ward or else she (or he) wouldn't be a supervisor.
Agree or disagree?

(c) The best way to get along on this job is to mind your own business and just do as you're told.
Agree or disagree?

(d) I like the idea of nurses and nursing assistants standing up when the doctor comes into the nursing station.
Agree or disagree?

Respondents scoring 0 or 1 are "low;" those scoring 2 are categorized as "moderate;" and those scoring 3 or 4 are "high."

TABLE 4. THE STATUS OBEISANCE OF SUBJECTS, THE WAY IN WHICH AUTHORITY IS COMMUNICATED TO THEM AND ALIENATION

Alienation Score	Low and Moderately Obeisant Subjects			High Obeisant Subjects		
	Told	Asked	Explained	Told	Asked	Explained
0	6%	19%	22%	7%	10%	18%
1	18	22	28	36	30	30
2	27	28	25	36	30	33
3	26	19	13	10	19	12
4	22	13	12	11	11	7
Totals	148	305	222	61	145	98
		$\chi^2=35.6$ 8 df $P<.001$			$\chi^2=10.2$ 8 df $P>.05$	

Both positional disparity and the peremptory exercise of authority lead to alienation as a result of the constraints they place *on interaction and reciprocal influence by* subordinates. Another condition that limits the reciprocity a subject can exercise with his superordinate is the extent to which an authority is accessible—in the sheer physical sense—to his subject. The bearing of this on alienation needs little elaboration, for if a significant authority physically absents himself, he in effect cuts his subjects off from the opportunity to act back upon him.

Evidence concerning the relationship between *physical accessibility and alienation* is drawn from two sources, one concerning physicians and the other service nursing supervisors. With regard to the physicians, on each of the ward information forms an estimate was made of the daily time usually spent by a doctor on the ward. These data were then pooled to yield a median for each of the twelve services.[12] These medians range from less than fifteen minutes a day to over *three hours a day.* Table 5, then, separates personnel designating a doctor as their significant authority from those making other designations; it further divides them according to the median time doctors spend on wards in the services to which they are assigned.

The results of the table show a significant, though somewhat irregular, increase in alienation with the decrease in time doctors are found on ward units. But this is only true *among personnel for whom the doctor is the*

[12] A large number of staff is not assigned to a particular ward in a service, and these staff would be excluded if accessibility were observed at the ward level. By taking a median measure for the entire service it is possible to include such individuals in examining the effects of accessibility.

TABLE 5. THE DESIGNATION OF A DOCTOR AS THE OUTSTANDING AUTHORITY, ASSIGNMENT TO SERVICES DIFFERING IN THE TIME DOCTORS SPEND ON WARD UNITS AND THE ALIENATION OF PERSONNEL

Alienation Score	Personnel Designating Doctor as the Outstanding Authority			Personnel Designating Others as Outstanding Authorities		
	Dr. Present 30 Minutes or Less per Day	Dr. Present 30 Minutes to One Hour per Day	Dr. Present More Than One Hour per Day	Dr. Present 30 Minutes or Less per Day	Dr. Present 30 Minutes to One Hour per Day	Dr. Present More than One Hour per Day
0	2%	17%	26%	15%	24%	13%
1	37	25	13	27	30	25
2	28	31	42	29	20	29
3	26	14	10	17	15	17
4	7	14	9	12	11	16
Totals	43	36	31	561	155	258
		$\chi^2=16.8$ 8 df $P<.05$			$\chi^2=12.5$ 8 df $P>.05$	

outstanding authority. Among staff designating other superordinates, the time that doctors are present or absent from the patient care units makes no significant difference.

The same findings emerge when we focus on those for whom the service supervisor is the dominant authority. Approximately one month after the present study was conducted, an independent study was made to learn how the supervisors of seven of the twelve services spend their time.[18] Supervisors in all services by and large face the same demands. They differ sharply, however, in the tasks to which they give most emphasis and the ways in which they satisfy the multitude of requirements of a well run service. The case in point with which we shall deal is the time they spend in clerical duties. There is a great deal of office work to which some supervisors give as little attention as possible, while others devote considerable time to them at the expense of other duties.

We can assume that the more time a person spends performing these clerical duties, the less face-to-face contact he will have with his staff on the ward units. Table 6 distinguishes staff who designate the supervisor as the outstanding authority and also divides personnel who work on services where the supervisor spends three hours or more a week at clerical tasks from those where less time is spent at this work. Among staff for whom the supervisor is the most important authority, a marked tendency is seen for alienation to increase with the time the supervisor spends doing clerical work. Again, the way the supervisor spends her time is of no significant consequence to personnel for whom someone else is the outstanding authority. Where one is both a dominant authority and physically absent, his subordinates are likely to experience intense alienation. Alienation, in sum, grows out of authority situations that insulate superordinates from the influence of their subjects, whether by physical distance, positional distance or peremptory authority.

TABLE 6. THE DESIGNATION OF THE NURSING SUPERVISOR AS THE OUTSTANDING AUTHORITY, ASSIGNMENT TO SERVICES DIFFERING IN THE TIME THE SUPERVISOR SPENDS AT CLERICAL DUTIES AND THE ALIENATION OF PERSONNEL

	Personnel Designating the Supervisor as the Outstanding Authority		Personnel Designating Others as Outstanding Authorities	
Alienation Score	Three Hours or More Spent at Clerical Tasks per Week	Less than Three Hours Spent at Clerical Tasks per Week	Three Hours or More Spent at Clerical Tasks per Week	Less than Three Hours Spent at Clerical Tasks per Week
0	7%	25%	11%	20%
1	24	25	33	28
2	24	25	27	34
3	31	10	16	10
4	14	15	13	8
Totals	59	40	99	100
	$\chi^2=10.7$ 4 df $P<.05$		$\chi^2=6.8$ 4 df $P>.05$	

ALIENATION AND THE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

A mental hospital is established to meet community needs and to alleviate human suffering. It recruits to it individuals who possess the talents and training thought to be instrumental to these ends. The individuals recruited necessarily bring with them various motivations, values, and aspirations. In order to retain its staff and to maintain itself as an ongoing institution, it must gear itself not only for the attainment of the ends for which it was established, but also for the satisfaction of the diverse aspirations and opportunities sought by its mem-

[18] We are indebted to Mrs. Helen K. Sainato, Hospital Nurse Consultant at Saint Elizabeths Hospital, for making these data available to us.

bers. One very prominent aspiration among our nursing personnel is for social advancement and the enhancement of life chances. When asked how important it is for them to get ahead in life, only four per cent indicated that it was of little or no importance. This becomes much more impressive when it is realized that these individuals work within a pyramidal structure, where the higher positions are relatively few in number and most personnel occupy positions at the base of the organization. The opportunity structure of the hospital, therefore, imposes extreme limitations on advancement and where mobility is achieved, it comes slowly. Thus, pervading the nursing force are strong desires for advancement; but the structure in which they are located has far fewer positions than there are people who would like to attain them. Such a situation produces a continued frustration of aspirations that can lead individuals to feel that the important forces that affect them in their work are beyond their control.[14] Such enduring barriers to desired rewards of work can produce a sense of utter powerlessness over one's occupational affairs.

Consider first the actual achievement histories of personnel. Since the hospital under study is a Federal institution, its positions are part of the Civil Service classification system. There are four positions open to non-professional nursing personnel: General Schedule (GS) 2, 3, 4, and 5. All non-professionals, with the exception of a few certified practical nurses, enter service at the lowest level, and movement from one level to another is neither fast nor assured; and one cannot go beyond the top level without earning the credentials of a professional. While there are few rising stars among this group, and none for whom the sky's the limit, there are differences in the speed with which they move from one level to another. Since our group of professional nurses includes only those working on ward units, the range of GS levels they embody is quite narrow; for this reason they are omitted from the present discussion.

By juxtaposing the GS levels of personnel with the years of their hospital employment, it is possible to distinguish among personnel according to the pace and extent of their achievements. Thus we consider the *limited* achievers to be those at a GS-2 level with seven or more years experience together with those at GS-3 with nine or more years experience. The *moderate* achievers are personnel at GS-2 with between three and seven years tenure, at GS-3 with employment of nine years or less and at GS-4 with experience of twelve years or more. Finally, the *high* achievers are at GS-4 with experience of less than twelve years and all 35 personnel at GS-5, regardless of the length of their experience. Those at GS-2 but with less than three years experience are not included, since this is too short a time to make a judgment. This exhausts all GS levels open to non-professionals and yields a composite index of both the level and pace of achievement.

Table 7, then, represents actual achievement experiences as they emerge within a limited opportunity structure. It shows how intense feelings of powerlessness are created among those who do not have rewards of occupational advancement. The work setting does not accord to them something they value and they are faced with a situation that will not yield to their desires.

We assume that limited achievers are disposed to intense alienation because they are unable to gain the rewards of work they feel

TABLE 7. THE PACE AND LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND ALIENATION

Alienation Score	Limited Achievers	Moderate Achievers	High Achievers
0	10%	14%	34%
1	30	27	26
2	25	29	27
3	21	16	6
4	14	14	7
Totals	365	436	85

$\chi^2 = 33.5$
8 df
$P < .001$

[14] This will be recognized as the kind of situation Merton describes as producing anomie and suggests a possible link between powerlessness and anomic behavior. It is our view that alienation is an intervening phenomenon between the desire for unobtainable ends and the breakdown of normative controls. Thus, while alienation and anomie might be part of the same process, they are not the same thing. See Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Second edition), Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, chap. IV.

are rightfully theirs. But what of the limited achievers who are not discontented with their occupational rewards, or of the high achievers who, despite their attainments, are dissatisfied with theirs? In the questionnaire were items asking for the degree of satisfaction with three work rewards that are linked to achievement: the adequacy of pay, of promotional opportunities, and the chances hospital work affords for "getting ahead in life." We shall bring together the evaluations personnel make in each of these areas with their achievement histories in order to observe their consequences for alienation. Since the number of high achievers is small, it is necessary in the following tables to combine response categories.

Table 8 shows the achievement patterns in conjunction with feelings about pay. Respondents were asked: "How do you feel about the pay on your job? Would you rate it as very good, good, fair, poor, or very bad?" The result of most interest here is that regardless of an individual's actual attainments, if he evaluates his monetary rewards negatively his chances of being alienated are greater. This means that the alienative effects of limited achievement are to a considerable extent vitiated if one feels adequately remunerated for his work. Conversely, high achievement is not absolute insurance against alienation if one is disaffected with his pay. Alienation results from impotence to gain what one feels is rightfully his; if one is satisfied that he is receiving his due, this cannot be a source of alienation.

Virtually identical patterns emerge when we examine evaluations made of other work rewards. Table 8 contains answers to the

TABLE 8. ACHIEVEMENT PATTERNS, FEELINGS ABOUT WORK REWARDS, AND ALIENATION

	Alienation Score (%)									
Feelings About Work Rewards	0	1	2	3	4	Total	N	χ^2	df	P
Pay:										
Limited Achievers—								17.1	4	< 01
Very good, good	14	40	18	16	12	100	146			
Fair, poor, very bad	7	23	30	22	18	100	131			
Moderate Achievers—								33.3	4	< 001
Very good, good	18	42	23	13	4	100	137			
Fair, poor, very bad	12	21	34	17	16	100	271			
High Achievers—								10.0	4	<.05
Very good, good	34	43	17	3	3	100	35			
Fair, poor, very bad	30	15	34	9	12	100	34			
Promotion:										
Limited Achievers—								29.0	4	<.001
Very good, good	13	53	17	7	10	100	89			
Fair, poor, very bad	9	22	27	25	17	100	188			
Moderate Achievers—								30.2	4	<.001
Very good, good	19	42	25	8	6	100	124			
Fair, poor, very bad	12	22	32	19	15	100	288			
High Achievers—								7.4	4	<.20
Very good, good	30	41	22	..	7	100	27			
Fair, poor, very bad	33	21	29	10	7	100	42			
Chances of Getting Ahead:										
Limited Achievers—								30.8	4	<.001
No or some	10	15	22	32	21	100	104			
Pretty good, very good	12	41	24	12	11	100	172			
Moderate Achievers—								52.6	4	<.001
No or some	10	18	30	25	17	100	211			
Pretty good, very good	17	38	31	7	7	100	197			
High Achievers—								5.6	4	>.20
No or some	31	19	36	8	6	100	36			
Pretty good, very good	30	40	18	3	9	100	33			

question: "What about chances for promotion? Would you say chances for grade increases are very good, good, fair, poor, or very bad?" Also recorded in this table are responses to the query: "Do you think your work in the hospital offers you enough chance to get ahead in life?"—Practically no chance, some but not enough, a pretty good chance, a very good chance. As with the evaluation of pay, we find in each of these areas that while sheer achievement has a good deal to do with alienation, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the concomitants of job advancement are important conditions for the vitiation or intensification of the alienative impact of achievement experiences. It can be concluded that it is not simply one's actual career within the opportunity structure that is relevant to alienation, but also whether one experiences deprivation or gain from rewards of money, job mobility and social status.

THE WORK GROUP AND ALIENATION

Human groups perform many functions for their members. Perhaps foremost among these in relevance to alienation is the adoption by individuals of the group's norms to define their own means and ends of action. While they originate with the group, behaviors that are influenced by group norms are not perceived by members as imposed from without or external to themselves. Typically, these norms are internalized by individuals so that they are experienced as "mine." Behavior that is normatively channeled is not felt to be in response to coercive dictates over which one has no control. Such behavior more often expresses wishes and desires that can be both one's own and yet be shared with others. In place of feelings of powerlessness in the face of unsypathetic outside forces, behavior based on group shared norms can create a sense of personel voluntarism. As a result, when an individual is supported by group norms in performance of his work tasks, he is relatively protected from alienation. The same behavior, when directed by individuals or pressures coming from outside the group, can have alienative consequences.

We shall consider first the extent to which individuals experience aloneness in their work. A shifting kaleidescope of staffing practices makes it impossible to use ward assignment information to classify personnel according to the amount of time they work alone. We can get an approximation of this, however, by dealing with the shift to which people are assigned. Because of the larger number of patient activities, wards are most liberally staffed during the day shift, less so for the evening shift, and most sparsely staffed during the night shift. While most personnel are permanently assigned to one or another of these three shifts, a fourth group rotates between them on a regular basis. As the number of personnel decreases from the day to night shifts, there is a corresponding decrease in the chance that one will be assigned to a ward with another

TABLE 9 THE WORKING SHIFT OF PERSONNEL AND ALIENATION

Alienation Score	Day	Evening	Rotating	Night
0	22%	14%	14%	7%
1	28	30	21	26
2	27	28	27	31
3	13	19	18	19
4	10	9	20	17
Totals	394	279	230	201

$\chi^2 = 46.6$
12 df
$P < .001$

worker. The same number of wards are being serviced by fewer people, with a resultant increase in the number of wards having but a single staff member or, in a number of cases, where a single staff member is assigned the care of more than one ward. The shifts, then, embody different degrees of aloneness in work and it is this, we feel, that accounts for the fact that alienation tends to vary with shift. Thus in Table 9 we see a decrease in the low alienation scores in moving from one shift to another and a commensurate increase in the higher scores. It is interesting that the group that rotates between shifts is intermediate in this respect. Unlike those permanently assigned to the night shift, these individuals at least have an occasionally greater opportunity to work with others.

TABLE 10. THE SALIENCE OF HAVING SOMEONE TO TALK WITH AS A WORK PROBLEM AND ALIENATION

	"Having Someone to Sit and Talk with Is . . ."		
Alienation Score	No Problem for Me	A Small Problem for Me	A Big Problem for Me
0	19%	14%	10%
1	28	27	17
2	29	29	21
3	12	21	27
4	12	9	25
Totals	619	317	157

$\chi^2=58.7$
8 df
$P<.001$

The relative isolation of late shift personnel can be pointed up more directly. Those on the night shift are significantly more likely than either evening or day shift staff to report that "having someone to sit and talk with" is a problem in their work; similarly, proportionately more of the evening shift make this statement than day shift. This is not surprising, since the evening and night shift workers are increasingly cut off from opportunities to communicate and interact with other personnel. At the same time, we see in Table 10 that those who define as a problem in their work being cut off from others, are, regardless of their shift, considerably more prone to feelings of intense alienation. Aloneness and its attendant absence of opportunities to communicate with others can deprive one of very important group support; this is likely to lead one to feel that he is mastered by his environment instead of having mastery over it.

Even among those who are part of a work group, neither the group nor its norms will mean much if they have no affective ties to the group. One indication of the strength of the bonds between an individual and his work group is the extension of the relationship beyond the occupational site. Respondents were presented with two questions that are relevant in this regard. The first asks if, among the employees with whom they work on the *same wards*, they have friends they see outside of work. The second question is in reference to friends who don't work on the same wards but are assigned to the *same service*. Some factors, of course, interfere with the realization of extramural friendships despite any proclivities that might exist. One would be the fact, already noted, that many personnel have only limited opportunity to work uninterruptedly with the same co-workers. Another would be the residential dispersion of the nursing force throughout a large urban area. Nevertheless, the elaboration of working relations to a social level can be observed in cases where it occurs. This is done in Table 11 in relation to alienation. Those reporting no outside friendships among either service or ward colleagues are seen to have the higher alienation scores. Between those having outside friends only at the service level and those having as friends workers from the same wards, we find a tendency for friends working on the same wards to be less alienated than those sharing only the same service

TABLE 11. OUTSIDE FRIENDSHIPS AMONG FELLOW WORKERS, THEIR PROXIMITY IN THE WORK SITUATION, AND ALIENATION

Alienation Score	No Outside Friendships Reported	Friendships with Those Assigned to Same Service But Different Wards	Friendships with Those Assigned to Same Wards
0	11%	20%	16%
1	23	25	33
2	33	24	27
3	18	18	14
4	15	13	10
Totals	415	369	321

$\chi^2=30.4$
8 df
$P<.001$

The closer physical proximity of ward friends than of service friends results in more ready availability of ward friends as supportive resources in coping with alienative forces. Friendship and face-to-face contact together in the work situation are somewhat more effective than either of these alone. When individuals are a part of the informal social structure of the hospital, they are more able to gain a meaningful sense of importance to their environment. Those without group ties, on the other hand, are more exclusively caught up by the formal organization, on which they can exercise relatively little impact.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Alienation is thought by a number of theorists to represent one of the most prominent and crucial conditions of modern societies. Despite the importance attached to it, relatively few empirical studies of alienation have been made. Part of the reason for this perhaps lies in the fact that it is often not clear what people are alienated from—themselves, community institutions, the total society, or all of these. By examining alienation within the context of specific structures it is more possible to locate the forces, processes or events from which people feel alienated and to trace out the roots of these feelings. The present study does this within the framework of a work setting. This is a most strategic place to observe alienation, for the occupational sphere is one that can have far-reaching consequences at every level of social life.

This study focuses on three aspects of the organization of a mental hospital: its authority structure, opportunity structure, and work groups. With regard to authority, alienation was found to be most exacerbated under conditions that minimize interaction between superordinates and subordinates and, consequently, that reduce opportunities for the latter to influence informally the former. This is reflected in the findings that intense alienation is most likely to occur (a) where authority figures and their subjects stand in relations of great positional disparity; (b) where authority is communicated in such a way as to prevent or discourage exchange; and (c) where the superordinate exercises his authority in relative *absentia*. It was further discovered that neither positional disparity nor the peremptory exercise of authority was alienative for workers who have an obeisant regard for the honorific aspects of status.

The over-all picture of the opportunity structure of the hospital is that there are far fewer relatively high positions than there are aspirants for them. In selecting personnel to elevate to the choicer positions, differences in the pace and level of achievement naturally occur. Correspondingly, alienation is most conspicuous among the limited achievers and is remarkably low among the high achievers. Even among the limited achievers, however, if there is satisfaction with the rewards of pay, promotion and social mobility, much of what would otherwise be alienative is dissipated. Conversely, dissatisfaction with these rewards will breed alienation, even if one is a high achiever.

Finally, certain features of the work group were found to be relevant to alienation. Because behavior supported by group norms can create a sense of personal commitment and voluntarism, it was thought that those who work alone are more subjected to feelings that their activities are ruled by outside forces. The available evidence, drawn from assignments to the various shifts and expressed loneliness, suggests that this is the case. Affective bonds between fellow workers were also examined in relation to alienation. Thus, alienation occurs less among those who have established extrawork friendship relations with fellow workers and this was found to be especially true when the friends are part of the same face-to-face work group.

There are undoubtedly individuals who, solely by virtue of their personalities, are incapable of effectively engaging their environment. Regardless of the circumstances surrounding them, they would probably be alienated. In this paper we have largely ignored personality factors that by themselves are alienative, not because such factors are unimportant, but in order to highlight features of the organization as they bear on alienation. The hospital under study, like most large institutions, has the general fea-

tures of a bureaucratic organization. While the fact of bureaucracy itself might give rise to alienation, it is important to emphasize that subsumed under the same parent organization is a good deal of structural variation. Some structural arrangements, we have seen, can be quite alienative, while others act as a barrier against it. Even within the bounds of a given bureaucratized setting, therefore, conditions and mechanisms exist to prevent estrangement from work, as well as the purposelessness and despair which must be close companions of alienation.

DEFERRED GRATIFICATION, SOCIAL CLASS, AND THE ACHIEVEMENT SYNDROME *

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The theoretical and research literature on self-imposed postponement of gratifications or satisfactions is reviewed with emphasis on the relation of such a "Deferred Gratification Pattern" (DGP) to social class and social mobility. Three hypotheses growing out of this review were tested on 338 male high school students. The hypothesis of a deferred gratification pattern received some support from the fact that scales with reproducibilities from .92 to .96 were developed for deferment of five adolescent needs (affiliation, aggression, consumption, economic independence, and sex); and by the intercorrelation of these scales. The hypothesis of positive correlation between socioeconomic status and DGP was not supported. The hypothesis of positive correlation between the DGP scales and achievement role-performance and role-orientation was supported. These relationships were not eliminated by controls for socioeconomic status and intelligence. Findings are interpreted as supporting the theory that need deferment is functional for social mobility in American society.

THE term "deferred gratification pattern" was introduced by Schneider and Lysgaard to designate the phenomenon of "impulse-renunciation" or "self-imposed postponement of gratifications or satisfactions." [1] This phenomenon is one of the classic foci of sociological and social psychological analysis. For example, the concept of deferred gratification pattern substantially overlaps Max Weber's key concept of "innerwordly asceticism." Similarly, Freud and his followers emphasized the early learning of impulse-renunciation (particularly sphincter control) as providing the foundation for the "acquisitive character structure" of the entrepreneur; [2] and Parsons' "instrumental orientation" is at one point defined in terms of renunciation of immediate gratifications in favor of disciplined seeking of larger future gains.[3]

Perhaps the most extensive contemporary sociological literature on the deferred gratification pattern (hereafter abbreviated as DGP) is to be found in attempts to understand social class and color differences in behavior, particularly the work of Davis, Dollard, Havighurst, Drake and Cayton, Hollingshead, and Lewis.[4] Dollard, for ex-

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[1] Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern: A Preliminary Study," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 142–149.

[2] Sigmund Freud, "Character and Eroticism," in *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, London. Hogarth, 1925, F S Perls, *Ego, Hunger, and Aggression*, London· George Allen & Unwin, 1947, Chapter 11.

[3] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe. Ill.· Free Press, 1951, pp 48–49.

[4] Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940; Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), pp. 698–710; St. Clair Drake and

ample, devotes considerable space to describing the relatively uninhibited aggressiveness and sexuality of the lower class, and the Negro lower class in particular. All of these studies point to the DGP as one of the major cultural and personality patterns which establish and maintain boundaries between social class and racial subsegments of American society. Similarly, Schneider and Lysgaard view the DGP as a middle class normative pattern. More important, the studies reviewed suggest that the ability to defer gratification is functional for movement into or maintenance of middle class status.[5]

An important recent treatment of the deferred gratification concept occurs in Miller and Swanson's *The Changing American Parent.*[6] They present data to show that the "entrepreneurial" occupational groups allow their children less immediate and complete satisfaction of basic physiological needs than do the contrasting "bureaucratic" groups. They interpret this denial and deferment as training which ". . . lays a foundation for teaching him that giving up immediate pleasures can lead to future gains" (page 40). They further speculate that as American society becomes increasingly mass-organization-dominated, training for self-denial, and the prevalence of persons who have internalized this pattern, will (and indeed ought to) decline. In effect, they argue that the DGP is anachronistic and dysfunctional in what they call our contemporary "welfare bureaucracy." Certainly, more evidence is needed before conclusions of this magnitude can be accepted.

Further studies of the DGP are also needed because of methodological limitations inherent in the studies cited. First, most of the literature is at the theoretical and case study levels of empiricism, and relatively few studies report quantitative data. Second, most of what quantitative data is available refers to the behavior of parents. The Miller and Swanson study, for example, contains no evidence of the *child's* impulse-renunciation. Similarly, although the data for Schneider and Lysgaard's study were gathered from adolescents, a number of the items do not refer to the *adolescent's* deferment of gratification, but rather to the *parents'* deferment, or to the *parents'* demands for deferment on the part of the child.[7] Third,

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Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945; John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town,* New York: Harper, 1949, August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: Wiley, 1949; Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty,* New York: Basic Books, 1959.

[5] This is most explicitly stated in studies of "time orientation" (e.g., past, present, and future) and social class. The concepts of "future orientation" and DGP overlap substantially since the idea of deferment, as here conceptualized, implies future satisfaction of the deferred need. See the studies reviewed in Melvin Wallace and Albert I Rabin, "Temporal Experience," *Psychological Bulletin,* 57 (May, 1960), pp. 213–236; also Orville G. Brim, and Raymond Rorer, "A Note on the Relation of Values and Social Structure to Life Planning," *Sociometry,* 19 (March, 1956), pp. 54–60; Lawrence H. LeShan, "Time Orientation and Social Class," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 47 (July, 1952), pp 589–592; Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psycho-cultural Dimension of Social Stratification," *American Sociological Review,* 21 (April, 1956), pp 203–211; and Fred L Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in David C. McClelland, *et al*, *Talent and Society,* Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 135–194.

A dissenting note is introduced by Beilin who views the deferment element in future time orientation studies as an interpretation ". . . the observer introduces to explain apparent differences in behavior although the actors themselves do not perceive . . . [deferment]. To the college going youth from the lower socio-economic classes, going to college involves the *gratification* of values he has developed rather than relinquishing of valued behavior." See Harry Beilin, "The Pattern of Postponability and its Relation to Social Class Mobility," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 44 (August, 1956), pp. 33–48. It will take carefully designed research to determine which of these imputed meanings tends actually to be experienced. Fortunately, resolution of this ambiguity concerning the subjective meaning experienced by the actors is not crucial for the central problems of this paper, namely, (1) whether middle class persons tend to choose temporally more distant goals and to control impulse expression to a greater degree than do other classes; and (2) whether the presence of such tendencies is related to achievement for both middle and lower socio-economic levels.

[6] Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent,* New York: Wiley, 1958.

[7] These criticisms do not apply to the psychological literature on time orientation (see footnote 5) or to studies of preference for "delayed reinforcement." See especially the work of Walter Mischel in four articles forthcoming in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* and his "Preference for Delayed Reinforcement: An Experimental

the quantitative evidence of relationship between DGP and social mobility is primarily for deferment of adolescent needs for economic independence as measured by delaying entry into the labor force in order to secure higher education. Since numerous studies of reasons for attending college have shown the primary motivation to be preparation for a desirable occupation, this evidence is open to the charge of circularity.[8] Fourth, Schneider and Lysgaard contend that the deferment of such diverse needs as those for affiliation, aggression, material goods, independence, and sex ". . . fall into a *pattern*. . . ." They imply that deferment of any one of these needs tends to be correlated with deferment of the others, particularly in the middle class. However, they present no direct evidence in support of the pattern concept. The data which they report simply relate discrete indicators of deferment to social class position, and no "pattern" is actually demonstrated.

This brief review of prior studies points up both the theoretical importance of the phenomenon of deferred gratification, and important empirical gaps and methodological problems in existing studies. The present study is intended to help fill some of these gaps by testing the following three interrelated hypotheses:

1. There is a general tendency to defer gratification which can be expressed as a unidimensional variable within and across five types of adolescent needs.
2. The higher the socioeconomic level, the greater the tendency to defer gratification.[9]
3. The greater the tendency to defer gratification, the higher the performance on two measures of the "achievement syndrome."

Since it is known that achievement orientation increases with both socioeconomic status and intelligence,[10] zero order relationships in support of the third hypothesis could be interpreted as a function of socioeconomic status, intelligence, or both. Consequently, in testing Hypothesis 3, both SES and intelligence will be controlled.

SAMPLE AND METHOD

Data to test these hypotheses were obtained from school records and by questionnaire. The sample consists of 338 boys attending the junior and senior classes of the four high schools of one Wisconsin county in the last week of March, 1950.[11]

Study of a Cultural Observation," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 56 (January, 1958), pp. 57–61. Other research in this tradition includes: Alvin Mahrer, "The Role of Expectancy in Delayed Reinforcement," *Journal of Experimental Psychology,* 52 (August, 1956), pp. 101–105; Levon Melikian, "Preference for Delayed Reinforcement: An Experimental Study Among Palestinian Refugee Children," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 50 (August, 1959), pp. 81–86; and Jerome L. Singer, Harold Wilensky, and Vivian G. McGraven, "Delaying Capacity, Fantasy and Planning Ability: A Factorial Study of Some Basic Ego Functions," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 20 (October, 1956), pp. 375–383.

[8] The Kinsey data showing that the *pre-mobility* sexual behavior of socially mobile persons tends to resemble the sexual patterns of the strata of destination, are not subject to this charge. See Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948, Chapter 11; and Alfred C. Kinsey, *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female,* Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953, pp. 182 and 338.

[9] With the exception of groups comparable to Warner's "upper-upper class." This exception will not be tested due to limitation of the sample. It is indicated here to make explicit this limitation of the study. This qualification is based on the theoretical reasoning that deferred gratification has little or no function in preserving or acquiring class status for the top group; it is also based on the many suggestions in the stratification literature indicating that the upper class neither values nor practices gratification deferment to the same extent as the middle class.

[10] For evidence on this point, see, for example, Bernard C. Rosen, *op. cit.,* and William H. Sewell, Archibald O. Haller, and Murray A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," *American Sociological Review,* 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67–73.

[11] Of the 490 boys enrolled, 41 were lost to the study because of absence during the interview week, and another 121 because of incomplete school record or questionnaire data. The county studied is adjacent to the city of Milwaukee. It contains a considerable variety of within-county industry, as well as farmers (approximately one-quarter of the sample), and residents who commute to Milwaukee for employment. Forty-five per cent of the sample are sons of blue collar workers, including 20 per cent sons of semiskilled or unskilled workers. Nevertheless, it should be noted that any sampling of youth using the high school as the primary sampling unit underrepresents the lower socioeconomic levels. This results from differential school leaving and differential absentee rates. This underrepresentation of the lowest socioeconomic levels stacks the cards against finding support for the hypotheses posed. However, if the hypotheses

TABLE 1. DEFERRED GRATIFICATION SCALES FOR FIVE ADOLESCENT NEEDS

Deferment Scale	Score Range	Rep.
Affiliation	0–3	.93
Aggression	0–4	.93
Consumption	0–3	.92
Independence	0–3	.96
Sex	0–4	.95

Five adolescent needs were chosen for study: the need for affiliation, aggression, consumption, economic independence, and sexual expression.[12] For each of these needs, four items designed to indicate deferment of the need were included in the questionnaire. For example, one of the items used to tap aggressive needs was "Since school started last fall, how many of your arguments have led to fights? None, One or Two, Three or more." Using these items, gratification deferment scales were computed with the ranges and reproducibilities presented in Table 1.[13]

UNIDIMENSIONALITY OF DEFERRED GRATIFICATION

The coefficients of reproducibility shown in Table 1 provide at least minimal evidence in support of that part of the first hypothesis which specifies that a general tendency to defer gratification exists as a unidimensional variable within each of these five types of adolescent needs. However, this evidence is not impressive since, with three

are supported, they can be interpreted as probably understating the true difference between socio-economic groups.

[12] Ideally, these should represent universal human needs, or as a second best, needs that are known to be general in the society studied. Clearly, the sexual and affiliative need categories meet the universality criteria. Many sociologists and psychologists would also include aggression in this group. See, for example, the treatment of control of aggression as a universal step in socialization in Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, *Patterns of Child Rearing*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957; also, Norman Livson and Wanda C. Bronson, "An Exploration of Patterns of Impulse Control in Early Adolescence," *Child Development*, 32 (March, 1961), pp. 75–88; and Bryon Sutton-Smith and B. G. Rosenberg, "A Scale to Identify Impulsive Behavior in Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 95 (December, 1959), pp. 211–216. The needs for material goods and services (consumption) and for economic independence are more culture-specific, and nothing is claimed for them beyond their prevalence in the youth culture of contemporary United States. See in this connection Ruth C. Strang, *The Adolescent Views Himself*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957.

[13] In constructing these scales, an attempt has been made to use only items that deal with the respondent's specific deferment actions or beliefs. However, the third item in the Aggression Scale (see below) does not meet this criterion. Moreover, it would have been preferable to avoid mixing what Brim calls "role prescription" with "role performance" type items, since there is no empirical evidence that both can serve as indicators of the same phenomenon. (See Orville G. Brim, "Parent—Child Relations as a Social System: I. Parent and Child Roles," *Child Development*, 28 (September, 1957), pp. 343–364). It should be obvious, then, that these scales are not presented as instruments for general use, and that research is needed on the development of techniques for the measurement of DGP and related phenomena. In this connection, the work of Mischel, *op. cit.* is particularly promising, since it almost completely avoids the difficulties inherent in self-report based measures such as are used in this paper.

The items comprising the scale used in this paper are: 1. *Affiliation*. "For the most part, I enjoy being together with friends who come from families at least as nice and successful as my own, rather than being together with just anybody." (Agree=57%), "I have certain standards which my friends must meet" (Yes=59%); "Teenagers have to be careful about the behavior of the crowd they go with." (Yes=90%); 2. *Aggression*. "When I get angry at a person, I generally prefer . . ." (To let my temper quiet down before I try to settle the argument=61%); "Since school started last fall, how many of your arguments have led to fights?" (None=70%); "Since last fall, how many adult arguments have you seen end in a real fight?" (None=79%); "From what you have experienced, who would you say usually wins in settling arguments?" (The smart and tactful=91%); 3 *Consumption*. "Money is made to spend not save." (Disagree=60%); "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself." (Disagree=72%); "The money I save gives me at least as good a feeling as things I buy." (Not sure or agree=84%); 4. *Economic Independence*. "How much education do you definitely plan to get?" (College degree or higher=30%); "If a fellow can get a good job when he graduates from high school, he is foolish to go to college." (Disagree=82%); 5. *Sex*. "I think the ideal age for a boy to marry is:" (Age 25 or older=10%); "Girls would rather go out with boys who do not try to make love until they have been going steady for at least a month." (Yes=35%); "People usually fear going too far while out on a date." (Yes=59%); "A boy has as much responsibility as a girl in seeing that necking does not go too far." (Agree=87%).

TABLE 2. INTERCORRELATIONS OF DEFERRED GRATIFICATION SCALES (N=338)

Deferment Scale	Total DGP [a]	Aggr.	Sex	Affil.	Cons.
Aggression	.65				
Sex	.61	.21**			
Affiliation	.53	.08	.14**		
Consumption	.43	.05	−.03	.03	
Econ. independence	.21	.09*	.01	.16**	.24**

* P≤.05.
** P≤.01 (one-sided tests).
[a] Coefficients in this column are inflated because the Total DGP Scale is the sum of the first four scales listed. The correlations are presented here simply to provide an indication of internal consistency for the Total DGP Scale.

and four item scales, the possibility of obtaining reproducibilities of this size by chance alone must be borne in mind. Thus, the limitations of the data available permit no broader conclusion than the statement that the findings of the study do not refute the idea of unidimensionality for each of these kinds of need deferment.

Hypothesis 1 also specifies a tendency for deferment of any one of these needs to be related to deferment of the others. To test this hypothesis, the intercorrelation of the five deferred gratification scales was computed. The results are presented in Table 2.

The correlations enclosed within the upper left triangle of Table 2 indicate that deferment of sexual needs tends to be associated with a small but statistically significant tendency also to defer affiliative and agressive needs. The consumption deferment scale on the other hand, is significantly correlated with the economic independence scale, but not with any of the first three scales. The correlation matrix, therefore, shows a tendency for the deferred gratification scales to fall into two clusters, one representing deferment of interpersonal interaction needs, and the other representing deferment of material needs.

It is concluded that this study does provide some evidence in support of the hypothesis predicting a deferred gratification pattern or generalized disposition to defer need satisfaction. However, this conclusion carries two important qualifications. First, there seem to be two deferred gratification patterns rather than one. Secondly, the correlations within each of these two factors, while statistically significant, are low, indicating relatively little common trait variance. However, in view of the crudity of the measures employed, they are at least sufficient to support the theory under test.

Additional support for the pattern hypothesis comes from the results of attempting to combine the separate need deferment scales into a Total DGP Scale. This scale was constructed primarily to enable an overall test of Hypothesis 3 without the cumbersome calculations involved in a five variable multiple correlation.[14] This was accomplished by treating each scale as a dichotomous item. The resulting scale has a coefficient of reproducibility of .92, and therefore provides some additional evidence in favor of the pattern hypothesis.[15]

[14] Guttman states: "If an area is scalable . . the simple correlation of any outside variable with the [scale] is equivalent to the multiple correlation on the [items] . . ." See "Questions and Answers about Scale Analysis," Report No. D-2, I. and E. Division, Army Service Forces, Washington, D. C., July, 1945.

[15] The primary purpose of this Total DGP Scale is to provide an instrument for testing relationship to the achievement syndrome. The Economic Independence Scale was therefore omitted, since there is a tautology involved in correlating plans for prolonged education (the essential content of this scale) with, for example, occupational aspiration. Cutting points used to dichotomize each component scale are as follows: Sex: scale type III or higher=29%; Consumption: III or higher=41%; Affiliation: II or higher=79%; and Aggression: II or higher=90%. However, to provide a more normally distributed and less attenuated variable for use in correlation analysis, the simple sum of the four component scales was employed rather than the scale type scores. This procedure was felt justified because, as Guttman notes, "If an area is scalable,

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND DEFERRED GRATIFICATION

For purpose of testing Hypothesis 2, which specifies a positive association between socioeconomic status and tendency to defer gradification, each student was scored on a seven item socioeconomic status scale.[16] The correlations of this scale with the five specific need deferment scales and the Total DGP Scale are presented in Table 3. These coefficients show that the deferment of aggressive, sexual, and consumption needs by this sample of adolescent boys is unrelated to the socioeconomic status of the boy's family of orientation. Deferment of affiliative needs does tend to increase slightly as socioeconomic status increases. This is probably the result of the first affiliation item (see footnote 12), which, hindsight reveals, has a built in "class bias." This is enough to introduce a correlation between the affiliation deferment scale and SES. However, when the affiliation scale is combined with the aggression, sex, and consumption scales to form the Total DGP Scale, the influence of this one item is slight. The Total DGP Scale *is therefore shown in Table 3 to be* unrelated to SES.[17]

TABLE 3. CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND GRATIFICATION DEFERMENT SCALES

Deferment Scale	Correlation with SES (N=338)
Affiliation	.12**
Aggression	−.02
Sex	−.04
Consumption	.04
Econ. independence	.26**
Total DGP Scale	.04

** P≤.01 (one-sided tests).

There remains only the Economic Independence Scale. This scale was omitted from the Total DGP Scale because of the tautology involved in correlating desire for prolonged education with measures of occupational aspiration and academic achievement (see footnote 14). The correlation of the Economic Independence deferment scale with SES is also information of little value

then arbitrary weights . . . will yield the proper scale order" See "Questions and Answers about Scale Analysis," *op. cit.*

[16] This is a Guttman scale, with a coefficient of reproducibility of .91. The items comprising the scale, in order of decreasing marginal frequency, are Family income $4,000 or higher, possession of five or more of a list of ten level-of-living items; father has at least some high school education; mother high school graduate or more; paternal grandfather professional, proprietor or manager; and maternal grandfather professional, proprietor or manager.

The choice of this scale as the measure of SES was based on results of previous analyses which indicated it to be a more sensitive measure than any available alternatives, such as father's occupation Correlations subsequently computed support this decision. For example, the correlation between the SES Scale and the two dependent variables of this paper are shown below, along with the correlations for five single dimensional indicators of SES·

Correlation with:

SES Measure	Academic Achievement	Occupational Aspiration
SES scale	.28	.30
Mother's education	.25	.25
Father's occupation	.20	.23
Father's education	.16	.23
Family income	.17	.09
Items possessed from list of ten	.00	.01

It can be seen that the SES Scale yields higher correlations than any of the single indicators of SES. See, however, footnote 17.

[17] The tables were examined for possible curvilinear relationships which, of course, would produce low or zero product-moment correlations, and none was found In a further effort to check on the unanticipated lack of relationship between SES and DGP, the hypothesis was re-tested using five other indicators of SES· father's occupational prestige rating (as measured by the Empey modification of the North-Hatt and Smith Scales. See LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspirations: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," *American Sociological Review,* 21 [December, 1956], pp. 703–709), father's education, mother's education, level of living index, and family income. Except for mother's education and father's occupation, correlations were almost always lower than those in Table 3. The coefficients for mother's education (in the order in which they appear in Table 3) are: .18, .05, .04, .10, 30, and .16; and for father's education· .11, 10, .00, .02, .27, and .10. It can be seen that mother's education yielded higher correlations with five of the DGP scales, and father's occupation with three of the scales; but the differences are not large. Since, as noted in footnote 16, the SES Scale appears to have a somewhat higher validity than any of the single factor indicators, it was decided to retain the SES scale as the measure of SES used in the remainder of the analysis.

since the variable measured is confounded with SES. This results from the fact that a boy's deferment of his needs for economic independence is in large part dependent on the ability of the parents to maintain him as a dependent through a college education. Consequently, it is likely that the correlation between SES and the Economic Independence deferment scale shown in Table 3 is largely a result of differential ability to afford prolonged dependence on parents.[18]

Except in the dubious area of economic independence, the findings of this study provide no evidence in support of the hypothesis of positive correlation between SES and deferred gratification. These negative results are probably, at least in part, a function of the attenuated SES composition of the sample and the fact that the sample excludes those who have dropped out of school. They cannot, therefore, be interpreted as refuting findings based on data for such truly poverty-stricken groups as Davis, Havighurst, Dollard, Drake and Cayton, and Lewis studied. However, this sample is reasonably comparable to the populations studied by Hollingshead, and by Schneider and Lysgaard; yet the findings seem to be contradictory. Closer examination reveals only minimal contradiction, since almost all of the significant associations between SES and need deferment items reported by Hollingshead and Schneider & Lysgaard fall into the category here labeled Economic Independence. The present study also finds that Economic Independence is related to SES.

Hollingshead's and Schneider and Lysgaard's findings for other need areas either: (1) agree with those of the present study in finding no association with SES (for example the sex items in the Schneider and Lysgaard study); (2) are conflicting (for example, Hollingshead, who indicates that the lowest SES groups do not defer sexual needs by late marriage, but that the upper groups "exploit" lower class girls sexually); (3) represent trivial amounts of covariance (for example, Schneider and Lysgaard's data on deferment of aggressive needs); or (4) report parents' rather than children's behavior (as in Schneider and Lysgaard's data on table manners).

INDICATORS OF THE ACHIEVEMENT SYNDROME

Two measures are used in this study to index what Rosen has aptly termed "the achievement syndrome."[19] These measures and the rationale for their choice are as follows:

Academic achievement. High school grades were selected as an indication of the boys' current level of actual achievement, since they represent perhaps the most important instrumental activity that adolescent boys are called upon to perform in American society.[20]

Despite the importance of academic performance it is well known that such performance is only a very imperfect indicator of either achievement disposition or later actual achievement. Therefore, to provide another test of the hypothesis that deferred gratification is functionally related to achievement, a measure designed to indicate presence or absence of achievement orientation is employed:

Occupational aspiration. If academic achievement is to be translated into actual achievement, as socially defined, the boy must internalize culturally appropriate achievement goals or aspirations. One index of such aspirations is provided by the occupation stated in response to the question "What job do you think you will actually make your life's work?" These occupations were coded by use of the Empey

[18] The correlation between social status and educational plans is already well documented and conceptualized, and little seems to be gained by conceptualization in terms of deferred gratification. See the studies cited in William H. Sewell, Archie O. Haller, and Murray A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.

[19] Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome," *op. cit.*

[20] In computing this measure, grades for physical education and driver training were omitted but vocational subjects were included. To standardize for school-to-school variation in grading system and standards, the grade point average distribution for each school and class was normalized using the sten score system. This provides a variable ranging from 0 to 9, with each step in the scale representing one-half standard deviation above or below the mean.

modification of the North-Hatt and Smith occupational prestige scales to provide a measure of occupational aspiration.[21]

DEFERRED GRATIFICATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

The correlations of the four need deferment scales and the Total DGP Scale with the measures indexing the achievement syndrome, are shown in Table 4.[22]

TABLE 4. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEFERRED GRATIFICATION AND ACHIEVEMENT MEASURES

Need Deferred	Correlation (r) with: Academic Achievement	Occupational Aspiration
Affiliation	.21**	.18**
Aggression	.15**	.19**
Consumption	.16**	.10*
Sex	.08	.03
Total DGP	.26**	.23**

* $p \leq .05$.
** $p \leq .01$ (one-sided tests).

It can be seen that each of the deferred gratification measures, except sexual deferment, tends to be correlated with the achievement measures. These correlations are low but statistically significant. As expected, the largest correlations are with the Total DGP Scale, since use of this scale represents an approximation to the multiple correlation of the four component scales. Table 4, then, provides evidence in support of the hypothesis of positive relation between deferred gratification and achievement, particularly if the combined effect of deferment of all four needs is considered.[23]

The correlations in Table 4 may be interpreted as providing evidence of functional interrelation between DGP and the achievement syndrome. Specifically, learning to defer any one of these needs except sex may be viewed as providing a prototype for the future-oriented behavior needed for achieve ment in American society. The increase in the correlation resulting from the Total DGP Scale further suggests that the larger the number of needs the boy has learned to defer, the more potent the behavioral model, and hence the greater the achievement potential.[24]

A CONTROLLED ANALYSIS

Although SES was found to be essentially unrelated to DGP in this study, the first rows of Table 5 show that SES *is* importantly related to both achievement measures, as is also intelligence.[25] Moreover, intelligence tends to be slightly related to the need deferment measures. This raises the possibility that the relationships between DGP and achievement are really due to the covariance of both independent and dependent variable with intelligence. To explore this possibility, partial correlations were computed between the Total DGP Scale and the dependent variables, in each case holding constant both SES and intelligence.[26] These coefficients are shown in the

[21] See LaMar T. Empey, *op. cit.*

[22] The Economic Independence Scale is omitted due to the tautology inherent in correlating this score with measures of academic performance and occupational aspiration as noted in footnote 14. These coefficients, however, were computed and, of course, are considerably higher than those shown for the other scales.

[23] No explanation for the failure of sexual deferment to follow the same pattern as the other three types of deferment has as yet been formulated. In view of the fact that previous studies have found significant relationships between sexual deferment and social mobility, one likely explanation is invalidity of the scale due to the circumspect sexual deferment items to which the study was limited by virtue of being administered through the school system. See Kinsey, *et al., op. cit.*, and Frank A. Linderfeld, "A Note on Social Mobility, Religiosity, and Students' Attitudes Towards Premarital Sexual Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), pp. 81–84.

[24] The fact that the correlations are low reflects the dependence of academic achievement and occupational aspiration on many other factors in addition to those represented by the DGP scales, and particularly intelligence. In a theoretical analysis such as this, low correlations (provided they are not chance artifacts) are a secondary consideration, unless, of course, the theory under test is both deterministic, necessary, and sufficient. See Hans L. Zetterberg, *On Theory and Verification in Sociology*, New York: Tressler Press, (1954).

[25] As measured by the Henmon-Nelson test, with raw scores normalized into "Sten" score distributions for the population, see V. A. C. Henmon and M. J. Nelson, *The Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability*, Chicago: Houghton Mifflin, 1942.

[26] SES is employed in the multiple and partial correlation analysis despite the non-significant relation with DGP because of its correlation with the

TABLE 5. TOTAL, MULTIPLE, AND PARTIAL CORRELATION ANALYSIS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP OF SES, INTELLIGENCE, AND DEFERRED GRATIFICATION TO TWO ACHIEVEMENT MEASURES **

Independent Variables	Correlation (r) with: Academic Achievement *	Occupational Aspiration *
SES	.25	.34
Intelligence	.59	.42
DGP	.26	.23
DGP (intel. and SES held constant)	48	.23
Intel. plus SES	59	.45
Intel. plus SES plus DGP	.71	.51

* All correlations are significant (P≦.01).

** The full matrix of intercorrelations of the variables used in this table is given in this or previous tables and footnotes, except for the following: Intelligence with DGP=.16, and Academic Achievement with Occupational Aspiration=.40.

fourth row of Table 5. By comparing the partial coefficients with the zero order coefficients in the third row, one can see that holding SES and intelligence in one case increases, and in the other does not alter, the magnitude of the correlation between DGP and achievement.[27] Thus, the results of this partial correlation analysis provide further support for Hypothesis 3, since they show that even when that portion of the variance in achievement that is associated with SES and intelligence is partialed out, there is still a significant relationship between DGP and achievement.

The independent contribution of deferred gratification to achievement can also be shown by comparing successively higher order multiple correlations. Row five of Table 5 shows the combined relation of SES and intelligence to achievement. The coefficients in the bottom row show that addition of the deferred gratification pattern measure to the equation accounts for a significantly larger proportion of the explained variance in the two achievement measures than is obtained by the use of SES and intelligence alone.[28]

dependent variables, and in order to act as a "suppressant." See Quinn McNemar, *Psychological Statistics*, Second edition, New York: Wiley, 1955, pp. 188–189.

[27] The theoretical basis of the study, together with the results of another similar analysis, suggested a reason for this increase. Assume that the factors supporting the achievement syndrome can be divided into two groups: cultural and economic means, and intrapsychic organization. On the one hand, it can be reasoned that the relationship between DGP and achievement should decline as SES increases because the cultural and economic means needed for achievement are more readily accessible to the upper groups almost regardless of personality (See Sewell, Haller, and Straus, *op. cit.*, for evidence on this point). On the other hand, it also seems likely that among the low SES groups, the difficulty of access to these cultural and economic means exerts a depressing effect which interferes with a boy's making full use of his potentialities. The middle SES group, on the other hand, has access to the cultural and economic means necessary for achievement, but not such ready access that intrapsychic organization becomes relatively unimportant. These considerations lead to the hypothesis that the highest correlation between DGP and achievement is found among the middle SES group. To test this hypothesis, the sample was divided into a low, middle, and high SES group Correlations between DGP and achievement variables were then computed separately for each SES group. The results supported the reasoning just presented: The highest correlations between DGP and achievement variables occur for the middle group, followed by the low SES group; and the lowest correlations occur in the high SES group The effect of partialing out SES, then, is to prevent the low relationship between DGP and achievement for the high SES part of the sample from obscuring the higher relationships found elsewhere in the sample. For another example of this type of relationship, see Murray A. Straus and Allan J. Estep, *Education For Technological Change Among Wisconsin Farmers*, Madison, Wisconsin Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 214, 1959.

[28] The formula for testing the significance of the increment stemming from the addition of another variable to a multiple correlation is given in foot note 3 of David R Saunders, "Moderator Variables in Prediction," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 16 (Summer, 1956), pp. 209–222. In the case of the addition of the third predictor variable, this formula becomes:

$$t=\sqrt{\frac{N-4(R^2 1.234-R^2 1.23}{1-R^2 1.23}}$$

Using this formula, all coefficients shown in row six of Table 5 are significantly different from those shown in row five with probabilities of less than .001.

Testing the significance of difference between correlation coefficients usually assumes that the coefficients were observed in different samples. Such an assumption is obviously impossible for the present purpose. In response to an inquiry concerning the rationale of this formula, Saunders notes: "Remember that t is also the square root of F, when the numerator has just one degree of

freedom. The F involved in the present instance is the ratio of the variance per degree of freedom accounted for by the addition of one more constant to the regression equation divided by the variance per degree of freedom still unpredicted It does not matter whether the new constant belongs to a linear or a product term or what—it is still just one constant, and so the number of degrees of freedom is one and appears implicitly in the denominator of the formula. You will see that the formula could *only* apply when the correlations *are* from the same sample and would break down in case two samples were involved."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated the tendency to postpone gratification of five adolescent needs among a sample of 338 male high school students, with particular emphasis on socioeconomic status as an antecedent variable, and achievement as a consequence variable.

Of the five adolescent needs chosen for study, all proved scalable. Correlations between the five scales, although low, suggest two rather than one "deferred gratification pattern": The Affiliation, Aggression, and Sex scales form one cluster, indicative of tendencies to defer interpersonal needs. The Consumption and Economic Independence scales form a second cluster, representing tendencies to defer *material* needs. At the same time, the specific need deferment scales were found to constitute a general Deferred Gratification Pattern Scale, with a reproducibility of .92. The hypothesis of a deferred gratification *pattern* was therefore judged to be supported by these data, but with important qualifications.

Except for deferment of needs for economic independence, no evidence was found in support of the hypothesis of positive correlation between SES and deferred gratification. Possible reasons for these negative results were discussed, including the nature of the population studied, and over-generalization from the economic independence area in previous studies.

Although deferred gratification was not found to be related to SES in this population, each of the specific need deferment scales, except sexual deferment, was found to be significantly correlated with measures of achievement role performance and role disposition. A partial correlation analysis, holding constant SES and intelligence, showed the relation of the DGP Scale to achievement to persist independently of these two factors. Similar results were obtained by multiple correlation. That is, SES and intelligence accounted for a considerable proportion of the variance in achievement, but addition of the DGP Scale to the equation resulted in a significant increase in the proportion of achievement variance accounted for in this population.

It is concluded that the results of this study provide at least some evidence in support of a general deferred gratification pattern, but fail to support the view that this is a peculiarly middle-class normative pattern.[29] Learning to defer need gratification seems to be associated with achievement at all levels of the status hierarchy represented in this sample, and hence can probably best be interpreted as one of the personality prerequisites for achievement roles in contemporary American society.

[29] It must again be noted that the sample studied virtually excludes the "lower-lower" class, who best represent the "impulse-following" as opposed to the deferment pattern But while the lower-lower vs. the upper-middle probably represents the most crucial comparison, the literature reviewed also suggests that similar differences of lesser magnitude should be evident in less extreme comparisons such as those reported in this paper.

THE STATUS CONSISTENCY OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS *

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Deviations from the regression of income on education over occupational groups are taken as a measure of occupational status consistency. Managerial and craft occupations consistently have income in excess of educational expectations. The position of managers is consistent with the incidence of self-employment in the group and the decision-making posts they hold. The position of craftsmen is consistent with joint demand analysis of the labor factor in the industries and jobs held by craftsmen. Correlations between matched industrial breakdowns of several occupational levels indicate the structural effect of industrial organization upon occupational status consistency. Such findings suggest the fruitfulness of treating status consistency as a group, rather than an individual property.

RECENT theory and research in the field of social stratification have focused explicit attention upon the discrepancies between different hierarchical aspects of contemporary societies. As Sorokin observed more than a decade ago,

> The stratified pyramids of the unibonded groups never consolidate in such a way that all their strata coincide and create one integral consolidated social pyramid, in which all the tops of the unibonded pyramids make one integral top and all the middle and lowest strata consolidate into one integral middle or lowest stratum. The actual "skyline" of the total stratification rather takes the shape of the skyline of a mountain range with several peaks of different pyramids not entirely merged.[1]

Under the various rubrics of status crystallization,[2] status consistency,[3] and status equilibrium,[4] Sorokin's ideas have been explicitly developed by recent researchers. Unfortunately, these writers have betrayed Sorokin's concern with the structure of groups and concentrated upon the internal consistency of individual rankings. Knowing the positions of individuals on various dimensions of social stratification, we can readily form statistical groups of persons with homogeneous or heterogeneous ranks. However, it is one thing to form such statistical classes and quite another to assume that they are meaningful social units. As Sumner warned many years ago,

> Each individual falls into his place by virtue of his characteristic differences. Just as no two are anthropologically alike, so we may believe that no two are alike or equal in societal value. That all men should be alike or equal, by any standard whatever, is contrary to all the facts of human nature and all the conditions of human life. Any group falls into subdivisions, the members of each of which are approximately equal, when

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[1] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics.* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1947). p. 292.

[2] Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status-Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 405–413; and Gerhard E Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (August, 1956), pp. 458–464.

[3] Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 275–281.

[4] Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelationships," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (April, 1944), pp. 151-161; and G. H. Fenchel, J. H. Monderer, and E. L. Hartley, "Subjective Status and the Equilibration Hypothesis," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (October, 1951), pp. 476–479.

> measured by any standard, because the classification is imperfect. If we make it more refined, the subdivisions must be subdivided again. We are in a dilemma: we cannot describe mankind at all without categories, and if we go on to make our categories more and more exact, each one of them would at last contain only one person.[5]

Indeed, continued attention toward the individual, in exclusion of the aggregate, aspects of social stratification may only promote the common social psychological delusion that individuals and not groups are the units of *social* ranking.

If one adopts the initial viewpoint that occupational groups are significant categoric units of social structure, then it becomes relevant to inquire about the status consistency of such collectivities. Shifting from an individual to an aggregate frame of reference, this paper attempts to develop some theoretical perspectives on the aggregate bases of social stratification, to present a simple and plausible measure of occupational status consistency, and to demonstrate the fruitfulness of this approach with some illustrative empirical materials.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

While in many cases the individual is the ultimate source of data for the social sciences, it does not follow that the units of observation are necessarily the appropriate units of analysis. As indicated above, there may very well be a fundamental indeterminacy in approaches which focus solely upon the characteristics of individual actors. Despite our relative theoretical sophistication on these matters, we all too often forget at the empirical and methodological levels that individuals are not born into ongoing social systems fully prepared to fill critical social positions, but rather as organisms to be shaped and molded by a prior social order. Since the appearance of Sumner's *Folkways,* most of us have been convinced that individuals act in accordance with social norms and that such action is accompanied with appropriate motivational and attitudinal syndromes.[6] However, insofar as such norms exist prior to the recruitment of specific role incumbents, one is put on guard to avoid explanations of social structure couched in terms of the properties and propensities of individual actors. As Durkheim observed, "The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of the individual consciousness."[7] To understand social stratification is to understand the organization of social aggregates into meaningful units of social structure from which individual esteem, influence, and economic advantage are ultimately derived.

Even granting the initial premise of this paper, *viz.*, that social groups and not individual actors are the appropriate units of analysis in the study of social stratification, there remains the question of identifying the specific social groupings to be studied. As one group of sociologists has observed, "There is a wide diversity of possible bases of stratification—as wide as the range of variation in personal attributes and cultural variations."[8] Nevertheless, certain advantages may be gained from taking occupations as an initial point of departure. First, the pursuit of occupational life easily represents more than a quarter of the weekly lives of the employed population and nearly half of their waking hours. If the time we spend at various activities is in any way indicative of their importance for social stratification, it would be hard to think of a more salient membership group than occupation. Furthermore, the status of the unemployed most likely depends upon their usual occupation or upon that of employed household members. Second, most indices of socio-economic status have relied upon occupation as an important component, if not the only basis, for creating such an index. Third, the functional relation between education, occupation, and income allows us to relate other criteria of social rank to occupational groups in a theoretically meaningful way.

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[5] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways.* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906). p. 43.

[6] *Ibid., passim,* but especially Chapters I and II.

[7] Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method.* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950). p. 110.

[8] Harold F. Kaufman, Otis Dudley Duncan, Neal Gross, and William H. Sewell, "Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Social Stratification in Rural Society," *Rural Sociology,* 18 (March, 1953), p. 13.

Certainly, the functional relationship between education, occupation, and income is patent. Briefly, education may be seen as the investment whereby "occupational stock" is acquired and upon which income is the "dividends." Glick has noted the regular relationship between education and income and implicitly formulated a model of income and education exchange, pointing out that in the aggregate the increment of total life income received by an additional year of schooling more than compensates for the costs involved.[9] Recently, Duncan has evaluated the occupational components of the formula, indicating that the relationship between education and income is still regular even though occupation is held constant.[10]

To specify occupation as the intervening variable between education and income is tantamount to indicating the mechanism whereby the replacement and recruitment demands of a constantly changing society may be met. Since income may be conceptualized as a reward, differential income with respect to some generalized ability index—such as education—may be utilized as a flexible sanction system. Changes in income with respect to educational attainment provides an elastic opportunity structure for channeling labor into vacant positions. A background of motivational uniformity is provided by the standardization of motives in the educational system.[11] Shifts in income relative to educational attainment become effective mechanisms for directing labor mobility and peeling successive layers of new workers from the educational system.[12] For some—the institutional failures—leaving the school amounts to the best education-income exchange possible, whereas for others the same optimum situation is obtained by deferring occupational entrance. Thus, the manipulation of the opportunity structure by the sanction of income is hypothesized as a working model for the purposes of this paper.

From the foregoing perspectives, the regular relationship of education and income across occupational groups may be seen as an index of the model's goodness of fit. As will be seen below, this relationship is fairly close, but far from perfect. Taking our cues from Weber's notion that certain groups competing in the market place enjoy special life circumstances,[13] deviations from the model are accounted for in terms of control due to firm and craft organization.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

As a first step in the analysis, the per cent of males in the experienced civilian labor force who had total incomes in excess of $3,499 and the per cent completing high school were computed for each occupation in the detailed occupational classification of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.[14] In the special report containing the required data, the 469 occupations in the classification are collapsed into 446 groupings. As these data

[9] Paul C. Glick and Herman P. Miller, "Educational Level and Potential Income," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp 307–312.

[10] Otis Dudley Duncan, "Occupational Components of Educational Differences in Income," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 56 (December, 1961), pp. 783–792. Duncan's finding that occupation affects the individual correlation between education and income is an important motivation for our adoption of occupations as the unit of analysis for our "ecological regressions."

[11] Talcott Parsons, "Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," in Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, *et al.*, *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process*. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955). pp. 113 ff.

[12] Although the psychology adopted here is not particularly complex, it is not any less plausible for that reason. Indeed, many studies of reasons for job changes find that "economic" reasons are most frequently mentioned by respondents. Cf. e.g., Gladys L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities*. (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954). p 62

[13] Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," in Hans H Gerth and C. Wright Mills, editors and translators, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958). pp 181 ff

[14] The cutting points were chosen so that every occupation would have some members above and some below the cutoffs. All the data used in this report were, unless otherwise specified, obtained from one of the following three sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol IV, *Special Reports*, Part 1, Chapter B, Occupational Characteristics, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956); U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Vol. III, *The Labor Force*, Part 1, U. S Summary, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943); and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States; 1940. The Labor Force* (Sample Statistics), Occupational Characteristics, (Washington, D. C.: U. S Government Printing Office, 1943).

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF MALES WITH INCOMES OF $3,500 OR MORE AND PER CENT OF MALES COMPLETING HIGH SCHOOL BY AGE, 1950

Age (Years)	Per Cent with Incomes of $3,500 or More in 1949	Per Cent Completing 4 Years of High School or More
Total, 20 and over	25.64	34.58
20–24	5.65	50.00
25–34	25.78	48 52
35–44	36.39	36.23
45–54	34.88	26 46
55–64	26.78	20.76
65 or over	10.18	15.96

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census: *U. S. Census of Population, 1950;* Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 1, United States Summary. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953). Tables 114, 115 and 139.

are based on a three and one-third per cent sample, it was decided to eliminate all occupations based on a sample of 100 or less. This reduced the number of occupations submitted to statistical analysis to 425.

As Table 1 indicates, income reaches a peak around ages 35–44 and declines thereafter. Thus, the age composition of an occupation may affect its income relative to education. Although education may be regarded as a fixed characteristic subsequent to about age 25, the proportion of high school graduates declines uniformly with age, owing to the secular trend toward higher educational attainment. While this latter phenomenon may in part offset the affect of declining income with age. it nevertheless seems advantageous to hold age constant. Thus, for each occupation the actual per cent of males in the experienced civilian labor force with incomes of at least $3,500 and the per cent with at least a high school education were standardized for age by the demographic method of expected cases. This technique has been described in detail elsewhere, but essentially amounts to the weighting of a set of standard rates by the age composition of each occupation in order to obtain standardized rates (per cents).[15]

The next step in the analysis consisted in the regression of the standardized income percentages (Y) on the standardized education percentages (X). The regression line may be expressed as $\hat{Y}=.680(X)+7.38$; the coefficient of correlation was .780, indicating that an estimated 61 per cent of the variance in income is accounted for on the basis of education alone. The residuals of this regression may be interpreted as a measure of income independent of education, *viz.,* that part of the income of specific occupational groups which is not explained by education.

These residuals—income independent of education—were taken as a measure of occupational status consistency. They may be interpreted as a special, two-variable instance of Lenski's status crystallization.[16] However, the residuals have an analytical advantage over Lenski's devices since they combine both the degree and type of status crystallization. Clearly, when income predicted on the basis of education is equal to actual income, the occupational group is perfectly consistent. The absolute value of the departure of actual from expected income indexes the degree of status inconsistency. The direction of the departure, *i.e.,* whether actual income is greater or less than expected income, indicates the type of status inconsistency Our measure of occupational status consistency combines these elements into a single, quantitative continuum.

PATTERNS OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONSISTENCY

Before examining these residuals in detail, it is interesting to note the distribution of the residuals with respect to the major occupation groups of the U. S. Bureau of the Census. In Table 2, the proportion of occupations in each major census group which have a higher proportion of male workers with incomes in excess of $3,499 than expected on the basis of education is reported. For example, 33 per cent of all

[15] The specifics of the technique used here may be found in Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Socio-Economic Index for All Occupations," in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *et al., Occupations and Social Status,* New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. Evaluation of the effect of standardization indicated that no more than three per cent of the variance in the actual income and education percentages could be accounted for on the basis of age.

[16] *Cf,* Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," *op. cit.,* pp. 407–408.

s occupations have more workers with mes in excess of $3,499 than is expected the basis of the proportion of high school duates. Interestingly enough, nearly 80 cent of both managerial and craft occupas are characterized by incomes in excess educational expectations—proportions re than twice as large as those observed the other major occupation groups.

Since the income of the self-employed derives from their profits (which fluctuate with supply and demand and not with the market exchange between income and education), those occupations which contain the self-employed are apt to have, especially during periods of relative prosperity, a higher proportion of incomes in excess of $3,499 than expected on the basis of education.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CONSISTENCY, SELF-EMPLOYMENT, AND INTERGENERATIONAL STABILITY BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, 1950

or Occupation Group	Number of Occupations in Statistical Analysis	Proportion of Occupations with Income in Excess of Expected Income [b]	Proportion of Males in Major Occupation Group Self-employed [c]	Proportion of Sons in Father's Major Occupation Group [d]
ccupations	418 [a]	.435	.100	.26
fessional, technical, nd kindred workers	54	.352	.181	.19
agers, officials, and oprietors, exc. farm	58	.81[illegible]	.508	.47
ical and kindred orkers	18	.389	.010	.09
s workers	12	.333	.125	.12
tsmen, foremen, nd kindred workers	72	.806	.096	.35
ratives and ndred workers	113	.354	.037	.23
ice and private usehold workers	28	.071	.069	.12
orers, except rm and mine	63	079	.034	.16

[a] There are 425 occupations in the statistical analysis; farm occupations and a residual category 'occupation not reported" account for the seven occupations absent from this table.
[b] Computed by methods described in text.
[c] Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950,* Vol. IV, *Special Reports,* t 1, Chapter B, Occupational Characteristics. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing ce, 1956).
[d] Source: Gladys L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities.* (New York: Social Science Research Coun- 1954). Table 53, p. 119. Data pertain to combined six city sample.

Of particular interest is the observation t managerial occupations generally enjoy favored position, while professional ocations do not. Of course, one would ect corporation executives to enjoy ine beyond educational expectations. Howr, the managerial group is far from nogeneous, including the crown princes of ustry, along with dime store managers. is peculiar finding that managers of all es enjoy high income relative to educan may be explained, in part, by the high idence of self-employment among the nagerial group. Compared with 10 per it for all experienced civilian workers, 50 cent of the managers are self-employed.

The above suggestions are confirmed by the more detailed breakdown of the managerial occupations presented in Table 3. When the managerial occupations are broken down into self-employed and salaried managers occupied in "retail trade and repair services" and in "industrial or other business," the proportion of occupations in each subgroup which have more individuals with incomes in excess of $3,499 than expected on the basis of education remains uniformly high.[17] The reason for this becomes clear

[17] The exception to this generality is the group of sixteen occupations classified in Table 3 as "miscellaneous." The occupations included in the category, such as "credit men," "Floormen and floor

when one examines the actual per cent completing high school or more and with incomes of $3,500 or more. Salaried managers have both greater educational attainment and larger incomes than self-employed managers. Similarly, those employed in "industry and other business" have greater educational attainment and larger incomes than those employed in "retail trade and repair services." Relative to their educational attainment (and hence relative to other occupations of similar educational attainment), each group of managers has a disproportionate share of individuals with incomes of $3,500 or more.

TABLE 3. STATUS CONSISTENCY, EDUCATION, AND INCOME OF MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRIETORS, EXCLUDING FARM, 1950

Subgroups of Detailed Occupations	Proportion of Occupations with Income in Excess of Expected Income [a]	Per Cent of Individuals (Male): Completing 4 Years of High School or More [b]	Per Cent of Individuals (Male): With Incomes of $3,500 or More in 1949 [b]
Total	.810 (58)	55.24	56.73
Salaried managers	.857 (21)	65.45	66.47
Retail trade and repair services	.818 (11)	58.62	52.38
Industrial and other business	.900 (10)	68.30	72.38
Self-employed managers	.905 (21)	46.71	48.46
Retail trade and repair services	.818 (11)	41.25	43.86
Industrial and other business	1.000 (10)	53.70	54.68
Miscellaneous	.625 (16)	58.38	60.10

[a] Computed by methods described in text. The number in parentheses refers to the number of detailed occupations upon which the adjacent proportion is based.

[b] Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. IV, *Special Reports*, Part 1, Chapter B, Occupational Characteristics. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956). The percentages given here are actual per cents and are not standardized for age. They were computed by summing the individual distributions for the detailed occupations in each subgroup and then calculating the percentages from the subgroup totals.

Two reasons may be advanced in the light of these findings to account for the generally advantaged position of managerial occupations. First, salaried managers and self-employed managers in "industry and other business" are presumably employed in fairly large enterprises. Their positions represent the points of executive control, decision, and supervision within the industrial structures of contemporary society. The special talents acquired through years of service to the firm, the control of stock, and the stabilization of "organizational chains of command" through income differentials may call forth an excess of income from that expected on the basis of education alone. Secondly, the self-employed managers in "retail trade and repair services" are presumably employed in the smallest firms. In many cases they perform tasks identical to those of their employees, being differentiated from bartenders, cooks, gas station atendents and the like by the fact of ownership and not by tasks performed. In addition, such small enterprises are subject to a high rate of failure. In view of these observations it seems quite probable that *only those small businessmen who are doing better in their own firms than they could do as employees of others remain self-employed.* Thus, this *petite bourgeoisie* with educational backgrounds often inferior to service workers and operatives remains self-employed precisely because its enterprises allow it to achieve income beyond educational expectations.

Another point of interest is the favorable position of craft occupations. Since most of these occupations were organized at an early date by the old American Federation of Labor, one is tempted to account for the standing of craftsmen in terms of effective unionization. However, a six city study of labor mobility shows that unionization of craftsmen has progressed no more appreciably than that of operatives and laborers. Indeed, the study indicates that 65 per cent

managers, store," and "managers and superintendents, building," are dubiously classified as managers in the first place.

of skilled male workers, 67 per cent of male operatives, and 67 per cent of male laborers are union members.[18]

While unionization *per se* does not allow one to account for the position of craftsmen, certain properties of industrial organization permit trade unions to operate more effectively than industrial unions. Labor may be considered one of a number of factors jointly demanded for industrial production. The demand for any one of these jointly demanded factors will be the more inelastic the more essential the given item is in the production of the final product and the smaller the fraction of total cost accounted for by the item in question. On both accounts, craft and trade unions are in a superior bargaining position to industrial unions. The skills of craftsmen acquired over long years of apprenticeship are not easily replaced by machine technology and the cost of labor relative to other items tends to be small in the industries, such as construction and printing, in which craftsmen are employed.[19]

A similar explanation may account for the relatively poor standing of many professionals. The services of many professionals, such as "dancers and dancing teachers" or "chiropractors," are hardly essential, while those of others such as "accountants and auditors" or "technicians (n.e.c.)" may be replaced by technological innovations. The few professional occupations such as physicians and lawyers which receive income greater than expected on the basis of educational attainment tend to provide largely irreplacable and essential services.[20] Often, as in the case of "airplane pilots and navigators," they have strong professional or labor associations similar in critical respects to trade unions.

One further point adds credance to patterns of occupational status consistency discussed above. Both craftsmen and managers maintain a kind of class monopoly by passing their positions and skills on to succeeding familial generations. A study of labor mobility conducted in 1950 in six cities of the continental United States indicated that the sons of managers and of craftsmen are more apt to remain in their father's occupational group than is true of the other major occupational divisions. As shown in Table 2, for the combined six city sample, 47 per cent of the managers were the sons of managers and 35 per cent of the craftsmen were the sons of craftsmen. These proportions are respectively more than twice and more than one and a half times as large as the next highest per cent. Thus, the passing of advantages from one generation to the next facilitates the maintenance of a stable pattern of deviations from the model of income and education exchange.

CORPORATE BASES OF STATUS CONSISTENCY

This paper has treated occupational groups as independent categoric units. However, many occupations are concentrated in a few industrial groupings and a structural effect may exist as between different occupational levels in the same industry. Since both job prerequisites and wage scales tend to be organized on an industrial basis, a similar pattern of status inconsistency and of entry requirements (as measured by standardized education) may exist for all occupational levels in a given industry.

Unfortunately, the data required to repeat the above investigations using industries rather than occupations as the unit of analysis are not available. However, it is possible to compare certain occupational levels over selected industries. (Contrasts are possible between salaried and self-employed managers, between foremen and operatives, between foremen and laborers, and between operatives and laborers.) Since some groups in the *detailed* occupational classification are defined by a combination of *major* occupa-

[18] Ruth Kornhauser, "Some Social Determinants and Consequences of Union Membership," *Labor History*, 2 (Winter, 1961), p. 38.

[19] On this point see Milton Friedman, "Some Comments on the Significance of Labor Unions for Economic Policy," in William D. Grampp and Emanual T. Weiler, editors, *Economic Policy: Readings in Political Economy*, (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, 1956), pp 162 ff.

[20] Only twenty of the fifty-four professional occupations included in the analysis have income in excess of educational expectations. Nine of the twenty professional occupations in relatively advantaged positions are subgroups of engineers by type of engineering. The remaining eleven include "architects," "airplane pilots and navigators," "dentists," "lawyers and judges," and "physicians and surgeons."

tional and industrial affiliation, limited comparisons of occupational levels over industries are possible. As the extent of the industrial breakdown varies from one major occupational level to another, the industrial matchings are not identical for each comparison. Moreover, the coverage of an occupation-industry group by the combinations recognized in the detailed occupational classification probably varies both with the occupation and the industry. These limitations mean that the results reported below can only be taken as suggestive.

As Table 4 indicates, only the correlation between the measures of status consistency for operatives (n.e.c.) and foremen (n.e.c.) falls below .48. Since operatives represent a broad spectrum of employees ranging from unskilled machine helpers to substitute foremen and highly skilled machine operators, the only discrepant finding may be accounted for by the diversity of one of the occupational levels employed. While some operatives enjoy occupational levels very similar to foremen, the frequency of such operatives undoubtedly varies from industry to industry; corresponding variation in their status consistency could produce the low correlation with the status consistency of foremen in similar industries.

Owing to the rough and limited matching of industries by occupational level, these findings are far from conclusive. However, they strongly suggest that any final accounting of occupational status consistency—or for that matter, of social stratification—must not only investigate the structural positions of certain occupations and intra-occupational competition of social groups, but comprehend the interpenetration of the occupational and industrial systems. The status consistency of categoric occupational groups is demonstrably related to their organization in corporate industrial structures.

TABLE 4. PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS MATCHED FOR INDUSTRY

Comparison	Standardized Education	Measure of Occupational Status Consistency
Self-employed managers (n.e.c.) vs. salaried managers (n.e.c.) (n=21)	.889 *	534 *
Foremen (n.e.c.) vs. operatives (n.e.c.) (n=8)	.773 *	.109
Foremen (n.e.c.) vs. laborers (n.e.c.) (n=8)	.817 *	.483
Operatives (n.e.c.) vs. laborers (n.e.c.) (n=57)	.741 *	.725 *

* ($P<.05$).

CONCLUSIONS

Focusing attention on groups, rather than individuals, this paper has attempted to formulate an aggregate frame of reference for the discussion of status consistency. Owing to the functional relationship between education, occupation, and income, we have suggested that the residuals of the regression of income on education over occupational groups is a plausible indicator of occupational status consistency. Some illustrative empirical materials have been used to suggest that the specialized skills and talents of managers and craftsmen allow them to achieve (in the aggregate) income above that expected on the basis of educational attainment alone. No pretense is made that the relationships discussed in this paper constitute a complete explanation of occupational status consistency. In particular, the receipt of income below educational expectations has not been mentioned, although additional research indicates it is in part attributable to the competition of marginal social groups, notably females and Negroes, with the white male labor force. If a more complete treatment is desired, measures of employment opportunities (such as part-time employment, seasonality of labor, and unemployment), of occupational expansion, and of the extent of occupational organization (e.g., the proportion belonging to professional or labor associations) may be systematically included in the analysis. Also, occupational status consistency may be treated as an independent variable in relation to such dependent variables as familial disorganization and residential mobility. Our present purposes are accomplished, however, if we have indicated the feasibility of constructing continuous measures of status consistency and the fruitfulness of aggregate analysis in social stratification research.

GOALS, ENVIRONMENTAL PRESSURES, AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS *

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With data from a mail questionnaire survey of voluntary associations, the general hypothesis is tested that the internal characteristics of organizations will vary with the range of internal and external pressures to which the organizations are exposed. Organizations are classified by two criteria reflecting the range of internal and external pressures they face. The data generally support three hypotheses derived from the general hypothesis: that organizations facing the widest range of pressures will tend to score low on an index of centralization of authority, and high in emphasis on membership involvement in organizational activities and attention devoted to internal communication.

WRITERS have often noted that the purposes for which an organization exists, and the environment in which it operates, will have effects on its internal structure and operating practices. Blau and others in the Weberian tradition, for example, have pointed out that a primarily "instrumental" organization designed to accomplish specific ends must place its main emphasis on efficiency, and hence is likely to be organized bureaucratically rather than democratically.[1] Lipset, Trow, and Coleman hypothesize that the most thoroughly centralized and undemocratic organizations will be those with narrowly defined instrumental goals; the broader the range of goals, the more likely the members are to desire some measure of control over policies.[2] Homans' concept of the "external system" emphasizes the shaping of the organization by its goals and environment.[3] These writings exemplify a growing recognition that the purposes and environmental situation of an organization will influence its structure and behavior. However, little research except case studies of single organizations has been done to specify how these influences operate.[4]

In this paper we attempt to show some ways in which goals and environmental situations can influence the internal characteristics of one kind of organization, national voluntary associations. The general hypothesis is that organizations which must adapt to a wide range of pressures will differ in internal characteristics from those

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[1] See, for example, Peter M. Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society*, New York: Random House, 1956, pp. 22–23.

[2] Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 407, 415–416.

[3] George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950, pp. 90–94. For a treatment of a somewhat related problem, see also James D. Thompson and William D. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment: Goal-Setting as an Interaction Process," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 23–31.

[4] Case studies showing relationships between goals and environmental circumstances and the internal features of single organizations are numerous. Examples include studies of government agencies, such as Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949; studies of voluntary associations, such as David L. Sills, *The Volunteers*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957; "industry and community" studies, such as W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947; and studies of political machines, such as Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Theoretical discussions of this topic are found in Selznick, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–259, reprinted in part as "A Theory of Organizational Commitments," in Robert K. Merton, Ailsa P. Gray, Barbara Hockey, and Hanan C. Selvin, editors, *Reader in Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952, pp. 194–202; and in Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 194–199.

which face a narrower range of pressures. It is assumed that voluntary associations which pursue numerous goals, and which must satisfy demands made by the general community as well as by their own members, confront a more complex variety of pressures than associations which have few goals and little or no need to satisfy community expectations. Since they are exposed to pressures which are greater in number and different in kind, we would expect them to be organized differently. For example, we might expect that an association which has many goals and must satisfy an external constituency will be relatively decentralized, with initiation of activity concentrated at the local level and with a strong concern for grass-roots membership involvement and internal communication. With this kind of organization the leadership can respond to local community demands and to the changing desires of a membership which has diverse goals.

Following this kind of reasoning, we will present a typology of voluntary associations and a test of three specific hypotheses. Associations are classified as *focused* or *diffuse*, depending on the number of goals they pursue, and as *internal* or *external*, depending on whether they must satisfy their members alone, or both their members and the outside community. By these criteria, *focused internal associations* face the fewest pressures and *diffuse external associations* the most. The hypotheses are: (1) Focused internal associations will tend to be centralized in authority structure and action-initiation, diffuse external associations decentralized, and the other two types of associations (focused external, diffuse internal) intermediate in degree of centralization. (2) Diffuse external associations will tend to stress loyal, active involvement of rank-and-file members in their activities, focused internal associations will tend not to stress membership involvement, and the other two types of associations will be intermediate in this respect. (3) Diffuse external associations will tend to emphasize internal communication, focused internal associations will tend not to emphasize internal communication, and other associations will be intermediate in this respect.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

The method used was the sample survey by mail questionnaire, with national voluntary associations as the units of analysis. Associations were chosen from the *Encyclopedia of American Associations* and *World Convention Dates*.[5] Coverage of a wide variety of types and sizes, rather than simple randomness, was the criterion for sampling. Even if randomness had been desired, it would have been impossible, since the available listings of voluntary associations are not complete. An original mailing asked officials of national associations to return questionnaires and to send us lists of local chapters, individual members, or both; these lists were used for subsequent mailing of questionnaires to local officials and rank-and-file members. In all, 1010 questionnaires were mailed out, and of these, 546 or 54 per cent were returned.[6] Of the 546 respondents, 485 representing 211 different organizations answered both questions used in establishing the typology of associations and were thus eligible for inclusion in the sample. So that no organization would appear more than once in the sample, one respondent was selected randomly from each organization having more than one respondent or, if respondents disagreed in answering the questions used to establish the typology, one was selected randomly from those giving the modal answer.[7]

[5] *Encyclopedia of American Associations*, second edition, Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1959. F. A. Duzette, editor, *World Convention Dates*, Hempstead, N. Y.: Hendrickson Publishing Co., published monthly. Several 1959 issues were used.

[6] A more detailed description of the survey procedure appears in William H. Gulley, "Relative Effectiveness in Voluntary Associations," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1961.

[7] An exception to this procedure was made in the case of 15 associations each represented by two respondents who disagreed as to typological classification. In these instances respondents were chosen purposively to equate the four types of associations as nearly as possible in the percentages of respondents in the sample who were national officials, local officials, and rank-and-file members. This departure from randomness seemed desirable since preliminary tabulations had shown that these three basic levels of respondents differed in their perception of organizational characteristics. These differential perceptions do not materially affect the findings of this paper since the proportional representation of the

three levels is almost entirely controlled in the analysis sample, as is shown in Table 1. While the absolute scores on the three indexes differed, with officials assigning slightly higher scores than members on all three indexes, the comparative positions of the four types of organizations on the three indexes were generally the same when the associations whose respondents were national officials, local officials, and members were analyzed separately. Specifically, on the centralization index, all three levels of respondents placed the focused internal and diffuse external associations at the predicted extremes except that local officials placed diffuse external associations in the position next to the predicted extreme; the same was true of the membership involvement index except that national and local officials placed focused internal associations in the position next to the predicted extreme; and on internal communication, national officials and members placed both focused internal and diffuse external associations at the predicted extremes but local officials placed neither type at the predicted extreme. Thus out of nine tabulations controlling level of respondent, in only one (local officials' responses concerning internal communication) were the relationships not essentially as predicted, despite the fact that many of the categories of levels of respondents within associational types had very small frequencies ranging from six to ten respondents. The nine tabulations just discussed are not shown in this paper; they are similar in logic and format to the tabulations for organizational size classes shown in Table 2, below.

TYPOLOGY OF ASSOCIATIONS

To form a typology of voluntary associations, we have classified them by two criteria. The first, *focused or diffuse,* refers to the number of goals an organization pursues. Associations are classified as focused or diffuse in goals on the basis of response to a question which asked, "How much better off do you feel that your members are then they would be if they did not belong to your organization, with respect to each of the following things?" (1, their income, financial condition, etc.; 2, their prestige or status in the community; 3, their feeling of contribution to society or community; 4, their knowledge of world or community problems; 5, their social lives, friends, etc.; 6, their cultural or artistic lives; 7, their ability to express points of view, have their ideas put into practice, etc.). With respect to each of these seven items representing organizational goals, respondents could indicate that membership led to a person's being "much better off," "somewhat better off," or "no better off," or that the item was "not relevant to the goals of our organization." If a respondent indicated that members were much better off or somewhat better off with respect to an item, this was taken to mean that he regarded the item as a goal of the organization.[8] The 112 associations whose sample respondents cited from one to four goals were defined as having focused goals; the 99 whose sample respondents cited from five to seven goals were defined as having diffuse goals.[9]

The second criterion by which associations are classified, *internal or external,* refers to the absence or presence of involvement with the community. An internally oriented association must satisfy its members but is not expected to satisfy any demands from the general community, while an externally oriented association faces demands from both the general community and its own members. To classify associations as internal or external in orientation, the following question is used: "Some organizations need more support from the general community than others need. Check the one statement below which comes closest to describing your situation." (1, We could never accomplish any-

[8] A critic has suggested that this method of ascertaining goals may have led us to classify associations as diffuse in goals, not because the organizations actually had numerous goals, but because these were associations which happened to be represented in our sample by enthusiastic respondents whose enthusiasm caused them to say that membership made a person "better off" in numerous ways. If this were so, it would point to a serious weakness in our method of classification, but there are three principal reasons for doubting that it is so. First, most respondents in all four associational types were officials, and one can probably assume that officials of all four types tended to be enthusiastic supporters of their organizations. Second, when we asked each respondent to rate his association on an eleven-point scale from full achievement of its goals (10) to no achievement at all (0), with 5 being "reasonable achievement," the ratings by respondents from focused and diffuse associations were very similar. The medians were 6.67 for focused and 6.77 for diffuse associations, and the means were 6.40 for focused and 6.53 for diffuse associations, suggesting that the two sets of respondents differed very little in enthusiasm. The third reason is the check on the reliability of the classification described in footnote 11.

[9] The thirteen associations whose respondents cited no goals at all were eliminated along with four whose respondents did not answer, and these associations are not among the 211 in the sample used for analysis.

thing without strong community support. 2, Community support is important to us but not absolutely essential for everything we do. 3, Community support is desirable, but not really a major factor in our success. 4, It does not really matter whether the community supports our program or not. 5, We hope to accomplish our goals despite opposition from a major element of the community.) The 93 associations whose respondents checked the first or second alternative, indicating need for community support, were classified as externally oriented; the remaining 118 were classified as internally oriented.[10]

By these procedures we arrived at the sample described in Table 1.[11] The representation of different organizational levels among the respondents is shown in order to indicate that this variable, which might have affected the results, has been largely controlled. When this typology is used to indicate the range of pressures to which voluntary associations are exposed, the polar types are the focused internal associations, facing the fewest pressures, and the diffuse external, subjected to the widest variety of pressures. (Note that "external" really means "external plus internal," since nothing in our data

TABLE 1. SAMPLE OF ASSOCIATIONS BY TYPE AND LEVEL OF RESPONDENT

Type of Association	Per Cent of Each Type's Respondents Who Were: National Officials	Local Officials	Members
Focused internal (N=70)	60.0	20.0	20.0
Focused external (N=42)	64.3	19.0	16.7
Diffuse internal (N=48)	62.4	18.8	18.8
Diffuse external (N=51)	60.8	19.6	19.6

suggests that they face fewer internal pressures than the organizations we have called "internal"; the difference is that they additionally face external pressures.) For present purposes the focused external and diffuse internal associations may be regarded simply as intermediate types, although they are intermediate for different reasons and may very well differ from each other in ways not revealed by our data.[12]

FINDINGS

Table 2 tests the three hypotheses given earlier. It shows, for each associational type, the medians for three indexes composed of

[10] No sample respondent checked the fifth alternative, indicating community opposition.

[11] It will be recalled that when an association had more than one respondent, one giving the modal responses was selected for inclusion in the sample, and that respondents from the same association sometimes disagreed in their answers to the questions used for classifying it. As a check on the reliability of the classification, we compared the classification each association would have been given if the classification had been based on the mean of all its respondents' answers to the two classification questions, with the classification it actually received on the basis of answers by its one respondent included in the sample. The means were based on the number of goals cited, for the focused-vs.-diffuse question, and on the code numbers used in the text of this paper to identify the five possible responses ranging from extreme community involvement to extreme lack of involvement, for the internal-vs.-external question. If we define the classification based on the means as the "proper" classification for the purpose of this reliability check, then 23 associations or 11 per cent of the 211 were improperly classified in the sample used for analysis. When we regard the focused internal and diffuse external associations as extreme types in the range of pressures they face, only two of 211 associations were classified in the analysis sample at the wrong extreme.

[12] Other typologies of voluntary associations are given in George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInerny, *Leisure: A Suburban Study*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. 129–169; Arnold M. Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, p. 52; and C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 22–29. Our typology is analytic and not based on the manifest functions of the organizations, and organizations of numerous kinds were classified in all four analytic types. Occupational organizations including academic, scientific, and professional societies, trade associations, and labor unions made up 43 of 70 focused internal, 12 of 42 focused external, 29 of 48 diffuse internal, and 25 of 51 diffuse external associations. Non-occupational organizations included recreational, social, and hobby associations, interest and pressure groups working to advance non-occupational goals (e.g., a veterans' organization) or benefit some non-occupational group (e.g., a religious pressure group), and charitable or philanthropic organizations. When we classified associations into eight types based on their principal manifest functions—four occupational and four non-occupational types—organizations of all eight functional types were found in all four of our analytic types, except that no recreational society or trade association was classified as diffuse external.

TABLE 2. MEDIAN CENTRALIZATION, MEMBERSHIP INVOLVEMENT, AND INTERNAL COMMUNICATION SCORES BY SIZE AND TYPE OF ASSOCIATION

Index and Size of Association	Focused Internal Median	(N)	Focused External Median	(N)	Diffuse Internal Median	(N)	Diffuse External Median	(N)
Centralization								
All associations	2.14	(55)	1.54	(39)	1.80	(45)	1.37	(44)
Small only	2.29	(23)	1.75	(9)	2.30	(14)	1.83	(8)
Medium only	2.00	(21)	1.63	(13)	1.70	(18)	1.58	(13)
Large only	1.75	(11)	1.43	(17)	1.33	(13)	1.00	(23)
Membership Involvement								
All associations	1.42	(56)	1.67	(39)	1.97	(46)	3.03	(46)
Small only	1.31	(25)	0.88	(9)	1.92	(13)	1.75	(9)
Medium only	1.75	(23)	2.00	(13)	1.79	(20)	3.00	(14)
Large only	0.50	(8)	1.87	(17)	2.38	(13)	3.27	(23)
Internal Communication								
All associations	1.80	(60)	2.33	(38)	2.27	(47)	2.67	(48)
Small only	1.88	(25)	2.33	(9)	2.10	(14)	1.83	(8)
Medium only	1.71	(23)	1.60	(13)	2.31	(19)	2.86	(14)
Large only	1.50	(12)	2.77	(16)	2.50	(14)	2.69	(26)

responses to questions in which respondents were asked to describe various characteristics of their organizations. Each index relates to one of the three hypotheses.

Centralization. Hypothesis 1 was that focused internal associations would tend to be the most centralized in authority structure and action-initiation, and diffuse external associations the least. Three items went into the centralization index: (1) "Where would you say the main activity of your organization is carried out?" (National level is scored 1; regional, state, or local level is scored 0.) (2) "When changes have taken place in your . . . programs . . . from where has the initiative for the change usually come?" (National officials is scored 1; lesser officials or individual members is scored 0.) (3) "Please check the one statement below which most nearly describes the top leadership structure of your national organization." (Decisions made by national leaders alone is scored 1; decisions made by local officials or members, or by national leaders only after consultation with local officials or members, is scored 0.)

On this three-item index, median scores ranged from a high of 2.14 for the focused internal associations to a low of 1.37 for the diffuse external associations. The direction of relationships supports the hypothesis.[18]

Membership involvement. Hypothesis 2 was that diffuse external associations would show the greatest concern with involving rank-and-file members in their activities and maintaining membership loyalty, and focused internal associations the least. Membership involvement was measured with an index of four items. The responses which received scores of 1, paraphrased here to save space, were: (1) That members take an active part in the work of the organization is very important. (2) The members would feel a terrible loss if the organization did not exist. (3) Promoting cooperation among members is very important. (4) Recruiting members is very important.

As predicted, diffuse external associations scored highest in membership involvement, with a median of 3.03, and focused internal associations scored lowest, with a median of 1.42.

Internal communication. Hypothesis 3 was that diffuse external associations would place

[18] The findings were not tested for significance, since the sample was not a random one of any known universe, for the reason mentioned earlier. Writers on both sides of the recent controversy over the use of tests of significance seem to agree that such tests are hard to interpret, if not wholly meaningless, when random sampling procedures have not been followed. See Hanan C. Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 519–527; and James M. Beshers, "On 'A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research,'" *American Sociological Review*, 23 (April, 1958), p. 199.

the greatest emphasis on maintaining channels of internal communication, and focused internal associations the least. Emphasis on internal communication was measured with a three-item index. Responses which received scores of 1, slightly paraphrased, were: (1) Educating members as to the objectives of the organization is very important. (2) Keeping members informed of the organization's activities is very important. (3) That members keep leaders informed of their opinions is absolutely essential or very important.

Again, the results are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. Diffuse external associations showed the greatest emphasis on internal communication, with a median of 2.67, and focused internal associations showed the least, with a median of 1.80.

These findings thus tend to support all three hypotheses. Moreover, on all 10 separate items which went into the three indexes, the types of associations we have defined as lowest and highest in the range of pressures to which they are exposed—focused internal and diffuse external—were at the predicted extremes in the response distributions. In addition, if we compare the focused and diffuse associations within the internal and external categories considered separately, and the internal and external associations within the focused and diffuse categories considered separately, their relative scores on all three indexes are what we would predict: the associations facing more pressures scored lower in centralization, higher in membership involvement, and higher in internal communication.

Organizational size as a control variable. A number of studies have shown that the size of organizations is related to their organizational characteristics, as one would expect from bureaucratic theory.[14] Since the associations of our four types differed in average size, it seemed advisable to find out whether the differences we found in their organizational characteristics would hold up when the size of associations was controlled. To control size, we divided the associations into three size classes, from data on size of membership given in the *Encyclopedia of American Associations*.[15] Associations with 2499 or fewer members were defined as small, those with from 2500 to 24,999 members were defined as medium, and those with 25,000 or more members were defined as large.

Table 2 shows median centralization, membership involvement, and internal communication scores for small, medium, and large associations in each of the four typological categories. Most of the hypothesized relationships held up among the medium and large associations, especially those regarding centralization and membership involvement. For example, focused internal associations were always at the predicted extreme of the response distribution except that medium-sized associations of this type were next to the predicted extreme in internal communication. Similarly, diffuse external associations were at the predicted extreme except that large associations of this type were next to the predicted extreme in internal communication. The small associations, however, deviated from the general pattern. Among these, the focused internal associations were next to the predicted extreme on all three indexes, while the diffuse external associations were next to the predicted extreme twice and at the "wrong" extreme in internal communication.

These findings seem to support the conclusion that the range of pressures to which

[14] Some examples include William Foote Whyte, *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948, pp. 17–30; Frederic W. Terrien and Donald L. Mills, "The Effect of Changing Size upon the Internal Structure of Organizations," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (February, 1955), pp. 11–14; Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–154, 163–171; Theodore Caplow, "Organization Size," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1 (March, 1957), pp. 484–505; Edwin J. Thomas, "Role Conceptions and Organizational Size," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 30–38; Amitai Etzioni, "The Functional Differentiation of Elites in the Kibbutz," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (March, 1959), pp. 476–487; Sergio Talacchi, "Organization Size, Individual Attitudes and Behavior," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 5 (December, 1960), pp. 398–420; R. W. Revans, "Industrial Morale and Size of Unit," in Walter Galenson and Seymour Martin Lipset (ed.), *Labor and Trade Unionism*, New York: Wiley, 1960, pp. 295–300; and Theodore R. Anderson and Seymour Warkov, "Organizational Size and Functional Complexity: A Study of Administration in Hospitals," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (February, 1961), pp. 23–28.

[15] *Encyclopedia of American Associations, op. cit.*

an organization is exposed, as indicated by our typology, is related to organizational characteristics in medium-sized and large associations, though perhaps not in small ones. One could feel safer in drawing this conclusion if the frequencies in the sub-categories were larger, but by the same token it is noteworthy that the predicted relationships generally hold up despite the smallness of some frequencies.

DISCUSSION

In interpreting the findings one should bear in mind that they did not hold up within organizations having fewer than 2500 members, that the differences were smaller and the relationships slightly less consistent with respect to internal communication than with respect to the other two indexes, and that the analysis assumes that officials and members can accurately perceive the characteristics of their organizations. However, the over-all consistency of the findings seems to lend support to the general hypothesis and the three sub-hypotheses.

It can be plausibly argued that the organizational features most frequently found in the different types of voluntary associations represent characteristically different modes of adaptation to their diverse situations. Consider the focused internal associations, with their tendencies toward minimal concern over membership involvement, lack of interest in maintaining internal communication channels, and centralized authority structure. In comparison with other associations, these are organizations which seek limited sets of goals and do not need the support of outsiders. Given this situation, it is understandable if their officials do not concern themselves deeply with recruiting, motivating, and keeping in touch with their members. The members do not need to act as ambassadors to the outside world, and therefore a high degree of membership loyalty and activity is not necessary. The members join for limited purposes, and as long as the officials stick to these purposes, the members do not have to be persuaded to support activity aimed at other goals. If the goals are limited, the chances are that the officials understand what the members want; therefore upward communication from members to officials need not be emphasized. Conversely, from the member's standpoint, neither frequent communication nor a democratic voice in policy-making would seem crucially important, so long as the officials deliver the rather well-defined goods they are expected to deliver.[16]

The situation of the diffuse external associations is somewhat the reverse. Nevertheless, the finding that these organizations, which must operate under a complicated set of pressures, tend to be relatively decentralized and democratic, might seem inconsistent with the ancient observation that "a tight situation makes for a tight authority structure." It has been said, for example, that the reason why military organizations must be authoritarian is that they need to move fast in exceedingly demanding situations.[17] The demands placed on organizations may differ, however, in nature as well as in complexity or urgency. In the case of diffuse external voluntary associations, the difficulty of their situation stems specifically from their need to satisfy both members and outsiders who have varied and possibly conflicting expectations. Therefore their mode of adaptation consists of trying to guarantee that the various pressures will be communicated to the leadership so that it can plan accordingly, and that the leadership's plans will be communicated to the members, on the local level, where the basic activities in these organizations tend to occur. The more decentralized authority structure, coupled with greater emphasis on membership involvement and communication, enables the leaders to keep in touch with local activities and the members to make their varied wishes known.

On a more general level, the findings seem to support the proposition that the characteristics of organizations will be systematically related to their goals and to the environmental circumstances in which they operate. It also seems clear that the relation-

[16] Lipset has made this same point in his discussion of internal union politics: Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960, p. 390 A similar statement also appears in Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[17] See, for example, George C. Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 432; and Homans, "The Small Warship," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (June, 1946), p. 300.

ships are amenable to statistical survey techniques using organizations as the units of analysis, along with other methods more commonly used in the past for studying complex organizations, such as individual case study.[18]

[18] Survey analysis with organizations as the statistical units is analogous to some of the research which uses cultures or societies as the units and examines relationships among their attributes; for example: Leonard T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and Morris Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1915; George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York: Macmillan, 1949; Linton C. Freeman and Robert F. Winch, "Societal Complexity: An Empirical Test of a Typology of Societies," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (March, 1957), pp. 461–466; Stanley H. Udy, Jr., *The Organization of Work*, New Haven: HRAF Press, 1959; and M. F. Nimkoff and Russell Middleton, "Types of Family and Types of Economy," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (November, 1960), pp. 215–225.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND THE PERFORMANCE AND JOB SATISFACTION OF PHYSIOLOGISTS

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Mail questionnaires were completed by 75 per cent of all physiological scientists working in organizations in the United States. In an attempt to test some aspects of James Worthy's theory of organizational structure, three sets of variables were interrelated. (a) independent variables, i.e., size of organization, number of supervisory levels, and combinations of these; (b) intervening variables, i.e., freedom, job opportunities, funds, facilities, ability of the scientist, and type of institution—academic, governmental, or industrial; and (c) dependent variables, i.e., productivity and job satisfaction. In general, the theory was not supported.

A POPULAR topic in the literature of industrial sociology and of organizational behavior is the shape of organizational structure, invoking such concepts as "flatness," "tallness," "pyramidal organization," and the like. These terms have never been clearly defined. What seems common to the various usages is an interest in the number of supervisory levels relative to the size of an organization. But considerations of the effects of organizational shape, whether these be purely speculative or based upon empirical study, leave in doubt whether these effects are due to size, to number of levels, or to some combination of these variables.

This paper presents data concerning the relationships of these two variables, considered separately and in combination, to two criteria of organizational effectiveness (productivity and job satisfaction). A number of studies have appeared on the effects of organizational size, with inconsistent findings.[1] The empirical literature is less ex-

[1] Negative relationships between organizational size and various criteria of productivity are reported by Marriott (in automobile factories), Thomas (in social agencies), and Worthy (in the Sears, Roebuck Company). See: R. Marriott, "Size of Working Group and Output," *Occupational Psychology*, 23 (January, 1949), pp. 47–57; Edwin Thomas, "Role Conceptions and Organizational Size," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 30–37; and James C. Worthy, "Organizational Structure and Employee Morale," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 169–179. Curvilinear relationships between size and productivity are reported by Herbst (sales organizations) and Revans (coal mines), with maximum productivity in the medium sized organizations. See: P. G. Herbst, "Measurement of Behavior Structures by Means of Input-Output Data," *Human Relations*, 10 (No. 4, 1957), pp. 335–346; R. W. Revans, "Human Relations, Management and Size," in E. M. Hugh-Jones, editor, *Human Relations and Modern Management*,

tensive in its treatment of the number of levels variable: only two studies, both of which are subject to methodological criticism, have appeared.[2] These two studies are also the only ones to report findings concerning size and levels in combination. The over-all empirical picture, then, is not in clear focus.

The most influential theory concerning the interrelated effects of size and levels is that of Worthy, originally presented in this *Review*.[3] Worthy reports that his conclusions are based upon extensive questionnaire and interview studies of employees in the Sears Roebuck Company, but no actual data are presented in his paper. Nevertheless, his conclusions have been widely cited.[4] These conclusions will first be briefly reviewed; subsequently, in presenting the data of our study, we will examine their relevance to several of the propositions in this theory.

Worthy states that comparison of large organizations with small organizations of the same type show the former to have lower employee morale and lower individual output than their smaller counterparts. He theorizes that the larger organizations, in evolving relatively large size, tend toward a proliferation of hierarchical levels of administration and thus to centralization of authority and job specialization. The fruits of these developments are impersonal institutionalized employee-management relations, low degree of freedom on the job, suppression of personal judgment and initiative, failure to investigate the individual's full capabilities, and low employee morale and output.

In Worthy's opinion, the advantages inherent in large organizations can be enjoyed without the detrimental consequences above if a "flat" or broad type of structure is employed. When few levels of administration intervene between the top management and rank-and-file employees, the span of control of every supervisor is increased, making it necessary for each to delegate authority and responsibility to his subordinates. Thus, em-

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Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1958, pp. 177–220.

Four studies report a negative relation between organizational size and morale. See: J. K. Hemphill, *Group Dimensions: A Manual for their Measurement*, Research Monograph #87, Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1956; D. Hewitt and J. Parfit, "A Note on Working Morale and Size of Group," *Occupational Psychology*, 27 (January, 1953), pp. 38–42; Daniel Katz, "Morale and Motivation in Industry," in W. Dennis, editor, *Current Trends in Industrial Psychology*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949, pp. 145–171; Worthy, *op. cit.*

[2] Worthy, *op. cit.*, reports that the number of levels in an organization is negatively related to employee morale, even when the size of the organizational units is held constant. No actual data are reported, however. F. L. W. Richardson, Jr., and Charles R. Walker (*Human Relations in an Expanding Company*, New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1948) present a case study in which two levels of authority were eliminated in a company over a period during which the size of the company doubled. Morale and productivity were not adversely affected by the changes; this is interpreted as support for the theory that the levels variable is negatively related to these criteria. Other than these two studies, we are unable to locate any research which purports to *measure* the effects of number of levels. Discussions of "tallness" are occasionally found, but these either quote Worthy, or are purely speculative. Discussions of levels in the management literature may involve the related concept of span of control, under the assumption that organizations which adopt the philosophy of a small span of control must, of necessity, have many levels. This is, of course, not necessarily so. Revans, *op. cit.*, suggests the formula that the number of levels equals the logarithm of the number of employees to the base of the span of control. Unfortunately, this translation to the span of control literature is not helpful in the present context, since the span of control literature is non-empirical.

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] The theory has been influential in the literature of industrial sociology, industrial psychology, and the social psychology of organizations. Discussions of the theory may be found in: Michael Argyle, *The Scientific Study of Social Behavior*, London: Methuen, 1957; Bernard M. Bass, *Leadership, Psychology, and Organizational Behavior*, New York: Harper, 1960; Robert Dubin, *The World of Work*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1958; Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry*, revised edition, Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1952; John B. Knox, *The Sociology of Industrial Relations*, New York: Random House, 1955; Henry Clay Smith, *Psychology of Industrial Behavior*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955; Ralph M. Stogdill, *Individual Behavior and Group Achievement*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959; Morris S. Viteles, *Motivation and Morale in Industry*, New York: Norton, 1953. Only the first of these authors, Argyle, is sufficiently critical to remark, "Unfortunately insufficient details are provided for these conclusions to be evaluated." (pp. 192–193).

ployees work in an atmosphere of relative freedom from oppressive supervision and have a sense of individual importance and personal responsibility which other types of structures often deny.

An opportunity to retest some of the empirical relationships upon which the theoretical interpretation is based presented itself to the authors during the analysis of questionnaire data obtained in a nationwide survey of professional physiologists. Assuredly, scientists in a heterogeneous collection of research organizations are not directly comparable to employees of a single nationwide retailing organization, even though the units of the latter are geographically disparate. However, it was assumed that scientists would react at least as negatively as retail employees to the baleful consequences reported by Worthy to be associated with large size and many levels. This analysis may be considered as an attempt to check this assumption.

SOURCE AND NATURE OF THE DATA

Sample. The data were obtained from an analysis of mail questionnaires designed and administered by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, under a program organized by the American Physiological Society.[5] In 1953, questionnaires were completed by about 75 per cent of all the physiologists in the United States for a total sample size of 4571. The sampling procedures, questionnaire construction, and results of the primary analysis are described in detail elsewhere.[6] The present study is a secondary analysis of the original data.

Of the 3981 from the total sample who reported that they were engaged in at least some research, 1431 answered yes to the question, "Do you carry out your research as a member of a research institute or other research organization (exclusive of university departments)?" Among these, 786 formed a group with the following characteristics: (1) all had a Ph.D. or M.D. or Sc.D.; (2) all had been members of their research organization for at least three years; (3) all were employed full time and received an annual salary of at least $3,000. These three restrictions were designed to ensure that all of our population were fully exposed to the organizational variables whose influence we are studying. We wanted to eliminate students, retirees, part-time workers, and persons who might not have been in the organization long enough to be influenced by it. In addition, for analytic convenience, we eliminated another 82 persons who did not reply to one or more of the two major independent variables and the two dependent variables (which are described in the next section).

The final sample size is 704. To recapitulate, this group may be thought of as approximately representing those American physiologists in 1953 who held a doctoral degree and who had been gainfully employed full-time for at least three years in a research organization.

Independent and dependent variables. We shall refer to the *independent* variables as the size and the number of levels variables. They were measured by the following questions, which are presented with their response frequencies:[7]

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[5] In 1952, the American Physiological Society organized a program of studies of the status and prospects of physiology, with National Science Foundation support, known as the Survey of Physiological Sciences. One part of the Survey was a questionnaire study of a national sample of physiologists. This was designed, administered, and analyzed by the Survey Research Center in close cooperation with the Survey of Physiological Sciences. A report of the questionnaire study is given in Seymour Lieberman and Leo Meltzer, *The Attitudes and Activities of Physiologists,* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, 1953, 2 volumes. The final report of the entire Survey of Physiological Sciences is given in Ralph W. Gerard, *Mirror to Physiology: A Self Survey of Physiological Science,* Washington, D. C.: American Physiological Society, 1958. We wish to express our thanks to the organizations mentioned above for permitting use of the data presented in this report, and also to the Social Science Research Center of Cornell University for financial support of this analysis.

[6] Gerard, *op. cit.;* Lieberman and Meltzer, *op. cit.*

[7] To simplify presentation of data, as well as to obtain larger N's for statistical tests, in the analysis the size variable has been collapsed into three catecategories: small (20 or fewer people), medium (21–50 people), and large (over 50 people). Similarly, the levels variable has been trichotomized into the categories: few (1–3 levels), medium (4–5),

About how many professional people are employed in your research organization? (CHECK ONE:)

——	5 or less	61
——	6 to 10	63
——	11 to 20	84
——	21 to 30	61
——	31 to 40	42
——	41 to 50	32
——	Over 50	361

About how many levels of professional people are there in your research organization? (CHECK ONE:)

——	1-2 levels	90
——	3 levels	173
——	4 levels	144
——	5 levels	85
——	6 or more levels	212

It should be noted that we are measuring the size and the number of levels in the *professional component* of the organization, rather than in the organization as a whole. We suspect that our measures would be strongly correlated with measures of the latter type. It is a reasonable assumption that in a research organization the non-professional component would be employed primarily to provide services for the researchers; hence, total size and number of levels should be strongly correlated with the analogous measures in the professional component. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any research on this point. If subsequent research disproves our assumption several of our conclusions will require re-evaluation.

It was not possible to conduct validity tests for these two questions. The items were pretested, of course, to ensure that respondents understood their meaning. In the study proper, the rate of non-response to these questions was 3 per cent for the size item and 4 per cent for the levels item. These low figures appear to confirm the pretest indications that the questions were readily understood.

We shall refer to the *dependent* variables as the satisfaction and productivity items. They were measured by the following questions, the first of which is presented with its response frequencies:

All in all, how do you feel about your present job? (CHECK ONE:)

——	1 Very satisfied	252
——	2 Fairly satisfied	376
——	3 Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	38
——	4 Fairly dissatisfied	31
——	5 Very dissatisfied	7

Approximately how many research papers have you had published (as author or co-author) during the past three years?
Number of research papers ________
Median=5.8 Range=0–54

The productivity measure, in particular, is open to a number of *a priori* objections: a co-author is given the same amount of credit as a full author, a short paper is counted the same as a long one, no distinction is made between poor and excellent products, original work is counted the same as repetitions of old ideas, juniors may benefit in this count by virtue of the ideas supplied by their seniors, and conversely an administrator may be able to claim authorship for work more properly credited to a subordinate. Fortunately, two independent studies indicate that the present measure posseses sufficient validity for the purposes of this exploration. An actual count of the number of citations received in a 3 year period in the *Annual Reviews of Physiology* by 1349 physiologists correlated .51 with their reports of number of papers written. A second study of 50 physiologists working in a governmental medical laboratory indicated that high publication is associated with high ratings of competence by superiors and by colleagues.[8]

No information is available concerning the validity of the satisfaction measure.

RESULTS

Organizational structure in relation to productivity. When the percentages of high producers for the various sizes of organizations are compared, a chi square test shows a totally non-significant result (Table 1).

and many (6 or more). Several of the relationships to be reported were run using both the full range of these variables and the trichotomized range. Since in each of these cases essentially the same results appear, this report consistently refers to the trichotomized variables.

[8] These validity studies are presented in greater detail along with presentation of a number of correlates of the productivity measure in Leo Meltzer, "Scientific Productivity in Organizational Settings," *Journal of Social Issues*, 12 (No. 2, 1956), pp. 32–40.

TABLE 1. ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF PAPERS PUBLISHED

	Papers Published in 3 Years				
	6 or More	5 or Less	Total	N	Significance*
Size of Organization					$P > .50$
Small (20 or fewer)	47%	53	100%	208	
Intermediate (21–50)	49%	51	100%	135	
Large (51 or more)	44%	56	100%	361	
Number of Levels					$P = .025—.02$
Few (1–3)	46%	54	100%	263	
Medium (4–5)	40%	60	100%	229	
Many (6 or more)	53%	47	100%	212	
Size-Levels Combination					
(a) Small, few	46%	54	100%	153	
(b) Small, medium	40%	60	100%	42	
(c) Small, many	77%	23	100%	13	$P_{abc} = .10—.05$
(d) Medium, few	50%	50	100%	58	$P_{def} = .98$
(e) Medium, medium	48%	52	100%	54	$P_{ghi} = .02$
(f) Medium, many	48%	52	100%	23	$P_{adg} > .50$
(g) Large, few	40%	60	100%	52	$P_{beh} > .30$
(h) Large, medium	36%	64	100%	133	$P_{cfi} = .20—.10$
(i) Large, many	52%	48	100%	176	

* By Chi-square test, 2 degrees of freedom.

Levels of supervision, however, are significantly (P close to .02) related to productivity. This latter relationship appears curvilinear, with the low point in papers written occurring in organizations with 4 or 5 levels of supervision, and the high point in organizations with 6 or more levels.

Since these results are not in agreement with Worthy's report, it was felt that perhaps a better test of his assertions would be to investigate the relation of productivity to a combination of size and levels. With three sizes of organizations and three levels categories, there are nine possible combinations of size and levels. The influence of these size-levels combinations upon productivity is shown in the lower portion of Table 1. The relationship of levels to number of papers written remains significant at better than the .05 level only within large sized organizations (lines g, h, i). Size, itself, is still unrelated to productivity, when levels are held constant. Moreover, if both size and levels were negatively related to productive efficiency—as Worthy hypothesized—then the maximum differences in productivity should be between the combinations "small organizations, few levels" and "large organizations, many levels." In fact, there is an insignificant 6 per cent difference between these two conditions (lines a and i), and this difference is opposite in direction to the prediction.

Organizational structure in relation to job satisfaction. The major portion of Worthy's discussion is not in terms of productivity, but in terms of morale or job satisfaction. Table 2 presents a series of comparisons analogous to those of Table 1, with the dependent variable "job satisfaction" substituted for the dependent variable "number of papers." Some support for the hypotheses is apparent. The number of levels is negatively, and monotonically, related to satisfaction, as predicted. This relationship is statistically significant (P is less than .005). However, size of organization is curvilinearly related to satisfaction, with the highest percentage of very satisfied scientists occurring in medium sized research organizations. This finding, also statistically significant (P is less than .01), might be considered as possibly consistent with Worthy's report, assuming that he had very few organizational units as small as those in our "small size" category, and so was able to notice only a negative relationship of size and satisfaction. However, the data showing the influence of size and levels in combination indicate that the relationships of size to satisfaction, holding levels constant, and the relationships of levels to satis-

TABLE 2. ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES IN RELATION TO SCIENTISTS' JOB SATISFACTION

	Job Satisfaction				
	Very Sat.	Less Sat.	Total	N	Significance *
Size of Organization					P=.01—.005
Small (20 or fewer)	32%	68	100%	208	
Medium (21–50)	47%	53	100%	135	
Large (51 or more)	34%	66	100%	361	
Number of Levels					P= 005—.001
Few (1–3)	40%	60	100%	263	
Medium (4–5)	37%	63	100%	229	
Many (6 or more)	29%	71	100%	212	
Size-Levels Combination					
(a) Small, few	33%	67	100%	153	
(b) Small, medium	36%	64	100%	42	
(c) Small, many	8%	92	100%	13	P_{abc}=.20—.10
(d) Medium, few	57%	43	100%	58	P_{def}=.10—.05
(e) Medium, medium	44%	56	100%	54	P_{ghi}=.25
(f) Medium, many	30%	70	100%	23	P_{adg}=.01—.005
(g) Large, few	42%	58	100%	52	P_{beh}>.30
(h) Large, medium	35%	65	100%	133	P_{cfi}>.20
(i) Large, many	30%	70	100%	176	

* By Chi-square test, 2 degrees of freedom.

faction, holding size constant, are in five out of six comparisons no longer statistically significant (see the lower portion of Table 2). In general, these controlled relationships are directionally the same as the uncontrolled. It might be argued that the subdivision of the total sample has not wiped out the original relationships, but rather that the smaller N's no longer permit statistical significance to be apparent. However, it must be noted that the two combinations which would, according to the hypotheses, be most different in the percentage of highly satisfied personnel, are in fact virtually identical (Table 2, lines a and i).

Other correlates of size and levels. Since the data of this study thus far presented are not consistently in support of the original hypotheses, two possibilities for exploration remain: First, the variables hypothesized by Worthy as intervening between organizational structure, on the one hand, and satisfaction and productivity, on the other hand, may in fact be related to satisfaction and productivity but not to size and levels. This would imply that such "intervening" variables were, for some reason which it is not possible now to ascertain, fortuitously rather than theoretically associated with organizational structure in Worthy's population. The second possibility for exploration is that there may be certain variables in *our* population which are associated with both our independent and dependent variables in such a way as to mask or distort the relationships reported by Worthy.

Pursuing the first possibility outlined above, we found in our questionnaire two questions which corresponded to variables supposedly associated with organizational structure and also with satisfaction and productivity. The two questions are: (1) How much freedom did you have in choosing the research problem you are working on at the present time? (five response categories range from "complete freedom" to "no freedom at all") (2) How much chance does your current job give you to do as good a research job as you feel you can do? (five response categories ranged from "very good chance" to "very poor chance"). According to Worthy's theory, the impersonal but close supervision found in large organizations with many levels of administration would entail a low degree of employee freedom and a failure to utilize their full capabilities—hence would result in low satisfaction and productivity. It would follow from the theory that both the freedom item and the chance-to-do-a-good-job item should be positively related to satisfaction and pro-

ductivity, but negatively related to size and levels.

Tables 3 and 4 present the relevant data. In Table 3 we note that both items are significantly related to both satisfaction and productivity. The freedom item is also negatively related to both size and levels (Table 4). These relations are consistent with Worthy's theory. On the other hand, the theory's prediction that judged chances to do a good job would decrease as size and levels increase is not borne out (Table 4). A possible explanation for this latter finding is that larger or more hierarchically complex organizations offset the loss of freedom by a gain in funds and facilities. Table 4 provides but scant support for such an interpretation; therefore, this possibility was not pursued further.

The fact that the theoretical intervening variable of freedom is related to the independent variables of size and levels (Table 4) as well as to the dependent variables of productivity and satisfaction (Table 3) raises a problem: Why is there a failure to confirm the theory's prediction that size will be negatively related to productivity and satisfaction and that levels will be negatively related to productivity (Tables 1 and 2)? (It will be recalled that the theory's prediction of a negative relationship between levels and satisfaction was confirmed.) A possibility mentioned earlier, which we shall now explore, is that certain additional variables are associated with both the independent and dependent variables in such a way as to mask the predicted relationships. Of course, one can never exhaust the possibilites for such alternatives. We limited our investigation to four variables which preliminary item analyses indicated as significantly re-

TABLE 3. CORRELATES OF ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

		Papers Published in 3 Years					Job Satisfaction				
	N	8 or More	4-7	0-3	Tot.	P *	Very Sat.	Fair Sat.	Less Sat.	Tot.	P *
Freedom [1]						<.001					<.001
Complete	269	45%	33	22	100%		47%	47	6	100%	
Great deal	271	30%	35	35	100%		35%	56	9	100%	
Some—none	162	19%	34	47	100%		19%	59	22	100%	
Chance to do Good Job [1]						<.001					<.001
Very good	220	46%	33	21	100%		60%	39	1	100%	
Good	249	32%	37	31	100%		32%	63	5	100%	
Fair—poor	228	23%	32	45	100%		17%	57	26	100%	
Funds Available [1]						<.05					<.01
$40,000 or more	215	34%	34	32	100%		43%	44	13	100%	
$10,000–$39,999	263	39%	32	29	100%		37%	55	8	100%	
Less than $10,000	170	24%	38	38	100%		28%	59	13	100%	
Facilities Index [1]						>.70					<.001
Highest adequacy	329	35%	31	34	100%		46%	46	8	100%	
Medium adequacy	199	30%	38	32	100%		33%	56	11	100%	
Lowest adequacy	175	32%	34	34	100%		21%	64	15	100%	
Ability Index [1]						<.001					.02
Highest ability	180	44%	31	25	100%		45%	44	11	100%	
Medium ability	263	34%	37	29	100%		34%	54	12	100%	
Least ability	207	22%	32	46	100%		30%	60	10	100%	
Institution [1, 2]						<.001					<.001
Academic	219	42%	32	26	100%		38%	55	7	100%	
Government	259	31%	38	31	100%		24%	61	15	100%	
Industry	132	14%	29	57	100%		45%	42	13	100%	

* By Chi-square test, 4 degrees of freedom.

[1] Persons who did not respond to these questions are not included in this analysis. Hence, Ns total to less than 704.

[2] Excludes persons working in combinations of these settings and also persons working in other types of settings.

TABLE 4. CORRELATES OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

	Size of Organization						Levels in Organization				
	N	Sml.	Med.	Lrg.	Tot.	P*	Few	Med.	Many	Tot.	P*
Freedom [1]						.02					<.05
Complete	269	35%	18	47	100%		42%	32	26	100%	
Great deal	271	29%	21	50	100%		37%	34	29	100%	
Less	162	21%	19	60	100%		30%	31	39	100%	
Chance to Do Good Job [1]						>.30					>.30
Very Good	220	28%	16	56	100%		38%	32	30	100%	
Good	249	32%	21	47	100%		43%	30	27	100%	
Fair—poor	228	28%	20	52	100%		32%	36	32	100%	
Funds Available [1]						<.10					<10
$40,000 or more	215	24%	20	56	100%		33%	31	36	100%	
$10,000–$39,999	263	34%	20	46	100%		41%	34	25	100%	
Less than $10,000	170	32%	17	51	100%		42%	32	26	100%	
Facilities Index [1]						<.05					>.50
High adequacy	329	27%	18	55	100%		38%	31	31	100%	
Medium adequacy	199	25%	22	53	100%		34%	34	32	100%	
Low adequacy	175	40%	18	42	100%		39%	34	27	100%	
Ability Index [1]						>.70					>.30
High ability	180	27%	22	51	100%		37%	33	30	100%	
Medium ability	263	30%	19	51	100%		39%	29	32	100%	
Low ability	207	31%	17	52	100%		33%	37	30	100%	
Institution [1, 2]						<.001					<.001
Academic	219	47%	16	37	100%		49%	37	14	100%	
Government	259	20%	18	62	100%		24%	24	52	100%	
Industry	132	15%	27	58	100%		37%	38	25	100%	

* By Chi-square test, 4 degrees of freedom.

[1] Persons who did not respond to these questions are not included in this analysis. Hence, Ns total to less than 704.

[2] Excludes persons working in combinations of these settings and also persons working in other types of settings.

lated to either the productivity or the satisfaction criteria. These were:

(1) Amount of funds for research. Question: Approximately what was the total amount of research funds available for research in which you were personally engaged during the past year? (8 response categories range from "less than $1,000" to "$50,000 or more")

(2) Adequacy of facilities index. This was a sum of weights (where 1="satisfactory as is now," 2="some improvement needed," and 3="much improvement needed") for eight items: laboratory equipment, living material, supplies other than living material, storage facilities, laboratory space, repair and replacement facilities, technical facilities (histological, photographic, etc.), and research assistants.

(3) Ability index. This was an average of four items: self-rating of ability to keep up with the field, undergraduate grades, number of years between bachelor's and doctoral degrees, and salary relative to age.

(4) Type of institution. Question: Are you employed in an academic institution, an industrial institution, a government institution, or other (specify)?

The relations of these four items to papers and to satisfaction is shown in Table 3. Each relationship is significant at better than the .05 level, with the exception of the adequacy of facilities index, which is unrelated to papers although significantly related to satisfaction.

Table 4 presents the relationships of these four variables to size and levels. One of these variables (type of institution) is related at better than the .05 level to both size and levels. Another variable (adequacy of facilities) is significantly related to size although not to levels.

It therefore appeared necessary to reexamine the relationships presented in

TABLE 5. ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF PAPERS PUBLISHED, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Type of Institution [1]														
	Academic					Government					Industry				
	Papers Published in 3 Years														
	6 or More	5 or Less	Tot.	N	P *	6 or More	5 or Less	Tot.	N	P *	6 or More	5 or Less	Tot.	N	P *
Size of Organization					.20					>.30					>.40
Small (20 or fewer)	53%	47	100%	104		38%	62	100%	52		15%	85	100%	20	
Medium (21–50)	65%	35	100%	34		51%	49	100%	47		17%	83	100%	36	
Large (51 or more)	47%	53	100%	81		49%	51	100%	160		25%	75	100%	76	
Number of Levels					<.10					>.10					<.02
Few (1–3)	51%	49	100%	107		22%	78	100%	49		40%	60	100%	62	
Medium (4–5)	48%	52	100%	82		10%	90	100%	50		41%	59	100%	63	
Many (6 or more)	70%	30	100%	30		36%	64	100%	33		54%	46	100%	134	

* By Chi-square test, 2 degrees of freedom

[1] This analysis excludes those not working in academic, government, or industrial settings; those who work in a combination of these settings; or those who did not answer the question.

Tables 1 and 2, controlling on the variable of type of institution. It also appeared necessary to re-examine the relationship of size and satisfaction, controlling for the adequacy of facilities index.

Table 5 re-examines the relationships of size and levels to number of papers (shown in Table 1) separately for scientists in academic, governmental, and industrial organizations. Similarly, Table 6 re-examines, with type of institution controlled, the relationships of size and levels to satisfaction (Table 2). It is unnecessary to discuss these tables in detail since, on the whole, the institution control does not markedly affect the basic relationships. In almost every case, the directionality and magnitude of the controlled relations are quite similar to the uncontrolled ones. In no instances are the results of the controlled relationships more supportive of the hypotheses than are the uncontrolled relationships.[9]

Turning next to the adequacy of facilities variable, we note that larger organizations are felt by our respondents to have better facilities (Table 4) and also that adequacy of facilities is positively related to job satisfaction (Table 3). Perhaps facilities act as a compensating advantage to the theoretically supposed disadvantages of sheer size. If this is true, then controlling by the facilities variable should enlarge the drop in satisfaction from medium to large sized organizations (Table 2); such control might even be expected to result in a monotonic rather than a curvilinear relationship between size and satisfaction. However, the results in Table 7 show that the direction and magnitude of the controlled relationships are virtually the same as the uncontrolled relationship of Table 2.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The only effect of organizational structure that is clearly consistent with the predictions of Worthy's theory is the negative relation of number of organizational levels to satisfaction. The other findings are: (a) curvilinear relationship of levels and productivity; (b) no relationship of size and productivity; and (c) curvilinear relationship of size and satisfaction. Attempts to provide additional support for the theory through controls on variables associated with both the independent and dependent variables did not prove successful.

A possibility for which there is some support in our data (but which is primarily speculative) is that the intervening variables (such as freedom, lack of close supervision, opportunity to utilize one's abilities, etc.), assumed by Worthy to be consequences of organizational structure, are indeed related to productivity and morale, but bear no simple relationship to organizational structure. Perhaps it is naive to expect that simple organizational variables such as size, levels, or combinations of these, would have uniform consequences.

This paper is unable to settle the issues involved in relating organizational structure to organizational effectiveness. First, all of the empirical variables in this study are based on questionnaire reports, and consequently their reliability and validity are probably limited. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to expect that workers in different settings might react differently to these organizational factors. Finally, we have measured size and number of levels in the professional component of the organization, rather than of the organization as a whole. But whatever the reasons for the discrepancies between the results presented here and those reported previously, the fact of the discrepancies indicates that the earlier report should not continue to seduce writers into assuming that facts are established and the need for research ended.

The most important observation we can make concerning our own data is the trivial magnitude of all the relationships observed, even where statistically significant, and regardless of their directional agreement or disagreement with Worthy's observations. (In this respect our findings are examples of the consistently meager yields of the human relations approach to industry.) We find it hard to believe that a useful, inte-

[9] We do not believe that comparisons of significance levels between controlled and uncontrolled relationships are very edifying. Because of their smaller N's, the former may have lower significance levels than the latter even if the magnitudes of the former are greater than the latter. One should therefore give primary attention to comparing the directionality and magnitude of the controlled relationships with the uncontrolled relationships.

TABLE 6. ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES IN RELATION TO SCIENTISTS' JOB SATISFACTION, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Type of Institution [1]														
	Academic					Government					Industry				
	Job Satisfaction														
	Very Sat.	Less Sat.	Tot.	N	P *	Very Sat.	Less Sat.	Tot.	N	P *	Very Sat.	Less Sat.	Tot.	N	P *
Size of Organization					<.04					<.01					.50
Small (20 or fewer)	36%	64	100%	104		8%	92	100%	52		50%	50	100%	20	
Medium (21–50)	59%	41	100%	34		32%	68	100%	47		53%	47	100%	36	
Large (51 or more)	33%	67	100%	81		27%	73	100%	160		41%	59	100%	76	
Number of Levels					<.10					>.30					>.60
Few (1–3)	40%	60	100%	107		53%	47	100%	49		21%	79	100%	62	
Medium (4–5)	38%	62	100%	82		42%	58	100%	50		22%	78	100%	63	
Many (6 or more)	33%	67	100%	30		39%	61	100%	33		26%	74	100%	134	

* By Chi-square test, 2 degrees of freedom.

[1] This analysis excludes those not working in academic, government, or industrial settings; those who work in a combination of these settings; or those who did not answer the question.

TABLE 7. SIZE OF ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO SCIENTISTS' JOB SATISFACTION, BY ADEQUACY OF FACILITIES

	Adequacy of Facilities Index									
	High					Low				
	Job Satisfaction									
	Very Sat.	Less Sat.	Tot.	N	P*	Very Sat.	Less Sat.	Tot.	N	P*
Size of Organization					<.10					< 05
Small (20 or fewer)	43%	57	100%	88		24%	76	100%	119	
Medium (21 to 50)	54%	46	100%	60		39%	61	100%	75	
Large (51 or more)	43%	57	100%	181		24%	76	100%	180	

* By Chi-square test, 2 degrees of freedom.

grated theory of organizational effectiveness can be built out of variables which never seem to account for more than a very small percentage of the total criterion variance. But even if it does prove possible to justify the theoretical utility of such variables as sheer size, number of levels, or some derivative of their combination, it seems apparent that their effects will not be teased out without a comprehensive cross-organizational study, using the fullest possible range for these variables, more adequate criteria of effectiveness, and direct measures of the presumed intervening variables.

THE REPUTATIONAL TECHNIQUE AS A MEASURE OF COMMUNITY POWER: AN EVALUATION BASED ON COMPARATIVE AND LONGITUDINAL STUDIES *

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Critics of the reputational technique for studying community power have suggested that such phenomena as status, formal leadership, or a narrow scope of influence are measured rather than general influence. The technique has been questioned as to its reliability over time and as to the evidence of a relationship between the reputation for general influence and the actual exercise of power in a broad range of community decisions. These questions are examined in the light of data gathered from six Southwestern and Mexican communities. The data suggest that the reputational technique provides a measure of perceived general influence apart from the alternative phenomena mentioned above, that it is reliable over time, and that at least sociometric leaders among the reputed general influentials are deeply involved in general community decision-making.

INTRODUCTION

DATA gathered from continuing research along the United States-Mexico border provides a basis for evaluation of the several criticisms which have been levelled against the so-called reputational technique for the study of community power. The most persistent criticisms have come

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from Dahl, Polsby, and Wolfinger. They have questioned (a) the existence of such a social phenomenon as a "community power structure" and (b) the utility of the reputational approach even if such a power structure should exist. Furthermore, they argue that the concept of a community power structure as derived by the reputational technique necessarily implies the existence of a monolithic, solidary power elite.

Dahl [1] argues that a rigorous scientist who used the reputational technique should say nothing more than that he had a list of people who had the reputation for influence and power. Wolfinger is more adamant; he states that this currently popular research design "is found to be seriously deficient as a technique for the study of a local political system." [2]

Despite these criticisms, many political sociologists continue to use this technique simply because the criticisms have not demonstrated that the reputational technique is inadequate.[3] These critics have studied community power by using the issues or the positional technique.[4] They examine in detail the way in which issues arise and are resolved and employ extensive lists of formal positions or offices to help define leadership.[5] In fact, these scientists have not tested the reputational technique, but have criticized it on the basis of the use of other techniques.

It is important to note that Dahl does not deny that there are such people as influentials. In discussing his findings from New Haven, he says, "On any single issue, there are only a few influentials; one usually finds that for any particular sector of policy only a small number of persons ever initiate alternatives or veto the proposals of others." [6] Dahl and his co-workers question, rather, the hypothesis that there is a relatively small group of persons who are influential over a *number* of issue areas. And they wonder whether the reputational technique can discover this group if it should exist. Thus, Wolfinger argues that

> The researcher cannot be sure that his respondent [when answering the question on general influence] is not tacitly basing his rankings of community leaders on an implicit scope, with the result that an individual may be given a high general power rating because he is perceived to be very influential on a particular issue which is either currently important to the community or salient to the respondent.[7]

Polsby also argues that the reputational technique may be measuring such variables as a status élite, leaders with respect to some issue which has been of recent interest in the community or an issue which has been particularly salient to the respondent.[8]

These critics offer the alternative hypothesis that American communities are made up of a number of segmented "power structures," that people have limited scopes of influence, and that these scopes are narrowly restricted to the institutional sectors with which they (the influentials) most closely identify.[9] This is their "pluralist" interpretation of American politics.

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[1] Numerous articles and books present ideas relevant to the subject. See Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review,* 25 (October, 1960), pp. 636–644. Also for special significance to this article are Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," *Social Forces,* 37 (March, 1959), pp. 232–236; N. W. Polsby, "Three Problems in the Analysis of Community Power," *American Sociological Review,* 24 (December, 1959), pp. 796–803; and Robert Dahl, "Equality and Power in American Society," in Wm. V. D'Antonio and H. J. Ehrlich, editors, *Power and Democracy in America,* Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961.

[2] Wolfinger, *op. cit.,* p. 636 (abstract).

[3] Foskett and Hohle have also presented a valuable test of this technique assessing its relation to other methods of determining influence. See John M. Foskett and Raymond Hohle, "The Measurement of Influence in Community Affairs," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington,* 25 (June, 1957), pp. 148–154.

[4] See Linton C. Freeman, Warner Bloomberg, Jr., Stephen P. Koff, Morris H. Sunshine, and Thomas J. Fararo, "Local Community Leadership," *No. 15 of the Publications Committee of University College, Syracuse University,* p. 2.

[5] For example, Polsby, "Three Problems . . .," *op. cit.,* p. 798.

[6] Dahl, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[7] Wolfinger, *op. cit.,* p. 638. A brief but trenchant commentary on Wolfinger's criticisms was made by Howard J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review,* 26 (December, 1961), pp. 926–927.

[8] Polsby, "The Sociology . . .," *op. cit.,* p. 232, fn. 5.

[9] The concept, score, is used to imply a limita-

If their contention is correct, then of course *general* community influentials do not exist in today's American community. It is the task of this paper to confront these criticisms and the hypothesis resulting therefrom. We will do so by addressing ourselves to the following questions:

(1) Is the community power structure obtained by the reputational technique an aggregate of limited-scope influentials, of a simple status élite, or of persons who are perceived to be general influentials?
(2) Is there longitudinal reliability to the lists of general influentials obtained by use of the reputational technique?
(3) Is there evidence of a relationship between the reputation for general influence and the actual exercise of power in a broad range of community decisions?

METHODOLOGY

The data presented here were gathered between September, 1954 and September, 1959. In the original research project in 1954–55, the focus of interest was the kinds of self and national images held by people living in border communities. For a number of reasons which have been set forth elsewhere,[10] it was decided to study the images held by the political and business influentials of the border communities of El Paso, Texas, and Cd. Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico. To find out who the influentials were, a modification of the Hunter technique was used. Informal discussions with knowledgeables were held.[11] Among other questions each was asked to nominate twelve persons whom he considered to be "most influential" in his community. These exploratory data revealed that the business and political sectors of the community might be "controlled" by different groups of people. The formal interview schedule included separate sections for questions dealing with business and politics. The following questions were asked at the end of the sections on business and politics respectively:

1. Who are the most influential businessmen in this community, that is, men most influential in the business affairs of the community?
2. Who are the men who have been the most influential in the government and politics of this community in recent years?

In both questions twelve names were requested and the respondents were not given any prearranged lists to choose from.[12] Lists of business and political influentials were built up in both cities and formal interviews were obtained from these influentials.

In the course of the interviewing in 1954–55 it became obvious that the reasons why people were chosen as influentials should be determined. Therefore, data were gathered on issues in which the influentials were supposedly involved, particularly ongoing issues, which seemed to be affecting the way the questions about images were being answered. Crucial items seemed to include the extent to which lists of business and political influentials overlapped, and the extent to which the two groups seemed to work together or at cross-purposes on projects.

With the aid of a grant to study Anglo-Latino relations in community and hospital affairs, another study was designed in 1958. Enlisting the cooperation of social scientists at San Diego State College, University of Arizona, and New Mexico State University, and with a jointly-constructed interview schedule, the relationship between reputation and decision-making was examined in San Diego, Tijuana, Tucson, Las Cruces, El Paso, and Cd. Juarez.[13] This time the usual tech-

tion in the substantive areas in which an ego has influence over an alter. For example, a medical doctor's influence might be limited to the substantive area of health.

[10] See William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage among Community Influentials in Two Border Cities," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 804–814.

[11] Knowledgeables are persons in positions of some importance in community organizations, who may or may not turn out to be influentials, e.g., general manager of the Chamber of Commerce, City Clerk, newspaper reporter, etc.

[12] One major difficulty was that the respondents had to sit and think for quite a while about names. Occasionally a respondent became anxious because he could not think of the name of a person whose business or political connections he knew well. Some respondents found it easy to decline to answer because they felt that it would take too long, or they couldn't remember enough names to be fair to all the potential influentials.

[13] See William V. D'Antonio, William H. Form, Charles P. Loomis, and Eugene C. Erickson, "Institutional and Occupational Representations in Eleven Community Influence Systems," *American*

nique of getting knowledgeables from different institutional sectors was used to provide a list of 50 persons who were the "most influential" in community affairs in general. These were persons who could and did initiate, block, or significantly help resolve issues of broad community interest.

In each community the lists compiled by interviewing knowledgeables were combined into one grand list of top influentials, which shall hereafter be referred to as the general influence index. These indexes varied between 22 and 45 persons in the several communities. In the formal interviewing that followed, each respondent, whether or not he was an influential, was asked to select the ten most influential persons in the community. The respondents were free to add names to the list presented to them.

Since El Paso and Cd. Juarez had been intensively studied three years previously, the technique was modified in these two communities. The lists of business and political influentials obtained in 1955 were combined into one general influence index. This procedure yielded lists of some eighty names for each community. These lists were then presented to a small group of knowledgeables who were asked to evaluate the lists, to eliminate, add to, or in any other relevant manner make the lists conform to their perception of the community's top influentials. The knowledgeables provided information which was used to reduce the lists to about forty-five persons in each community.[14] From that point on, the same techniques were used in all six communities.

At the same time the way in which issues were resolved in the six communities were compared. One issue (concerning health) was common to all communities. At least one other issue was also examined in each community. An attempt was made to interview all the so-called Key and Top Influentials and to ascertain what role, if any, they had played in these issues. Other persons significantly involved in the issues were interviewed and data were gathered through written records, newspapers, and other published reports.

To probe further this problem of scope of influence and reputation *vs.* reality, an additional question was asked prior to the questions dealing with specific issues, and before the respondent had seen the general influence index from which he would choose the ten most influential persons:

> Suppose that a major hospital project were before the community, one that required decision by a group of leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. If you were completely free to choose, which people would you choose to make up this group—regardless of whether or not you know them personally? (Seek eight names)

In answer to this question, the respondent could name anyone without benefit of list or suggestion.

To summarize briefly: in 1954–55 the names of the top business and political influentials in El Paso and Cd. Juarez were gathered. Separate lists were obtained for the most influential people in business and the most influential in government and politics. In 1958, names of those persons in six southwestern and Mexican communities who would be the best leaders to gain support for a hospital project in a community were gathered. The actual decision-making process with respect to health projects and at least one other project in each of these six communities were analyzed and the names of the reputed most influential persons in community decision-making were gathered.

The findings to be described and analyzed involve:

(1) comparison of the business and political influential lists of 1955 from El Paso and Cd. Juarez and addressed to the question of limited scope of influence. Brief comment on the extent of overlap in the lists will be made. According to the criticisms cited above, business and politics are two different scopes of influence. There should

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Sociological Review, 26 (June, 1961), pp. 440–446, for further descriptions of the communities studied.

[14] We are aware of the possibility that we might be leading the knowledgeables by presenting them with lists selected in 1955. However, the nature of their response, and of our research activity lead us to believe that a bias did not occur. As will be brought out later, we found that when we brought together the two separate scopes, business and politics, into one general influence index, the knowledgeables and other respondents tended to eliminate those whose influence was limited to a single scope.

be little or no overlap of persons assigned influence in each.[15]

(2) comparison of the 1955 business-political influential lists with the 1958 list of persons who were selected for the ideal hospital project committee for El Paso. Again, if this ideal hospital project is perceived as a different scope there should be no overlap between the "scope" lists if the criticisms are correct. Expectation of overlap should also be minimized by the fact that three and a half years elapsed between interviews.

(3) comparison of the 1958 general influence indexes in the six communities with the nominations for the ideal hospital committee and addressed to both the questions of scope and "status." Since the hospital list was determined first in the interview, and the respondents were not presented with a prearranged list of names, only slight correlation between the specific area of a hospital project and general community influence is expected if influence is limited to a particular scope.[16] In addition, if "status" is the criterion of the inclusion of a name on a general influence index but is not a criterion on a limited influence index, but slight correlation between the lists would be expected.

(4) comparison of the 1955 business-political influential lists with the 1958 general influence index in El Paso. If there is no reliability to the reputational technique, no overlap between this 1958 index and the 1955 lists would be expected, because the time difference is almost four years.[17]

(5) analysis of the relationship between reputation for influence and actual decisions made in El Paso during the 1950's.

FINDINGS

1. El Paso and Cd. Juarez business and political influentials, 1955. Eighty-nine persons were interviewed in El Paso; sixty-eight agreed to name the most influential businessmen, and their choices yielded 131 names. Of these, fifty-one persons received three or more votes as business influentials.[18]

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[15] Polsby did in fact report finding some overlap in the lists of issue-area influentials in New Haven. He reported that 15 out of 435 persons were involved in urban redevelopment and political issues. But Polsby calls this an insignificant overlap. If all 435 were influentials of the same or near equal magnitude, this would probably be valid. Polsby further observes that even those who were active in more than one issue-area were limited by the energy and time which they could devote to more than one issue in the same period.

A number of questions are raised by these findings and the way in which they are interpreted. How is the significance of overlap to be measured? Is it relevant to combine as part of a leadership pool (as Polsby has done) all persons who hold political office, in government as well as in political parties, regardless of the importance of the office, and the attitude of the incumbent? How is it possible to reconcile the large leadership pools which Polsby *et al.* used to examine decision-making with Dahl's admission that on any single issue only a small number of persons are active and influential? Doesn't the use of such large pools merely distort the reality of the decision-making process? Is it valid to say that a community power structure does not exist unless the same group of persons are equally influential on all matters? For Polsby's position on some of these questions, see "Three Problems . . .," *op. cit.*

[16] It is true that the single scope *which determines* general influence could be the one that has been chosen by chance. To have this occur in six communities, however, is indeed unlikely. It is even more important to consider that the respondent did not simply select an ideal hospital committee and then go on to look at a list of some fifty names from which he had to choose the ten most influential. Sandwiched between these responses were the two questions on key issues, and on these questions the respondents were asked to discuss their participation in these issues, and the roles of other individuals and groups. Thus, it would be difficult to argue that any single "mental set" or scope was in their minds as they examined the general influence index.

[17] Data for sections three and four are taken from Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique in a Cross-Community Perspective: Selected Problems of Theory and Measurement," unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, 1961, Michigan State University.

[18] The problem of deciding what degree of consensus is necessary for inclusion on the general influence index is still unresolved. Empirically, a small group of some 12–15 persons received a high number of votes Between 20 and 30 received three or more votes. Beyond that, a long list of persons were nominated only once or twice. This extended list approaches the leadership pools used by Polsby in his research report. Our findings indicate that those who receive the most votes are the actual decision-makers in the community. It is open to question whether our findings are really at variance with those of Dahl, Polsby, and Wolfinger. It appears that Schulze found a pattern similar to ours in Cibola as did Belknap and Smuckler in a Michigan community. See Robert O. Schulze, "The Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City," in Morris

Seventy-three of the respondents selected political influentials, nominating 101 persons. Of these, thirty persons received three or more votes as political influentials.[19] On this basis, seventy persons were selected as business or political influentials in 1955.

Among the top twenty-five business influentials in El Paso, nine received three or more votes as political influentials also. Among the lower twenty-six businessmen, only two received votes as political influentials also. The same pattern emerged among the political influentials; nine of the top fourteen received strong support as business influentials. In fact, only two of them, both businessmen primarily, were holding public office at the time. The others were either lawyers or businessmen who gave a great deal of time to local politics. Of the lower sixteen of the political group, only two received support as business influentials. Thus, there was a tendency for the sociometric leaders of one group to be chosen as influentials in the other group also. In fact, nine persons were sociometric leaders in both groups.

In Cd. Juarez there was much less overlap than occurred in El Paso. Eighty-two persons were interviewed; sixty-seven voted for business influentials and suggested 115 names. Of these, forty-seven received three or more votes. Sixty-nine respondents selected potitical influentials, a total of 78 names being suggested. Thirty-six received three or more votes.

Eight Mexican businessmen received three or more votes as both business and political influentials in Cd. Juarez. Five others received less than three votes on one of the lists. None of the top businessmen ranked in the top half among the political influentials. This lack of overlap in Cd. Juarez cannot be taken to mean that the businessmen in the Mexican community were not interested in political affairs, and restricted themselves to business activities. It reflects, rather, the fact that Mexico's revolutionary party (PRI) has maintained tight control over community affairs. The respondents apparently recognized this fact. But, in spite of this, some businessmen were trying to wrest power from the local government during 1955. A group of them did succeed in gaining control of the city from 1956 to 1959. The leaders of this group were the men receiving votes as political influentials. It should be added that the Mexican respondents tended to concentrate their voting more than the Americans. Leadership appeared to be more crystallized. It is our conclusion that the business-political lists from Cd. Juarez in 1955 reflect the bitter cleavage that existed between these two groups at this time.[20]

In summary, in El Paso, eleven of the seventy persons (16 per cent) named as influentials were on both the lists while in Cd. Juarez, eight of the seventy-five persons (11 per cent) were on both lists. However, among either business or political influentials the majority were "limited" in influence in both cities. But this generalization would not hold for a certain number who were perceived to have influence beyond the limits of a single sector. In El Paso, as contrasted with Cd. Juarez, the overlap tended to be among the "most influential" in a given sector. Thus, 9 out of 25 top business influentials were political influentials and, conversely, nine out of the fourteen top political influentials were business influentials.

2. 1958 El Paso hospital project committee compared with 1955 political and business influence lists. Table 1 reveals that among the persons named to the ideal hospital committee in El Paso in 1958, sixteen out of the top twenty mentions had been called influentials in either business or politics in 1955.[21] Ten persons were named on

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Janowitz, editor, *Community Political Systems,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961, esp. pp. 39–40 and George Belknap and Ralph Smuckler, "Political Power Relations in a Mid-West City," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 20 (Spring, 1956), pp. 73–81.

[19] Since these lists were obtained by completely open-ended questions, the minimum consensus level set was three votes on either list.

[20] A full account of the cleavage and the struggle between business and government in Cd. Juarez will be found in William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, *Business and Politics in Two Border Cities,* monograph, forthcoming.

[21] It has been common for researchers to separate the very top vote-getters from the larger body of influentials for certain analyses. See e.g., William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, *Industry, Labor, and Community,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960, pp. 444 ff. and Floyd Hunter, *Community*

TABLE 1. POSITION ON 1955 BUSINESS AND POLITICAL INDEX OF TOP 20 IDEAL HOSPITAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS AS SELECTED BY GENERAL COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS IN 1958, FOR EL PASO

	1955 Business Influentials Selected for Hospital Committee		
1955 Political Influentials Selected for Hospital Committee	Not Mentioned on Business Index (n)	Top Influential (n)	Key Influential (n)
Key Influential	1	1	3
Top Influential	0	2	4
Not mentioned on political index	4	5	0

all three lists. Again, the businessmen who were perceived as Key Influentials in both business and politics in 1955 received a majority of selections for the ideal hospital committee in 1958.

3. The 1958 hospital project committees and the 1958 general influence indexes in six communities. For San Diego, we correlated the number of votes given all persons listed as general influentials and the number of mentions these individuals or other persons received as a proposed member of the hospital committee. The number of votes one person received as a Key Influential varied from zero to twenty-three. Thus, one person received twenty-three votes as "most influential." On the other extreme, seven persons, though they were among the influentials, received no votes as most influential while they received zero to four nominations for the hospital committee. The index of the number of mentions a given individual received nominating him to the hospital committee varied from zero to eighteen. Five persons received no mentions on the hospital committee though they remained on the influential index. A product moment correlation on these scores yielded an r=.92, an extremely high correlation.[22]

Let us now take a closer look at the interrelations between cases which fall on the extreme axes of the two coordinates for all communities.

In pursuit of the Key Influentials, we divided the list of those mentioned for the hospital committee on the basis of the ten receiving the most mentions *vs.* the remainder. Table 2 presents the data for each community in this manner.

There are two reasons why an individual may have received the extreme low score (viz., "O" votes) on the general influence axis: (1) that he was named as top influential but received no votes naming him as a Key Influential, or (2) that he was not named as an influential at all but was mentioned as a possible member of the hospital committee. Though there are from one to six cases in each of the six cells corresponding to the Low-High quadrant, in only two communities were *any* of these persons among those who received no votes as Key Influential. The two exceptions are El Paso in which three of the five persons in the Low-High quadrant received no votes on general influence and Las Cruces in which one of the four persons in this quadrant was not mentioned as most influential. Thus, the more votes a given individual received as a general influential, the more mentions he is likely to have received as a member of a specialized hospital committee.

The converse situation in which High general influentials received no mentions for the hospital committee is also revealing. In El Paso, two of the five persons in the High-Low quadrant received no mentions on the hospital committee while they received a large number of mentions on the general influence index, and in Cd. Juarez, one of the five High influentials received no mentions for the hospital committee. Again, the predominant tendency is for the Key Influen-

Power Structure, Durham: North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 70. The terms used to distinguish these groups are "Key Influentials" and "Top Influential." (Hunter used the phrase "Upper-Limits Group," *ibid.*) Generally, the Key Influentials are the ten top ranks as selected by the influentials themselves. They are, in effect, sociometric leaders.

[22] The correlations for the remaining communities were also high. These correlations were El Paso, r=.65, N=95; Cd. Juarez, r=.55, N=90; Las Cruces, r=.76, N=86; Tuscon, r=.71, N=106, and Tijuana, r=.71, N=78. These correlations are substantially beyond a point which might have been anticipated by chance. In each of these cases, many more persons have been named as general influentials without having been mentioned on the hospital committee and vice versa, than was true for San Diego. Nevertheless, the trend in all of these correlations is very similar.

TABLE 2. THE NUMBER OF PERSONS WITH HIGH AND LOW GENERAL OR LIMITED INFLUENCE FOR EACH OF SIX COMMUNITIES, 1958

	General Influence [a]				
Community and Limited Influence [a]	Low (n)	High (n)	Totals	Chi-Square χ^2	P [b]
San Diego	(11 or less—12 or more votes)				
High (8 or more mentions)	1	9	10		
Low (7 or less mentions)	26	2	28		
Totals	27	11	38	20.73	<.0005
El Paso	(10 or less—11 or more votes)				
High (4 or more mentions)	5	6	11		
Low (3 or less mentions)	79	5	84		
Totals	84	11	95	17.94	<.0005
Tucson	(13 or less—14 or more votes)				
High (8 or more mentions)	6	4	10		
Low (7 or less mentions)	90	6	96		
Totals	96	10	106	8.45	<.005
Las Cruces	(12 or less—13 or more votes)				
High (6 or more mentions)	4	6	10		
Low (5 or less mentions)	72	4	76		
Totals	76	10	86	20.76	<.0005
Ciudad Jaurez	(8 or less— 9 or more votes)				
High (5 or more mentions)	6	7	13		
Low (4 or less mentions)	72	5	77		
Totals	78	12	90	17.68	<.0005
Tijuana	(3 or less— 4 or more votes)				
High (3 or more mentions)	5	8	13		
Low (2 or less mentions)	62	3	65		
Totals	67	11	78	24.47	<.0005

Note: The four quadrants giving the results for each community will be symbolized Hi-Hi—Hi General Influence, High Limited Influence; Hi-Low—High General Influence, Low Limited Influence; Lo-Hi—Low General Influence, High Limited Influence; and Lo-Lo—Low General Influence and Low Limited Influence. In the case of each community the Hi-Hi and Lo-Lo combinations are substantially greater in frequency than would have been expected by chance.

[a] Marginals for High are Fixed at Ten for Each of Six Communities.

[b] P is one-tailed.

tials to be among the persons mentioned for directive positions on specialized committees.

If influence is "parcelled out" to various substantive issue areas as Polsby *et al.* suggest, a question calling for nominations to a hospital committee would have yielded only those persons within this limited sphere of influence. The general influence index would, on the other hand, yield individuals from many limited scope areas or, as has been contended, persons with genuine "multiple" scope—what Merton calls "polymorphic" [23]—influence.

If limited influence were unrelated to general community influence, a person who received a high number of mentions on the nomination as a hospital committee member could have received either a high or a low number of votes as a general community influential. Or conversely, if an individual had received a low number of mentions on the hospital committee, he likewise might receive many or few votes on the general influence dimension. Our findings, in all cases, indicate that if an individual receives few mentions on the specialized hospital committee, he will receive few votes for general community influence. Conversely, if he receives a high number of mentions on a hospital committee, he will receive a relatively higher number of votes as a general community influential.[24] The circumstances

[23] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 413–415.

[24] As column four in Table 2 shows, the Chi-square for each community is significant beyond the .01 probability level, since any $\chi^2 > 6.64$ is significant at this level. If those persons who

of the interview make it unlikely that any mental set developed whereby the answers to one question determined the answers to the other. For example, almost everyone chose one medical doctor for the hospital project, but only one suggested that he was a general community influential.

A related point should be mentioned here. No respondent challenged the idea of being asked to select general influentials. It seems fair to assume that they believe that such persons exist. In fact, the word influential seemed to be well understood by them. W. I. Thomas long ago reminded us that if something is perceived to be real, it can have very real consequences. More recently, Seligman has reminded us that leaders are leaders because there are followers who consider them leaders.[25]

These data also permit certain observations on the argument that the general influence index determined by the reputational technique measures "status" and not "influence." Let us state the argument. Polsby and Wolfinger argue that the following statements may be true:

(a) A general influence index will be a measurement of "status."
(b) A limited scope index of influence will not be a measure of "status."

Therefore, from (b) it follows

(c) That a measurement of "status" will not be a measurement of limited scope influence.

By a simple syllogism from (a) and (c) the conclusion follows

(d) That a general influence index will not be a measure of limited influence.

As has been reported, our findings indicate that the contrary is true. Thus,

(e) A general influence index does imply a measure of limited influence (or possibly that the two are measurements of the same phenomena).

Again, however, by syllogism from (e) and (b) it follows

(f) That a general influence index is not a measure of "status."

This statement, of course, contradicts (a).

In other analyses of these data this argument has been explored in much more detail In brief it can be shown that it is not surprising that a high evaluation of "status" will coincide with a high evaluation of influence, be it general or limited. Thus, the argument presented alone is misleading.[26]

4. Findings on the longevity of influence. The question of longevity of influence is directly relevant to the criticism that salience or high prominence or conspicuousness of issues owing to recency in time directs the responses of persons to questions in which reputed general influence is being assessed Thus, given the reputational technique used at two different time periods, variations among those named as influentials would occur (if the salience hypothesis were true) on the basis of the issues with which each is associated and which are dominant at the time of the interviews. If, however, there is a similarity in the lists of names obtained over an extended time period, and if the notion is rejected that this occurs only because the same complex of issues has been pending for a long period, then the salience hypothesis may be rejected.

As described above, the lists of business and political influentials from 1955 were combined in El Paso in 1958. Data on changes appear in Table 3.[27] The names of potential influentials from other community sectors were added and presented to the knowledgeables. They culled the list of forty-

received no mentions on the hospital committee or no mention on the general influence index are eliminated from the table, a new set of Chi-squares can be computed. This was done and the results were for San Diego, $\chi^2=18.37$; for El Paso, 9.98; Tucson, 1.45; Las Cruces, 6.43; Cd. Juarez, 6.71; and Tijuana, 5.58. A Chi-square equal to 5 41 has a probability of .02. Therefore, all except Tucson are significant at that level.

[25] Lester Seligman, "The Study of Political Leadership," *American Political Science Review*, 44 (December, 1950), pp. 904–915; see also Ehrlich, "The Reputational Technique . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 926.

[26] See Erickson, *op. cit.*, for a detailed treatment of this issue.

[27] The reader should be cautioned that these conclusions are subject to accepting the assumption that four years is a significantly long period of time to permit generalizations on longevity. Olmsted found substantial differences in evaluation of influence over a six year time period. See Donald Olmsted, "Organizational Leadership and Social Structure in a Small City," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (May, 1954), pp. 273–281. From our continued contact with these communities, however, we are fairly sure that these assertions are valid.

TABLE 3. WITHDRAWALS FROM PUBLIC LIFE OF PERSONS NAMED AS GENERAL INFLUENTIALS IN 1958 AND AS BUSINESS OR POLITICAL INFLUENTIALS IN 1955, FOR EL PASO

Activity in Public Life	Persons Not Named in 1958 but Named in 1955 as Influential in: Business and Politics	Business Only	Politics Only		Totals
Withdrew between '55 and '58*	1	5	4		10
Still active	0	6	16		22
Totals	1	11	20		32
Activity in Public Life	**Persons Named in 1958 and Named in 1955 as Influential in: Business and Politics**	**Business Only**	**Politics Only**	**Not named in 1955**	**Totals**
Virtually withdrew between '55 and '58**	1	0	5	N/A	6
Active	9	10	15	9	43
Totals	10	10	20	9	49
Holdovers from 1955		40			

* Withdrawal from public life can be retirement, death, or loss of political office.

** These six persons had all virtually retired. None received more than one vote as a Key Influential in 1958.

nine persons, by indicating retirements, deaths, and power demise. When all the votes for Key Influential had been tabulated, nine new names that had not appeared on either list in 1955 had been added. None of these nine were sociometric leaders in 1958. There were forty holdovers from 1955 business and political influentials. Conversely, this means that thirty-two persons were dropped from the lists.

Actually, sixteen persons had withdrawn in one way or another from public life between 1955 and 1958. Withdrawal can mean death, retirement or near retirement, or loss of power for some other reason. Of the sixteen who had thus "retired" only one was a Key Influential on either list in 1955. Of the twenty-two still active, none was a general community influential. The respondents, both influentials and others, strongly supported the index prepared by the knowledgeables.

These data reveal that both the knowledgeables and the respondents know the difference between limited scope influence and general influence. Furthermore, they are keenly aware of the dynamics of power and power change as measured in a three to four year period.

A multiple correlation of the general influence index of 1958 on the political and business indexes (n=thirty-four since withdrawals are eliminated) yields an $R_{x\ yz}=.683$. This informs us that 47 per cent of the variation in the general influence index can be ascribed to the variation in the political and business indexes. This would seem to be a substantial correlation considering the present state of knowledge concerning the components of influence. (A possible further inference is that if this general index of influence does tap multiple areas of specialized influence it is a parsimonious measure whose usefulness is great.)

These data indicate also that persons named as Key Influentials at one time tend to be named at a later time, regardless of the issues intervening. Therefore, it is concluded that influentials are influential for a reason (or in addition to a reason) other than mere salience of a problem facing a community at a given time. Aside from the perennial problems which confront community leaders, such as traffic control, freeways, etc., the specific issues which were stated as dominant in this community had changed substantially over these four years.

An analysis of these data on the longevity of influentials bears out the above conclusion To assert the existence of general community

influentials is not to assert that all decisions are made by the same man, or that these influentials never change. It is merely to assert that change may be slow, and that a certain degree of continuity does exist. Human beings die, retire from public life, get elected to high public office, lose office, from political life. Two of them were not even selected as general influentials in 1958. Two other influentials were reputed to be completely retired (V and W), while another four were said to be almost ready for retirement and were characterized as not very active anymore (M, R, P, and U). It was

TABLE 4. THE KEY INFLUENTIALS ON THE THREE INFLUENCE INDEXES, 1955–1958

	1958 General Influentials								
	Not Mentioned			Low			High		
1955 Business	NM[a]	Low	High	NM	Low	High	NM	Low	High
1955 political									
High	Y, X	W	—	—	S, T, U	L	J, K	F	A, B
Low	—	—	—	—	N	M, O	—	G, H, I	C, D, E
NM	—	—	V	—	—	P, Q, R	—	—	—

[a] Not Mentioned.

Key to occupations of individuals
A—Banker
B—Contractor
C—Newspaper Publisher
D—Contractor
E—Banker
F—Banker
G—Corporation Lawyer
H—Newspaper Editor
I—Newspaper Editor
J—Mayor in 1958, County Political Office in 1955
K—Federal District Judge
L—Construction, Former Mayor
M—Industry (near retirement in 1958)
N—Retail Merchant (Department Store)
O—Wholesale Business
P—Broker (near retirement in 1958)
Q—Industry
R—Retail Merchant (near retirement in 1958)
S—Miscellaneous Enterprises (Mayor 1955)
T—Insurance
U—Wholesale Business (near retirement in 1958)
V—Retired in 1958 (Business)
W—Retired in 1958 (Business)
X—Retired Politician
Y—Retired Politician

or become active for personal motives. All of these factors may affect the structure of influence in a community. A rough picture of continuity and change is presented in Table 4. The twenty-five individuals who were Key Influentials on at least one of the three influential lists are shown; all of them were present in 1958. Let us consider briefly the degree of mobility, change, stability, and independence of this "group" of leaders.

Three persons (S, X, and Y) who had held public office at the time of or just prior to the 1955 study, have since largely retired said that P was not participating very much, but that he still could if he wanted to. Q and N were said to be businessmen who did not care to get involved in general community affairs.

The remaining fourteen of the twenty-five persons listed in Table 4 were chosen as Key Influentials on at least one of the three influence indexes, and twelve had been chosen on all three lists. Two others (J and K), both career politicians, were Key Influentials on the 1955 political index and the 1958 general index. J had moved up from

county clerk to become mayor in this interim. K was the city's elder statesman who had held every important local office and during this whole period was one of the highest ranking federal officials in the community. Almost every respondent admitted that K was not "actively" engaged in decision-making. Presumably he was named as influential because of all he had done and potentially *could* do for the city. One respondent put it well when he said: "If he should speak up on any issue, the whole city would sit up and listen." Another Key Influential, G, indicated that he consulted informally with K almost weekly to get his opinion on civic matters.[28]

There is no doubt that certain political positions are seats of potential power no matter which individual occupies them. For most of the individuals encompassed in this study, the loss of the political position has ment the loss of most of that power. While Stewart may be right in saying that "influentiality is nothing if not a highly individualized characteristic,"[29] the data suggest that holding public office may be important for some people, or may be one means by which the potential for influence can be brought to fruition. Whatever else this characteristic may be, it is clear from our knowledge of individuals A-K that a desire to be a community decision-maker is part of the picture. So also is the holding of some top executive post in either business or politics.

5. Reputation and reality: decision-making in El Paso. Four types of decisions in El Paso were analyzed.[30] (1) municipal elections; (2) the establishment of United Fund; (3) establishment of a new community hospital; and (4) establishment of new bridge facilities between El Paso and Cd. Juarez.

Data on the 1955, 1957, and 1959 elections have been analyzed. The process by which the United Fund came to El Paso was carefully reviewed. The establishment of a new community hospital in El Paso in 1958–1959, which was at least in part a political event, was studied in detail. The taxpaying citizens had to approve the establishment of a separate hospital district and a bond to help pay for the new hospital. Our study was begun before the issue was resolved and the outcome was correctly predicted on the basis of the data available. The roles played by various individuals and groups were also assessed. (Data were gathered indicating the most influential persons in setting up a private hospital in El Paso in 1952. Since this action involved many of the same people who were involved in the other issues discussed above, it will be mentioned below.)

The first analysis concerns the establishment of new bridge facilities between El Paso and Cd. Juarez. This was a problem of long-standing duration. It came out into the open in 1955 and was not finally resolved until 1959.

Table 5 summarizes the issues that were resolved in El Paso in the 1950's and the roles played by the influentials in these issues.

The results of our analysis support Dahl's statement that in any single issue only a few influentials are directly or importantly involved in the decision. But, the thesis that leaders are limited to single scopes of influence is not supported. The newspaper editors, who often bitterly opposed each other (H, I) were involved in most of the issues. So also were the business group B through G, with whom individual I was allied. B through G did identify themselves as a group and they did engage in a variety of activities, from United Fund to local elections. They established the United Fund in El Paso in

[28] As recently as June, 1961, however, K was called on by certain persons in the community to use his influence on an important community issue. The meeting was publicized and K's picture appeared in the newspapers. He was billed as an elder statesman on this occasion but he *was* active.

[29] Frank A. Stewart, "A Study of Influence in Southtown," II, *Sociometry: A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations,* 10 (August, 1947), p. 273.

[30] There is a general acceptance by all scientists studying community decision-making that a fundamental step is to study a broad variety of issues of community significance. An attempt has been made to do this in our research in these Southwestern communities. For a commentary on the importance of this point, see Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," in Roland Young, editor, *Approaches to the Study of Politics,* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1958, pp. 381–382. Also, see discussion between D. C. Miller and Robert A. Dahl, in D'Antonio and Ehrlich, *op. cit.,* Chapter 4.

TABLE 5. ROLES PLAYED BY KEY INFLUENTIALS IN SIX KEY ISSUES IN EL PASO DURING 1950's

	United Fund	Private Hospital	General Hospital	Elections 1955	Elections 1957	Bridge
Issue resolved by	B, C, D, E, G, I	B, C, D, E, G, I	Voters, Med. Ass'n, County Judge, H, I	B, G, I, M, P, S, T, U, Voters	H, J, Voters	H, I, S, County Judge, Others
Involved but on losing side	N		X	H, J, Y	B, G, I, S, T	J, N, Others
Minor involvement	F, M, O, P, Q, S, T, U, Others	L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, F	J, K	A, F, N, X	A, K	F

the early 1950's, and soon thereafter planned, built and, during the entire period of its history, have controlled the direction of a new private 240 bed hospital. They were decisively influential in the elections of 1955, but lost badly in 1957, when they opposed the election of J, the first Spanish-name person to be elected mayor of El Paso.

It is worth adding here that in 1959, this same group, B-G strongly supported J for re-election. In fact, J was re-elected without opposition.[31] These data support Rossi's contention that businessmen are not averse to politics, but only to losing.[32]

The bridge issue deserves brief comment. Since two countries were involved, and state and federal government agencies had to give their approval to any new facilities, the issue became very complex. It was further complicated by the fact that one group of businessmen wanted no major changes, while another group wanted to see new bridges to the east of the two already existing. There appeared to be a stalemate in 1958, but the influential who had just been elected county judge had said that he thought he could resolve the issue as soon as he got settled in office, and he did. He also played a major role in the successful resolution of the community hospital issue.

It can be tentatively concluded from our analysis of the data on issue resolution that most businessmen tend to restrict their community activities to such programs as United Fund and building private hospitals and career politicians restrict themselves to governmental projects. Newspaper editors, especially where there are two with opposing interests, as in El Paso, seem to get involved in all issues, and take stands because they are in opposition. But it must also be asserted that some businessmen were Key Influentials on the general influence index, were Key Influentials on both lists in 1955, and were active in political elections in El Paso. These men were also the ones who had resolved the United Fund and private hospital issues.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As we noted at the outset, this paper has been limited to the presentation of data (and arguments) directed at certain criticisms of the reputational technique. However, the implications of the findings are broader than the limitations. Thus, we can conclude as follows:

(1) The reputational technique does seem to measure general community influence when the question is stated to get at this factor in decision-making. Respondents did not merely repeat the same names in re-

[31] In 1955, most of the business and political influentials expressed themselves as opposed to the idea of having a Spanish-name person as mayor. By 1958, however, these same leaders had reconciled themselves to the fact. They had decided that J could indeed "do the job." In April, 1961, J was appointed ambassador to Costa Rica, an event which left the political picture in considerable confusion.

[32] Peter H. Rossi, "Theory, Research and Practice in Community Organization," in Charles Adrian, editor, *Social Sciences and Community Action*, East Lansing, Mich.: Institute of Community Development and Services, 1960.

sponse to questions about the most influential in business, or in government or politics, or for a hospital project, or for general community decision-making. But there was a significant overlap; a group of about one dozen persons consistently reappeared on all lists. This group did not constitute one single solidary clique by any means.[38] No one ever suggested that they all acted in concert, but they were perceived to be persons who had more than a single scope of influence.

(2) The technique seems to be highly reliable. In six communities studied simultaneously, high correlations were found between those chosen as influentials in a specific area (ideal hospital project) and those chosen as general community influentials. Furthermore, in two of these communities, there was the opportunity to make a longitudinal comparison, over a four-year time span. There is considerable evidence for the existence of a percieved community power structure.

(3) The attribution of influence may be viewed as one by-product of the process of differential evaluation in a social relationship. It must be expected that this evaluation will be "related" to other elements of evaluation such as the attribution of status, of a specified value-orientation, etc. In addition, the linkage or carryover of evaluations from one social relationship to another would surely be an expectation. In short, it is not surprising that consistencies occur between evaluations of status and influence. A large number of other elements are probably involved in this evaluational system. The data presented in this paper have been addressed as arguments. (Other research has carried the analysis to greater detail.) It has been concluded that the *substitution* of the status concept for that of general influence would seem to be invalid.

(4) In actual decision-making, only a small group from the total number of influentials ever was actively involved in any particular issue. This small group was in fact made up largely of the Key Influentials discussed above. A variety of issues were selected, requiring legitimation and resolution by various means. It was concluded that businessmen do get involved in politics and other issues.

Our findings suggest that a group of general community influentials did in fact exist in El Paso and that its existence has had important consequences for the community during the 1950's.

Probably El Paso is no more typical of American communities than is New Haven, Connecticut, Schulze's Cibola or Miller's Pacific City. Nevertheless, at this time there appears to be a broad continuum of power alignments in American communities even without taking into account such variables as size, industrial complexity, political party strength, ethnic and labor union groups, existence of opposing newspapers, or broad cultural differences.[34] While in our judgment, based upon our data, it appears that business values still strongly influence community life, this influence does not mean complete control over all community issues. Political action counter to the dominant business interests is possible and did in fact occur in El Paso during the 1950's. It is also possible that a certain selectivity among the forms of influence relationships perceived is taking place in both the research techniques used in this study and those used by Dahl, Polsby, and Wolfinger.

Finally, the reputational technique, imperfect at best in its present form, did provide us with a picture of the dynamics of power during the 1950's. Whether in fact it reveals a community power structure or is merely a parsimonious way of getting the key "limited scope" influentials all together on one list which can be handled with relative ease cannot be conclusively stated, and may in fact be a problem involving the development of better operational definitions. Our evi-

[38] In this sense a solidary "power elite" was not found, though there seems to be the phenomenon described by Hunter (*op. cit.*) and suggested by C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Thus, if Dahl, Wolfinger, and Polsby were arguing that there is no power elite there would be little to dispute. To suggest, however, that there is no small group of persons whose influence is "general" (or polymorphic) is not consistent with our findings.

[34] For an analysis of the broad overlaping similarities of the personal characteristics of influentials regardless of the community in which they appear, see Erickson, *op. cit.* Also, see Delbert C. Miller, "Democracy and Decision-Making in the Community Power Structure," in D'Antonio and Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, esp. pp. 58 ff.

dence supports the generalization that at least in some American communities, some individuals have more than a limited scope of influence. The differences between the findings of Wolfinger, Polsby, Dahl, and those reported here and elsewhere by Miller and others, may be a matter of methodology, or of the structural variables mentioned above or of the differences in the theoretical assumptions concerning the phenomenon of influence itself. The question seems to us to be not whether to abandon this technique in favor of some alternative (or to abandon the alternatives), but rather as Rossi suggests, to find out under what conditions each technique provides the most fruitful approach to the study of community decision-making, and eventually how to assimilate these techniques into a broader methodological scheme.[35]

[35] Peter H. Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," in Roland Young, editor, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

THE SOCIAL AREAS OF ROME: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS *

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Theoretical and substantive issues concerning the use of social area analysis are addressed by means of comparisons of U. S. and Roman findings. Analysis reveals: (1) the social area approach may be applied to non-U. S. census data; (2) all dimensions of the typology are necessary in Rome as in the U. S.; (3) the test variables describing life styles, living conditions, and work patterns are meaningfully related to the dimensions of the typology; (4) changes in the forms of social differentiation may be related to the relative scale of social organization of a society; (5) social rank and urbanization are more highly related in Rome than in U. S.; (6) distribution of areas in terms of social rank and urbanization is both zonal and sectoral with low social rank areas in the periphery of Rome. Findings present strong evidence for the broad theoretical and analytic utility of this approach.

AMONG the most promising aspects of social area analysis is its use as a framework for the comparative study of social differentiation.[1] Indeed, several inter-and intra-city analyses based upon this approach and relying upon census tract measures wholly or in part have appeared since its original formulation by Shevky.[2] However, the typology never has been applied for comparative purposes to materials

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[1] This approach was introduced in Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949, and elaborated in Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application and Computational Procedures,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

[2] Wendell Bell, "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," *American Sociological Review,* 18 (February, 1953), pp. 39–47; Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.;* Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," *American Sociological Review,* 21 (February 1956), pp. 19–25; Scott Greer and Ella Kube, *Urban Worlds,* Laboratory in Urban Culture, Occidental College: mimeographed report, 1955; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *American Sociological Review,* 21 (February, 1956), pp. 25–34; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," *Social Forces,* 34 (May, 1956), pp. 345–350; Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," *American Journal of Sociology,* 62 (January, 1957), pp. 391–398; Dennis C. McElrath, "Prestige and Esteem in Selected Urban Areas," Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society in *Research Studies of the State College of Washington,* 23 (June, 1955), pp. 130–137; Aubrey Wendling, "Suicide in the San Francisco Bay Region 1938–1942 and 1948–1952," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1954; John H. Mabry, "The Social Areas of Duluth," unpublished manuscript, 1953; Dean G.

gathered outside the United States. Thus questions concerning the analytical utility of the social areas approach for comparative studies of social differentiation in other societies have been given little attention to date. Can comparable measures be constructed from censuses of urban areas outside the United States? Do such measures meet the requirement of univocality? Does the constructed typology facilitate analysis by permitting interpretation of patterns of social differentiation between societies and within? Limited answers to these questions may be gained by an application of social area analysis to the 1951 Census of Rome, Italy.[3]

The interpretive frame of reference suggested by Shevky proposes that as the social organization of society increases in *scale*, at least three basic forms of social differentiation develop.[4] "Urbanization," "social rank," and "segregation" are considered both as forms of social differentiation characteristic of modern society and as products of increase in scale of social organization experienced by these societies.[5] Urbanization defines differentiation according to "life styles" associated with changes in the structure of productive activity. A precondition for the development of this form of differentiation is the elaboration of distinctive modes of production characteristic of large scale urbanized societies. Social rank, the second dimension of the typology, is viewed as a product of the changing distribution of skills. This change allows for the differentiation of populations in terms of the economic, technical, and social meaning of occupation. Finally, segregation is seen as a form of differentiation based upon changes in the composition of the population attending the rise of industrial societies.[6]

In addition, social area analysis holds that population aggregates within industrial societies may be located within a "social space" or three dimensional typology defined by the three modes of differentiation outlined above. Finally, without directly addressing the theoretical problem of linking a social organization to a spatial organization, forms of differentiation are examined in terms of measures based on population aggregates settled in spatial units (census tracts, blocks, enumeration districts, counties, regions).[7] Using United States census tract statistics, urbanization is determined by measures of the distribution of fertility, women at work, and house type. Social rank, on the other hand, is indexed by measures of the distribution of occupation and education within each tract. The third dimension of the typology, segregation, is indicated by tract measures of the distribution of racial and nationality groups living in relative isolation.[8]

By means of these indexes, then, the approach proposes that observations of subarea populations ultimately may be interpreted in terms of postulates concerning the increasing scale of social organization experienced by industrial societies.[9] Hence, this

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Epley, "The Social Areas of Miami, Florida," study in progress; Walter C. Kaufman, "A Factor-Analytic Test of Revisions in the Shevky-Bell Typology for Chicago and San Francisco, 1950," unpublished Ph D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1961. Olive Reeks, "The Social Areas of New Orleans," unpublished M.A. Report, University of California, Los Angeles, 1953; Walter C. Kaufman and Scott Greer, "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis," *Social Forces*, 39 (March, 1960), pp. 196-204; Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., Santo F. Camilleri, and Calvin F. Schmid, "An Application of the Shevky Social Area Indexes to a Model of Urban Society," *Social Forces*, 37 (October, 1958), pp. 26-32; Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., Santo F. Camilleri, and Calvin F. Schmid, "An Investigation of the Utility of Urban Typology," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 4 (Spring, 1961), pp. 26-33; Theodore R. Anderson and Janice A. Egeland, "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (June, 1961), pp. 392-399.

[3] This material was microfilmed by the author from galley proofs and work sheets.

[4] Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.* and Shevky and Williams, *op. cit.*

[5] Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

[6] *Loc. cit.*

[7] An exception to this is the segregation dimension which uses spatial characteristics as part of the definition. Cf., *ibid.*, pp. 17 ff. and Wendell Bell, "A Probability Model for the Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 357-364.

[8] The segregation dimension is eliminated from the following analysis since comparable materials are not available. See Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-58, for computational procedures.

[9] For evaluation of the approach see reviews of *Social Area Analysis* by Robert W. Buechley, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 5 (March, 1956), pp. 195-197; David B. Carpenter, *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August, 1955),

frame of reference should be applicable to analyses of other societies experiencing increasing scale.

Italian society may be considered of somewhat smaller scale than the United States. At least, this view is supported by such traditional measures of the relative scale of social organization as the proportion of the labor force engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, the proportion of salaried workers and wage earners, the proportion engaged in primary industries, the degree of urban population concentration, and the degree of metropolitan concentration.[10] On all these crude indicators of scale, Italy falls somewhat below the United States. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1. SELECTED MEASURES OF RELATIVE SCALE: UNITED STATES AND ITALY, *Circa* 1950

	U.S.	Italy
Per cent economically active population *		
Engaged in agriculture	12.2%	40.0%
Engaged in primary industries	13.8	62.8
Wage earners and salaried workers	82.1	55.9
Per cent total population classified **		
Urban	64.0%	40.9%
Metropolitan	55 9	27.3

* Computed from International Labor Office, *Year Book of Labour Statistics 1960,* Geneva: I.L.O., 1960, Table 4.

** From T. O. Wilkinson, "Urban Structure and Industrialization," *American Sociological Review,* 25 (June, 1960), p. 358.

Therefore, several propositions about the relation of societal scale to patterns of sub-area population differentiation may be examined by comparing findings for United States cities with those of Rome. These propositions may be subjected to analysis along with the previous questions concerning the applicability of the social area approach to areas outside the United States.

Finally, the Roman census materials permit a limited description of several aspects of the spatial distribution of the Roman population. Therefore, one may ask whether or not the spatial patterning of Roman populations "fits" with findings generated from American studies. Are the social areas of Rome distributed in a concentric or sectoral fashion? In what ways do the spatial configurations of differentiated sub-area populations compare and contrast with American patterns? This descriptive material should facilitate linking findings interpreted from a social organization posture with traditional propositions concerning spatial patterns of settlement of locality groups.

It is proposed, then, to use the Roman census findings as a basis for an examination of: (1) the *applicability* of social area analysis to populations outside the United States; (2) the *analytic utility* of this framework; (3) the *spatial configuration* of population types settled in sub-areas. Such an examination should provide a limited test of the analytic utility and theoretical relevance of this approach.

APPLICATION

Size. One requirement for the application of social area analysis to comparative studies of social differentiation is the delimiting of sub-areas of comparable population magnitude in various societies. In the United States the census tract has been widely adopted as a convenient and relevant unit of study. The analysis of the social areas of the San Francisco Bay Region with a total population of 1,509,678 in 1950, for example, reports findings based on 244 census tracts with a mean tract population of 6,187.[11] In Rome, with almost an identical population in 1951—1,530,252—unpublished data are tabulated for 354 *gruppi di sezione* with a mean *gruppi* population of 4,324 (see Table 2). Thus, while the average sub-area population in Rome is somewhat smaller than in the San Francisco area, the difference is not unreasonable for comparative purposes. Indeed, if sub-areas with extremely small populations were eliminated from consideration in Rome, as was the case in the Bay Region study, the magnitude of difference would be even smaller on the aver-

pp. 497–498; and Otis Dudley Duncan, *American Journal of Sociology,* 61 (July, 1955), pp 84–85, as well as the interchange between Bell and Duncan, *American Journal of Sociology,* 61 (November, 1955), pp. 260–262.

[10] While these measures are admittedly inadequate, they do convey the general position of Italian and American society.

[11] Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.,* pp. 28 ff.

TABLE 2. POPULATION AND AVERAGE SUB-AREA POPULATION OF TWENTY U. S. CITIES, SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION, AND ROME, ITALY *

Urban Area	Number of Sub-areas	Total Population	Mean Sub-area Population
20 city average	83	382,657	4,807
S.F.bay region**	244	1,509,678	6,187
Rome	354	1,530,252	4,342

* See text for sources.

** Includes only those tracts studied. Cf., Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

age.[12] A further indication of the comparability of *gruppi* and the census tract may be gained from a study of twenty middle-size cities reported by Schmid, C. MacCannell, and Van Arsdol, Jr.[13] This study, based on selected cities with an average population of 382,657 and with an average of 83 tracts per city, indicates a mean tract population of 4807 for the twenty cities combined (see Table 2). This figure is quite close to the 4324 average found in Rome. This would suggest that tract and *gruppi* are fairly comparable in terms of average population size. Both may be considered as sub-areas for the purpose of comparative analysis with respect to this criterion.

Index components. Comparative studies are possible only when comparable indexes defining the dimensions of the social area typology are available. Comparability is necessary with respect both to the referent of the index and to the statistical treatment of it.

In their monograph, Shevky and Bell propose that social rank be measured by a single index consisting of two components: (1) occupation ratio, and (2) education ratio.[14] The occupation ratio distinguishes area populations in terms of manual and non-manual skills which, in turn, is linked to the changing distribution of skills in industrializing societies. There is a good deal of support for the use of the manual-nonmanual distinction in studies of social differentiation in a wide range of industrial societies.[15] Therefore, this break in the occupational structure would seem applicable to the sub-area populations in Rome where the distribution of nonmanual workers is tabulated by *gruppi di sezione*.[16]

The second component of the Index of Social Rank is the education ratio. This component reflects the role of a literate and educated population in industrialized and industrializing societies. An accurate indicator of educational achievement, therefore, is considered as necessary for the examination of social differences based on the distribution of skills in large scale societies. Fortunately most governments provide data on the ability to read and write.[17] While data on educational attainment are tabulated for Rome, literacy rates provide an indicator of skill which is readily available for most societies throughout the world. In addition, literacy is highly related to educational achievement in these societies.[18] Therefore, the second component of the Index of Social Rank used in Rome is the literacy ratio.[19]

The Index of Urbanization proposed by Shevky and Bell has three components: (1) fertility ratio, (2) women in labor force ratio (WLF), and (3) single-family detached dwelling units ratio (SFDU). High urbanization is indicated by low fertility,

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Calvin F. Schmid, Earle H. MacCannell, and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., "The Ecology of the American City: Further Comparison and Validation of Generalizations," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (August, 1958), pp. 392–401.

[14] *Occupation ratio:* total number of craftsmen . . . , operatives . . . , and laborers . . . per 1000 employed persons. *Education ratio:* number of persons who have completed no more than grade school per 1000 persons 25 years old and over.

[15] See Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, London: Heinemann, 1959, Chapter II for summary of research findings and discussion on this point.

[16] *Occupation ratio:* Total number of active population classified as non-cultivating independent farmers or other administrators in agriculture; dependent administrator or clerk in agriculture, hunting or fishing; independent administrator or free professional not in agriculture, hunting or fishing per 1000 active population. *Viz*, non-manual workers per 1000 workers.

[17] For a discussion of the criteria of literacy used in census enumeration, see UNESCO, *Progress in Literacy in Various Countries*, Monograph on Fundamental Education, No. VI, Paris: UNESCO, 1953, *passim*.

[18] Cf. Hilda Hertz Golden, "Literacy and Social Change in Underdeveloped Countries," *Rural Sociology*, 20 (March, 1955), p. 1.

[19] *Literacy ratio:* resident population six years old and over classified as illiterate per 1000 resident population six years old and over.

high WLF ratio and low SFDU. The index is used to measure differentiation based on changes in life style which accompanied the rise of urban industrial societies. Each component touches upon *different* aspects of this change. Fertility rates reflect the changing role of children in the productive process and the changing age-sex structure.[20] Women in the labor force reflects the movement of women into productive units outside the home.[21] House type indicates the changing role of the household as a unit of economic production as well as the rise of alternative family forms. The referent of fertility and WLF ratios would seem readily translatable to most industrial societies irrespective of the dominant value systems of these societies. The SFDU ratio, on the other hand, may not range across societies as an indicator of family form or household production. This is especially the case where choice of house type is not available either because of cultural traditions, government planning, prevailing topography, or lack of housing opportunities. Under any of these conditions this important component of the urbanization index would not be applicable. Therefore, in Rome, fertility and WLF ratios are used in the construction of the urbanization index.[22] House type, on the other hand, is not applicable since the opportunity for the population to be distributed in terms of detached single family dwellings does not exist to an appreciable degree.

In the case of both social rank and urbanization, component ratios are standardized according to their ranges in Rome and combined to form their respective indexes.[23] Sub-areas are grouped by each index in four equal percentile intervals. This provides a classification of sub-areas into sixteen social areas.

The comparability of index components and the resultant classification of social areas would seem to be quite high in terms of referents of the measures and computational procedures. There are three exceptions to this, however: (1) the segregation dimension is eliminated from the typology; (2) the SFDU component of the Index of Urbanization is eliminated, and (3) the standardization procedure consists of standardizing components to their range in Rome.

Elimination of the segregation dimension is required because comparable information is not available from the Roman census. A possibly comparable index could be constructed from the distribution of recent migrants to Rome—and especially from the distribution of immigrants from rural areas These data, unfortunately, are not available. Neglect of this index is not too serious since segregation is the least independent empirically in studies done in the United States.[24]

The lack of comparable standarization procedures, on the other hand, is a severe limitation on the use of social area typology for inter-societal comparisons. As the typology now stands, the numerical values of the indexes—and consequently the social area designation—may not be translated from one country's census to another unless idential indexes are computed. And here one faces difficulties with regard to the referent of the measures. One way to solve this difficulty is to develop identical and univocal indicators applicable to a wide range of census classifications. Then, standard dimensions of the social area typology could be described. International standard

[20] *Fertility ratio:* number of children under 5 years per 1000 females age 15 through 44. Cf., Shevky and Bell, *loc. cit.*

[21] *Women in the Labor force ratio:* the number of females in the labor force per 1000 females 14 years old and over. Cf. *ibid.*

[22] *Fertility ratio:* number of resident population less than six per 1000 females in resident population 14 through 44; and *Females in labor force ratio:* number of active females 10 years old and over per 1000 females 10 years old and over. Standard scores for each ratio were computed from the Roman data. Standardization was accomplished by linear transformation so that scores would range from 0 to 100 in Rome. Literacy and occupation standard scores were summed and their average taken as the Index of Social Rank. High social rank areas are characterized by high literacy rates and a high proportion of non-manual workers. Fertility and WLF scores were also standardized to their ranges in Rome and the average of standardized scores taken as the Index of Urbanization. High urbanization areas are characterized by low fertility rates and a high proportion of women at work.

[23] Cf. Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*

[24] Cf. Van Arsdol, Jr., Camilleri and Schmid, *op cit.*, p. 31 and "The Generality of Urban Social Area Indexes," *American Sociological Review,* 23 (June, 1958), pp. 277–84, by the same authors.

TABLE 3. CORRELATIONS OF FOUR SUB-AREA MEASURES OF URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL RANK COMPONENTS: ROME, TEN U. S. CITIES COMBINED AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION *

Measure	Area	Literacy or Education	Fertility	Women in Labor Force
Occupation	Rome	.789**	.676**	.640
	Ten cities	.838	.546	.162
	San Francisco	.760	.291	.021
Literacy or education	Rome	—	.744	.593**
	Ten Cities	—	.289	.094
	San Francisco	—	.600	.293
Fertility	Rome	—	—	.685**
	Ten cities	—	—	.636
	San Francisco	—	—	.692

* The number of sub-areas involved in these comparisons is: Rome=354; Ten Cities=767; San Francisco=244.

** Sign has been reversed throughout all tables to be consistent with computation used in other studies.

nomenclature should greatly facilitate this task.

Another possibility is to standardize the ratios to their ranges in the area under study. Inter-societal comparison would then be possible under the assumption that the *range* of ratios in one city was indicative of the same implied reality as the range in another. Thus at least the relative position of a sub-area in relation to others in its city would be standard. This assumption is adopted for the present analysis.

ANALYTIC UTILITY

Contribution of components. The social area paradigm holds that at least two forms of differentiation of sub-area populations may be found in large scale societies. Further, both of these forms of differentiation are viewed as necessary to account for sub-area population differentiation.[25] However, inspection of Table 3 which lists the correlation of components reveals that all components are highly related in Rome. Although Van Arsdol, Jr., Camilleri, and Schmid report significant correlations between components in ten U. S. cities combined, as does Bell for San Francisco, only two of these correlations are of the magnitude of those in Rome (see Table 3).[26] Therefore, it would seem appropriate to examine whether or not all of these components are, in fact, necessary to account for sub area differentiation. This may be stated in the question: do urbanization variables improve the relationship between social rank variables and the converse? If this is indeed the case, then each component would account for variation unaccounted for by other components. Here correlation analysis seems the appropriate test. If the multiple correlation of components is significantly greater than their zero order correlation, then one would reject the hypothesis that components do not contribute. Table 4 lists the zero order and multiple correlations for Rome, ten cities and San Francisco. In every instance the F test indicates that the coefficient of multiple cor-

TABLE 4. ZERO AND MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COMPONENTS OF INDEXES OF URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL RANK: ROME (1951), TEN U. S. CITIES COMBINED (1950), AND SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION (1950)

Coefficient *	Rome	Ten U. S. Cities	San Francisco Bay Region
r_{12}	.789	.838	.760
$R_{1\,23}$	.800**	896**	.787**
$R_{1\,24}$	817**	.872**	.789**
r_{34}	685	636	.692
$R_{3\,41}$	.752**	.794**	.745**
$R_{3\,42}$	.803**	.726**	.807**
N	354	767	244

* Subscripts indicate (1) Occupation ratio; (2) Literacy or education ratio; (3) Fertility ratio; (4) Women in Labor Force ratio.

** Significantly greater than zero order coefficient above line. Five per cent level of significance adopted.

[25] Cf. Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*

[26] San Francisco Bay Region data from an unpublished manuscript by Bell, Ten Cities data from Van Arsdol, Jr., Camilleri and Schmid, *op. cit.*

relation between components is significantly greater than the zero order coefficients. This indicates that urbanization and social rank components jointly account for greater variation than either set of components. While these differences are significant, the small numerical differences are expected, given cients should be noted. Of course, these small numerical differences are expected given the high values of the zero order coefficients. Therefore, given these significant, albeit small, differences and given the additional fact that this correlation test holds in the ten cities and in San Francisco where independence of dimensions was established by separate analyses, it clearly must be concluded that urbanization and social rank components cannot be substituted one for another without loss in analytic power.[27]

These data are demonstrative of the analytic utility of the social areas approach. In Rome as in American cities the data fit this aspect of the model proposed by Shevky. Additional examination of the contribution of index components will be presented below in the discussion of population types.

Delimitation of population types. Does the social area typology delimit distinctive population types? The answer to this question provides a second test of the analytic utility of the approach. The logic type construction in the context of social areas holds the following: (1) certain characteristics of sub-area populations are highly related to social rank while others are highly related to urbanization; (2) certain characteristics are more closely related to one dimension than to the other index, its components and characteristics related to it; (3) components and characteristics related to one dimension should be more closely related to each other than are components and characteristics of different dimensions, and (4) both urbanization and social rank *jointly* describe population types more completely with respect to basic sociological factors than either dimension of the typology alone.[28] The typology may be tested in terms of these strictures in Rome.

First, urbanization may be interpreted as delimiting area populations in terms of life style. Substantive findings from several American studies support this view.[29] In contrast with less urbanized areas, highly urbanized sub-areas may be expected to be characterized by (1) a distinctive age structure with the aged composing the bulk of the dependent population, and (2) a small family pattern. Three measures of these characteristics are listed in Table 5. These are: (1) dependent population ratio, (2) proportion of aged, and (3) mean family size.[30] Each of these three measures may be considered as variables related to urbanization.

As the social area framework suggests, correlation with urbanization is significant for each of these three characteristics. In terms of the second stricture, there are twenty-one comparisons between the correlation of these three characteristics with urbanization and the social rank index, its components and characteristics related to it. Using a one-tailed Z′ test at .05 confidence, it is evident that these characteristics are significantly more closely related to urbanization than to the other index, its components and characteristics in fifteen out of twenty-one comparisions. The major exception is family size which shows no greater relation to urbanization than to the social rank index, primary industries, crowding and illiteracy ratios. The other two exceptions are the relationship between aged ratio and crowding and the dependent population ratio and crowding.

[27] For analyses of independence of components for ten cities and San Francisco see *ibid.* Five per cent level of confidence adopted for the analysis of Tables 4 and 5. For a discussion of multiple correlation test see Robert F. Winch and Douglas M. More, "Does TAT Add Information to Interviews? Statistical Analysis of the Increment," *Journal of Clinical Psychology,* 12 (October, 1956), pp. 316–321.

[28] Cf. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indexes." In Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, editors, *The Policy Sciences,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951.

[29] See especially works by Greer, Greer and Kube, Bell, Bell and Force, Bell and Boat, and McElrath cited above.

[30] *Dependent population:* resident population under six years per 1000 resident population 65 years old and over; *aged:* resident population 65 years old and over per 100 resident population; *family size:* number of family members divided by number of families.

The third stricture requires a comparison of the average correlation between urban components and characteristics (values included in the lower right triangle in Table 5) with the average correlation of components and characteristics of different indexes (the rectangle in Table 5). The average correlation in the triangle is .64 which is significantly greater than the average correlation of .49 for the rectangle. On the average, characteristics and components of urbanization are more closely related to one another than are the characteristics and components of different indexes.

In all of the above comparisons, the direction of correlation is as expected. Thus in 15 out of 21 comparisions of individual coefficients and a comparison of average coefficients, the expectation based upon the social area fromework is sustained with respect to urbanization sub-area characteristics.

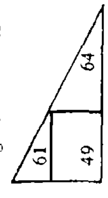
Social rank refers to the level of living characteristic of an area population. The Shevky framework holds that population types are differentiated in terms of living conditions (rather than life style) and work patterns. Four measures of these characteristics are listed in Table 5. High social rank areas would be expected to be characterized by: (1) uncrowded living conditions; and (2) a distinctive industrial composition of the working population with (a) a small proportion engaged in agriculture, (b) a somewhat larger proportion in manufacturing and construction, and (c) a large proportion engaged in such tertiary industries as communications, transportation, commerce, insurance, services, and public administration.[31]

Again, expectations based on the social area framework are largely supported in Rome. First, each of these four character-

TABLE 5 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEXES, COMPONENTS, AND RELATED CHARACTERISTICS OF 354 SUB-AREAS OF ROME, 1951

Index	Components Characteristics	Multiple R	Zero Order Correlation Coefficients 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Social rank	1		—												
Nonmanual	2		.942	—											
Illiterate	3		—.950	—.789	—										
Crowding	4	(.889)	—.845	—.843	.758	—									
Primary I	5	(.453)	—.442	—.328	.503	.234	—								
Secondary I	6	(.608)	—.574	—.567	.521	.609	.051	—							
Tertiary I	7	(.696)	.690	.637	—.668	—.629	—.427	—.892	—						
Dependent	8	(.736)	—.608	—.520	.626	.659	.250	.457	—.498	—					
Aged	9	(.705)	.532	.456	—.547	—.626	—.167	—.349	.369	—.723	—				
Family size	10	(.646)	—.601	—.474	.656	.587	.538	.266	—.439	.577	—.531	—			
Women in L.F.	11		.651	.641	—.593	—.755	—.147	—.540	.507	—.578	.613	—.475	—		
Fertility	12		—.752	—.676	.744	.783	.344	.515	—.577	.764	—.691	.652	—.685	—	
Urbanization	13		.762	.714	—.728	—.829	—.273	—.567	.586	—.731	.705	—.611	.902	—.903	—

Average Coefficients



[31] *Crowding:* number of occupants divided by number of occupied rooms; *Primary industries:* Per cent active resident population ten years old and over engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishing; *Secondary industries:* Per cent active resident population ten years old and over engaged in extractive industries and manufacturing, building and construction, electric energy, gas and water; *Tertiary industries:* Per cent active resident population ten years old and over engaged in transportation and communication, commerce and various services, credit and insurance, and public administration.

istics is significantly related to social rank. Secondly, in seventeen out of twenty-four comparisons these characteristics are more closely related to social rank than to the urbanization index, its components and related characteristics. The major exception to this occurs in the case of the secondary industries ratio. This ratio is no more closely associated with social rank than with the urbanization index and its components. Other exceptions occur with: primary industries which show a close relation to average family size and the fertility ratio; tertiary industries and the urbanization index; and crowding and the urbanization index.

The average coefficient for entries in the upper triangle of Table 5 is .61. This is significantly greater than the average coefficient of .49 for the rectangle. If primary and secondary industries ratios are excluded from this comparison on the grounds that all industries ratios add to 1000 for each sub-area, then the corresponding values are .73 for the triangle and .53 for the rectangle. In this case as well, components and characteristics of social rank are significantly more closely related to one another than are components and characteristics of different dimensions.

In every instance the direction of correlation is as expected. Thus seventeen out of twenty-four comparisons of individual coefficients and a comparison of average coefficients based on the strictures implicit in this type construction support the view that social rank defines distinctive sub-area population types.

Finally, social area analysis holds that *both* social rank and urbanization are necessary to describe area types. If this is indeed the case, then these two dimensions of the typology should *jointly* account for greater variation in area population characteristics than either dimension separately. The evidence from Rome is conclusive on this point. The multiple correlation of social rank and urbanization with life style, living conditions, and work pattern characteristics is significantly greater than their correlation with either dimension in 13 out of 14 possible comparisons (see Table 5). Only in the case of the proportion of the aged is there an exception. The multiple correlations for the remaining six characteristics are significantly greater than their correlation with either dimension alone.

The magnitude of these coefficients should not be ignored. In all except two instances, social area accounts for over 40 per cent of the variance in the distribution of external measures of life style living conditions and work patterns. The correlation with crowding (.889) is especially impressive. Here, social area accounts for over 70 per cent of the variance.

These findings demonstrate that the dimensions of social area analysis effectively describe distinctive population types. They also lend support to the view that social area analysis permits interpretation of area types by relating them to an interpretive frame of reference.

The findings presented in Table 5 also support the earlier conclusion about the necessity of various components. Examination of the correlations between related sub-area characteristics and components reveals that, in no instance, does one index component account for significantly more variation in all of the variables related to that index. In the case of social rank components, the illiteracy ratio is more closely related to crowding while the non manual component is more closely related to the primary industries ratio. No significant difference occurs with respect to the relationship of secondary or tertiary industries ratios to either social rank component. The picture is much the same for sub-area characteristics related to urbanization. Here the fertility ratio is more closely related to dependent population and family size but not to the proportion aged. This clearly indicates that each component contributes to the explanation of variation in type characteristics.

Description of area populations. Since social rank and urbanization both are necessary and useful in accounting for variation in area characteristics, it would seem profitable to describe sub-area population characteristics in terms of the location of sub-areas in social space.

Table 6 presents the distribution of sub-areas by social areas. To simplify presentation and because of the low frequencies of sub-areas in some cells of the table, all except three of the 354 sub-areas of Rome

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF SUB-AREAS BY SOCIAL AREA AND AREA TYPE, ROME, 1951

Number of Sub-Areas and Social Area

URBANIZATION	1	2	3	4
High D			2"	
C		3	65	54
B	27	67	75	15
A Low	32	10	4	

Area types: A (social rank 1–2, urbanization A–B); B (social rank 3–4, urbanization A–B); C (social rank 3–4, urbanization C–D).

Low — SOCIAL RANK — High

are collapsed into three major social areas: (type A) low social rank and low urbanization, (type B) high social rank and low urbanization, and (type C) high social rank and high urbanization. Each of these areas may be described in terms of available population characteristics. Means for these characteristics are listed in Table 7.[32]

Type A areas include 38 per cent of all sub-areas and 37 per cent of the total population of Rome. They contain a fairly young population with a low ratio of children to aged. These sub-areas are characterized by large families, and small and crowded dwellings. They contain more men than women. About half their active population is engaged in agriculture and secondary industries. Because these areas contain a high proportion of manual workers and have a fairly high rate of illiteracy, they are termed *low* social rank. Since these areas demonstrate high fertility rates and have a fairly small proportion of women working outside the home, they are termed *low* in urbanization. As noted below, these areas tend to be located near the outskirts of the city.

Type B areas include 26.5 per cent of all sub-areas and 32 per cent of Rome's population. These areas contain about 140 children under 5 per 1000 persons 65 years old or older. They contain fairly large families and moderate size dwellings which tend to be less crowded than in type A areas. Slightly more than one quarter of their active pop-

[32] Two measures in addition to those defined above are included for the purpose of this description: *dwelling size:* number of rooms in an area divided by number of dwelling units in that area; *sex ratio:* number of males per hundred females in an area.

TABLE 7. MEANS OF SELECTED SUB-AREA POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, BY SOCIAL AREA TYPE

Characteristic	Low SR Low Urb. (A)	High SR Low Urb. (B)	High SR High Urb. (C)	All Areas Low SR	High SR	Low Urb.	High Urb.	Total
Dependent pop.	260	141	76	257	104	211	77	164
Aged	5.27	6.89	9.26	5.30	8.22	5.93	9.19	7.07
Family size	4.00	3.63	3.45	3.99	3.53	3.85	3.46	3.71
Crowding	1.94	1.39	1.08	1.93	1.22	1.73	1.09	1.49
Primary industry	5.43	.56	.87	5.35	.74	3.44	.89	2.55
Secondary industry	41.9	26.6	22.8	41.4	24.5	35.7	22.8	31.1
Tertiary industry	52.1	72.7	75.6	52.7	74.3	60.5	75.7	65.8
Dwelling size	2.84	3.58	4.40	2.86	4.04	3.14	4.39	2.90
Sex ratio	105	92	84	104	87	99	84	91
Number of sub-areas	136	94	121	139	215	230	124	354

ulation is engaged in primary and secondary industries. These areas average a sex ratio slightly under 100. Because they are characterized by a fairly high proportion of non-manual workers and low illiteracy rates, these areas are termed *high* in social rank. With high fertility rates and few women at work, these areas are termed *low* in urbanization.

Type C areas contain 34 per cent of the sub-areas and 30 per cent of the population of Rome. They are characterized by an older population and a fairly low ratio of children to aged. Families tend to be small and dwellings large and uncrowded. Over three-fourths of the active population is engaged in tertiary industries. The sex ratio is appreciably lower than 100. With a high proportion of non-manual workers and a literate population, these areas are classified as *high* social rank. Because of low fertility rates and a fairly high proportion of women working, they are termed high urbanization areas. As will be noted below, these areas tend to be located near the center of the city.

Social differentiation and scale. According to the social area formulation it is contended that at least two forms of differentiation (urbanization and social rank) are possible in large scale societies. Further, it is contended that these forms are apparent in the sub-area distributions of populations in large scale societies. Two related questions may be addressed to this view: (1) at what point in scale does either or both of these forms of differentiation develop and become apparent? And (2) is their development sequential or simultaneous?

In order to examine these questions the existence of the following possible situations may be considered.

I. Sub-area populations are not differentiated by either dimension of the typology Presumably this would occur in societies of minimum scale according to the Shevky formulation.

II. Sub-areas are differentiated by only one dimension of the typology. Presumably this would occur at some point in scale if primacy exists for either dimension.

III. Sub-area populations are differentiated by both dimensions This would occur in large scale societies either (1) subsequent to situation II if primacy occurs or (2) at some point in scale following the first situation if no primacy occurs.

The first situation would be evidenced by a lack of significant association with either dimension and expected population characteristics. As noted above in Table 5, this situation is certainly not apparent in Rome where all selected characteristics are significantly related to the dimensions of the typology. Of course, studies of the San Francisco Bay Region and of ten U. S. cities indicate that the U. S. cannot be considered as in the first situation of minimal scale with a lack of sub-area differentiation based on urbanization or social rank.[33] As one would expect, one concludes from the available data that both Italy and the United States are beyond the first situation.

The second situation would be evidenced by a strong association between dimensions of the typology and a large relationship be-

[33] See Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.* and Van Arsdol Jr., Camilleri, and Schmid, *op. cit.*

tween one primary dimension and appropriate population characteristics and a small correlation between the second dimension and such external criteria. Findings from Rome show this situation to be somewhat more the case than is true in available studies of American cities. Data presented in Table 3 reveal that Rome exhibits significantly higher correlations between components of the indexes than are found in ten U. S. cities combined or in San Francisco. This is especially the case with the relationship of women in the labor force ratio to the occupation ratio which are components of different indexes. For Rome, the relationship is quite high as indicated by a correlation of r=.64. The corresponding coefficient for the ten middlesize cities is .16 and only .02 for San Francisco.

In addition, correlations between the dimensions of the typology are significantly greater in Rome in 1951 (r=.76) than in San Francisco, 1940 (r=.25) or 1950 (r=.13).[34] One interesting interpretation of this finding is that Rome in 1951 is of lesser scale than the San Francisco Bay Area in 1940 and that the San Francisco area is of lesser scale in 1940 than in 1950. It further indicates that Italian society approximates the second situation described above more closely than American society. These extremely limited longitudinal and cross societal comparisons support the view of a sequential development of the dimensions. For, the lower the scale of a society, the more closely are sub-area populations distributed in the manner expected in the second situation.

However, Table 5 shows that the second condition of a sequential situation—high correlation of test variables with a single dimension of the typology—is not met in Rome. Age structure variables, for example, are significantly more related to urbanization than to social rank. Industrial composition variables, on the other hand, are more closely related to social rank.

Thus, this evidence suggests that both Italian and American society appear to have reached the third situation. In both societies the dimensions jointly account for greater variation in population characteristics than either separately. However, it would seem that Italy is, in some respects, closer to a transition between the second and third situations. While both dimensions of the typology are necessary in accounting for sub-area variation in Italy and in the United States, dealing with only one dimension leaves out more in the U. S. Data from several societies of differing scale should permit further examination of this point.

SPATIAL CONSIDERATIONS

While the social area approach utilized characteristics of sub-area populations to construct a typology of differentiated populations, little has been done rigorously relating this typology to the local area. Theoretical efforts to establish this link have revolved around such concepts as a range of residential alternatives and commitments to areas and facilities shared by differentiated sub-populations. Studies oriented to this approach have shed some light on the dynamics of urban patterns of settlement.[35] They have not, however, succeeded in presenting a system of propositions relating sub-area population differentiation to the spatial location of these populations although a spatial unit (the sub-area) defines these populations. Can a relationship between the location of sub-areas and the forms of differentiation characteristic of their populations be established?

Recently an interesting step toward the establishment of an empirical association between social organization and spatial organization by use of the Shevky model has been provided by Anderson and Egeland.[36] Using an analysis of variance technique applied to four topographically regular U. S. cities of 200,000–500,000 population, they effectively demonstrate that Burgess' concentric zone hypothesis is supported with respect to urbanization but not with respect to social

[34] Shevky and Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Correlation between social rank and urbanization is higher in Rome than in any *one* of the ten cities studied by Van Arsdol, Jr., Camilleri, and Schmid. The highest coefficient is found for Atlanta (r=.224). Cf. "The Generality of Urban Social Area Indexes." *op. cit.*, Table 5.

[35] Cf. Wendell Bell, "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," in Marvin Sussman, editor, *Community Structure and Analysis*, New York: Crowell and Co., 1959.

[36] *Op. cit.*

rank. Hoyt's sector hypothesis, on the other hand, is supported with respect to social rank but not in the case of urbanization.

These two ecological propositions may be examined by use of social area data from Rome and compared with similar data from four American cities. Are social areas arrayed in terms of either of these traditional spatial patterns in Rome? Do the dimensions of social space order sub-areas in a manner similar to that observed in American cities?

In Rome three sectors may be arbitrarily established by including all sub-areas contiguous to three major transportation arteries and their projections (see Fig. 1). This method provides sector lines which are compatible with Hoyt's hypothesis.[37] Within each sector, sub-areas are classified in terms of three concentric zones circumscribing the central city. The boundaries of these zones are located primarily along traditional administrative lines and demonstrate a roughly circular form (see Fig. 1).[38]

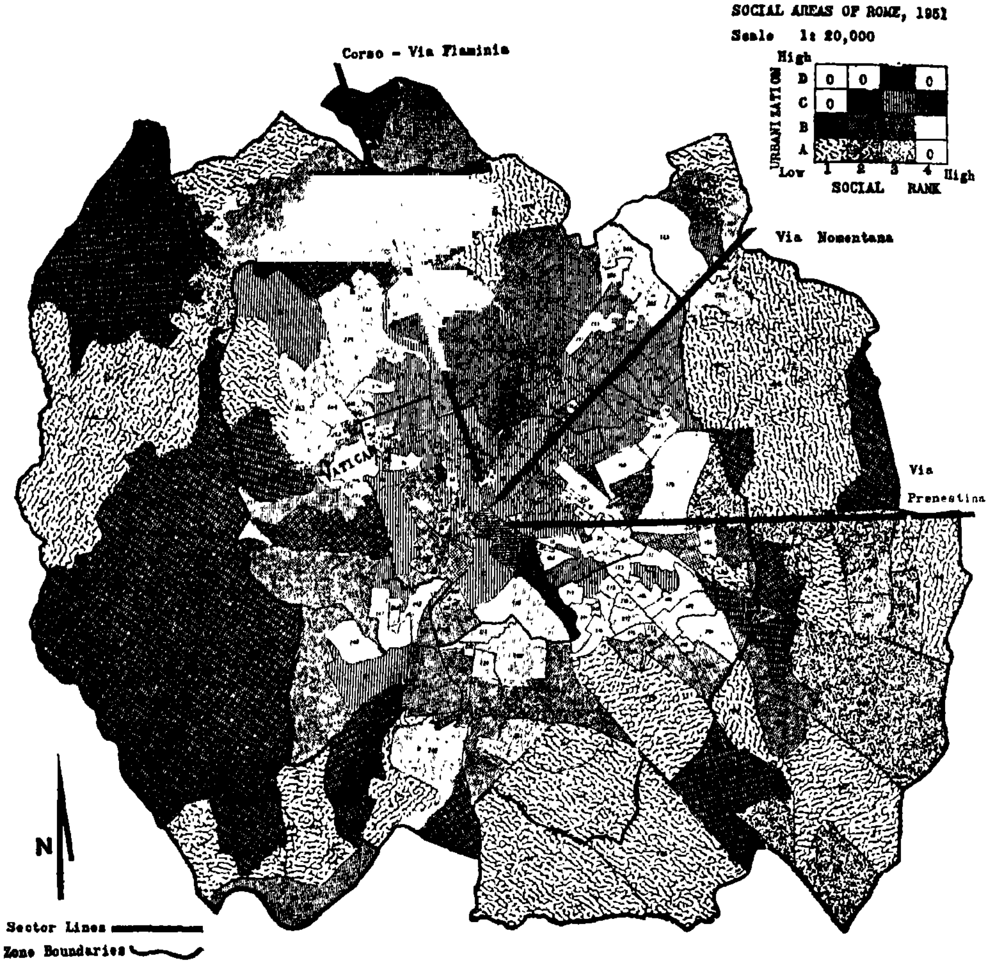


FIGURE 1

A two-way classification analysis of variance technique is used to examine sector and zone differences in mean urbanization and

[37] Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939.

[38] Inner zone: *rioni;* second zone: mainly *quartieri;* outer zone: *suburbi* and fringe *quartieri*. *Rioni*, *quartieri* and *suburbi* are administrative units of the city.

TABLE 8. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL RANK BY ZONES AND SECTORS, ROME, 1951

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Variance Estimate	F	H_0*
		Urbanization			
Between zones	6,234	2	3,117	39	Reject
Between sectors	4,018	2	2,009	25	Reject
Zones x sectors	852	4	213	2.66	Accept
Remainder	6,002	75	80	....	......
Total	17,106	83	....	....	......
		Social Rank			
Between zones	11,485	2	5,743	29	Reject
Between sectors	11,549	2	5,775	29	Reject
Zones x sectors	2,980	4	745	3.69	Accept
Remainder	15,139	75	202	....	......
Total	41,153	83	....	....	......

* .01 level of significance adopted.

mean social rank scores. Table 8 presents an analysis of variance for the 84 sub-areas falling within the selected sectors.

Inspection of Table 8 indicates clearly that both urbanization and social rank are distributed in Rome with respect to both sectors and zones. The null hypothesis of no difference in means between sectors or between zones with respect to urbanization or social rank scores is rejected at the one per cent level of significance.

On the other hand, interaction between zones and sectors is insignificant in the case of both urbanization and social rank. This indicates that the null hypotheses, that sectors containing high urbanization or high social rank areas also contain zones with high urbanization or social rank areas, cannot be rejected.

To facilitate description of the zonal pattern, all 354 sub-areas of Rome are classified by zones. Means for these zones and for selected sectors and zones within sectors are listed in Table 9.

As might be expected, highest urbanization areas are found in the central district of the city with a gradual decline in urbanization toward the periphery. This finding agrees with the data generated from four U. S. cities described by Anderson and Egeland. Unlike these American cities, however, *social rank is highest in the central district in Rome*. In Rome, social rank is highest in the central zone, then declines slightly in the second zone, and declines sharply in the third or outer zone. Contrary to Roman findings, the study of four U. S. cities did not support the zonal distribution of sub-

TABLE 9. MEANS OF URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL RANK SCORES BY ZONES, SECTORS AND ZONES WITHIN SECTORS, ROME, 1951

	Number of Areas	Means* (1)	(2)	(3)
Zones (all areas)				
Urbanization	354	52.26	42.94	27.61
Social rank	354	60.48	59.42	22.54
Zones (within sectors)				
Urbanization	84	53.58	46.55	30.35
Social rank	84	64.08	61.03	33.76
Sectors				
Urbanization	84	52.54	49.45	36.41
Social rank	84	72.10	54.55	43.40

* (1)=Central zone (*Rioni*) or 1st sector (Via Nomentana);
(2)=Intermediate zone (*Quartieri*) or 2nd sector (Corso-Via Flaminia);
(3)=Outer zone (mainly *Suburbi*) or 3rd sector (Via Prenestina).

areas with respect to social rank. In addition, the distribution of areas in terms of social rank in Rome markedly departs from the view of the blighted central city frequently observed in the United States. Rather, the ecology of social rank in Rome apparently is more in accord with traditional patterns observed in older European cities and in Latin America where prestige centers on the central plaza.[39]

The three sectors selected for study in Rome revealed marked differences with respect to both urbanization and social rank. Clearly, areas included in the third sector (Via Prenestina) reveal a lower average urbanization score than either of the other two sectors. This sector also contains the lowest mean social rank score. The first sector (Via Nomentana), on the other hand, contains the highest social rank and highest urbanization areas on the average.

It is interesting to note that sector differences with respect to urbanization were not observed in the four American cities. Of course, this may be due to differences in the way sectors were established in the two studies. In Rome, sectors were located adjacent to three major thoroughfares and their projections. The U. S. study, on the other hand, did not use existing transportation lines to locate sectors. Rather, they arbitrarily constructed thirty degree sectors radiating from the center of the city, then selected four of these for study in each city. The method used in Rome would seem to be more in line with Hoyt's original formulation of the sector hypothesis. However, these findings may represent a real difference between Rome and the four U. S. cities studied.

In sum, Roman data reveal to a significant degree the applicability of both the zonal and sector patterns to the spatial distribution of social areas. Within this city, urbanization and social rank are clearly both concentric and zonal phenomena.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has examined the theoretical and analytical power of the interpretive frame of reference proposed by Shevky and Bell. The findings, based on an analysis of 354 sub-areas of Rome, lend strong support to this approach.

(1) It is demonstrated that with minor modifications social area analysis may be applied to census districts outside the U. S.

(2) All measures of social differentiation which are combined in the present study to form dimensions of the typology are necessary.

(3) Characteristics external to the social area typology describing life styles, living conditions and work patterns are significantly related either to social rank or to urbanization in the manner predicted from the theory underlying social area analysis.

(4) As expected, both urbanization and social rank jointly describe population types more completely than either separately in terms of life style, living conditions and work patterns.

(5) Examination of hypotheses across societies is possible with this approach. The social areas of Rome and of U. S. cities are interrelated in a manner which may be meaningfully interpreted in terms of differences in the scale of Italian and American society.

(6) Social rank and urbanization are concentric as well as sectoral phenomena in Rome even when the effects of sector on zone or zone on sector are taken into account.

Generally, all of these findings are supported at relatively high levels of confidence. They constitute a strong case for the utility of this approach for cross-societal analyses.

In addition to permitting a test of the utility of this approach, the social area results from Rome are indeed provocative. The substantive findings include:

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[39] Cf. Asael T. Hansen, "The Ecology of a Latin American City," in E. B. Reuter, editor, *Race and Culture Contacts*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934, pp. 124–142; Norman S. Hayner, "Mexico City: Its Growth and Configuration," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (January, 1945), pp. 295–304; Harry B. Hawthorn and Audrey E. Hawthorn, "The Shape of a City: Some Observations of Sucre, Bolivia," *Sociology and Social Research*, 3 (November-December, 1948), pp. 87–91; Theodore Caplow, "The Social Ecology of Guatamala City," *Social Forces*, 28 (December, 1949), pp 113–135; Dan Stanislawski, "The Anatomy of Eleven Towns in Michoacan," *Latin American Studies X*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1950, pp. 1–75; and Erdmann D. Beynon, "Budapest: An Ecological Study," *Geographical Review*, 33 (April, 1943), pp. 256–275.

(1) A high positive relationship between social rank and urbanization (higher than that reported to date in any U. S. study);

(2) A zonal occurrence of *low* social rank areas near the periphery of the city;

(3) A positive relationship between social rank and crowding and industrial composition of the labor force;

(4) A positive relationship of urbanization to such life style characteristics as dependent population, aged population, and family size; and

(5) A relationship between social area types and dependent population ratio, proportion of the aged, family size, dwelling size, crowding, and industrial composition of the labor force.

These findings have been interpreted in terms of the increasing scale of urban industrial society and the related development of patterns of social differentiation of local area populations. Obviously, the interpretations are incomplete. More thorough explication requires the further elaboration and specification of the theory of societal scale and the compilation and analysis of comparable observations drawn from a far wider range of societies than is now available. However, the materials which are currently available concerning the social areas of different cities and which represent the work of many different scholars, constitute, in the judgment of this writer, a series of cumulative efforts and genuine accomplishments that are worth pursuing further.

NORM QUALITIES AND DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR: AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS *

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The proscriptive and prescriptive dimensions of norms may provide an important focus for the emergence of an empirically based theory of norms. It is hypothesized that the qualitative characteristic of the norm plays an important role in system maintenance when the system is exposed to normative strain. Data dealing with alcohol pathology were examined in relation to prescription-proscription and four sub-dimensions of norms: (1) elasticity; (2) elaboration; (3) pervasiveness; and (4) functional interrelatedness. Types of group reactions to normative strain include: (1) retrenchment; (2) regeneration; (3) rational-scientific innovation; and (4) permissiveness.

A fundamental notion embodied in the functional approach to social systems is that certain tasks must be performed in order that a given system may persist. Among the various tasks, or functional prerequisites, is the maintenance of a system of order. Many of the traditional dichotomies associated with the names of eminent forerunners of contemporary sociology reflect explicit and implicit concern with order. Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity,[1] Tönnies' Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft,[2] Redfield's Folk-Urban,[3] and, more recently, Becker's Sacred-Secular,[4] to name

* The writers wish to thank Walter Hirsch, Gerald R. Leslie, and Harold T. Christensen of Purdue University, Louis Schneider of the University of Illinois, and Jerome H. Skolnick of Yale University for reading and offering comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, (1893), translated by George Simpson, New York: Macmillan, 1933.

[2] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, (1887), translated by Charles P. Loomis as *Community and Society*, East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957.

[3] Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

[4] Howard Becker, "Ionia and Athens: Studies in

only a few, indicate a concern with the fundamental question of how society is held together or torn apart.

Though there are great divergences of viewpoint among contemporary sociologists regarding which factors are most significant in contrasting relatively simple and complex social organizations, few would disagree that the process of group adherence to shared norms represents an important dimension of order. Thus Durkheim[5] and, more recently, Freedman *et al.*[6] have focused their attention on the contrast between normative and functional integration. These two dimensions as conceived by these writers are to be found in all group structures and represent ideal-typical states of systems. Thus contemporary urban communities, for example, would be expected to be integrated not only in terms of functional integration, i.e., integration based on the interrelated activities of heterogeneous groups, but normatively as well. The norms, consequently, represent crucial mechanisms in the process of maintaining order.

Relatively little attention has been paid to the qualitative nature of the norms themselves as contrasted with the great concern associated with the direct effect of norms in controlling the activities of individuals in groups.[7] This is particularly the case with regard to the role played by the qualitative characteristics of norms in the process of normative integration and the utility of this dimension in empirical analysis.

In terms of the sociocultural system, the problem of order may be analyzed with respect to the particular characteristics of the norms themselves, and not necessarily with respect to the control mechanisms associated with the norms. In other words, the stability or integration of a system is not insured simply because the normative system is effectively transmitted (socialization) or collectively controlled (sanctions). The qualities of the norms themselves provide an inherent potential for system maintenance and system mal-integration.

PROSCRIPTIVE AND PRESCRIPTIVE DIMENSIONS OF NORMS

Richard T. Morris, in a paper published several years ago, suggested a classification of norms which focused on four significant aspects: (1) their distribution; (2) the mode of enforcement associated with a given norm; (3) the transmission of norms; and (4) the process of conformity to given norms.[8] Robin M. Williams, Jr. has recently incorporated this scheme in his systematic study of American society.[9] Though there is no shortage of classificatory schemes in this important area of sociological theory, it would seem to the present writers that still another dimension is worthy of consideration as a possible addition to Morris' classification.

Indeed, Morris himself has suggested that "probably the most striking omission . . . [in his typology of norms] . . . is the content of the norms."[10]

> "Content" is used here in two senses: classification of norms according to the area of behavior regulated . . ., or classification of norms according to the nature of action called for by the norms. . . .[11]

It is the latter to which we are addressing ourselves in this paper.

Our specific objective will be to present an additional typology, to illustrate its potential value by making reference to several sets of data related to the typology, and to suggest how greater attention to this dimension may prove fruitful in assessing the functional significance of certain aspects of norms in social systems.

In discussing norms in general, Williams points out that ". . . norms always carry some prescriptive or proscriptive *quality* . . ."[12]

Secularization," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930.

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] Ronald Freedman *et al.*, *Principles of Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1952.

[7] The most conspicuous exceptions are to be found in William Graham Sumner's classic, *Folkways*, Boston: Ginn, 1906; Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937; Pitirim Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality*, New York: Harper, 1947; and Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1960 revision. Cf. also the first edition, 1951.

[8] Richard T. Morris, "A Typology of Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (October, 1956), pp. 610–613.

[9] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27.

[10] Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 26. Italics ours. It should be noted that we are not concerned here with *types* of norms

Talcott Parsons, in discussing the integration of social systems, has also directed attention to the significance of the proscriptive-prescriptive dimension. He states,

> It is this integration by common values, manifested in the action of solidary groups or collectivities, which characterizes the partial or total integrations of social systems.
> Social integration, however much it depends on internalized norms, cannot be achieved by these alone. It requires also some supplementary coordination provided by explicit *prescriptive* or *prohibitory* role-expectations (e.g., laws).[13]

This particular dimension appears worthy of further exploration on the level of system-maintenance analysis. A preliminary ideal-typical description should prove sufficient for the first step in our analysis.

Norms in which the *proscriptive* element is most predominant are those which direct participants in the social structure to avoid, abstain, desist, and reject all forms of behavior associated with a particular potential type of activity. Examples of this dimension are the "thou shalt not" directives of the Ten Commandments and abstention from the pleasures of the flesh as directed by ascetic Protestantism.

The *prescriptive* dimension, on the other hand, directs participants to act in a particular way, spelling out the forms of behavior to which group members must conform. Typical of prescriptive directives are the norms requiring periodical church attendance and confession among Roman Catholics and the elaborate directives associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages among the Orthodox Jews.

as such, but only with specific *aspects* of norms. It should also be kept in mind that the proscriptive-prescriptive notions have existed in the anthropological literature for some time.

[13] Talcott Parsons, "The Social System," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, editors, *Toward a General Theory of Action,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 202–203. It should be noted also that the present writers do not view the significance of the prescriptive and proscriptive dimension as operative on the external level alone, i.e., external to the internalized norms, as Parsons implies here, but on both the internalized and externalized levels of social control. Note also Robert K. Merton's awareness of the significance of these dimensions in his "Social Structure and Anomie," in *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957, p. 133.

Thus the mandate of the predominantly proscriptive norm is "do not" while the mandate of the predominantly prescriptive norm is "do this" or "do that." The former provides only a goal viewed negatively; the latter provides a goal viewed positively, as well as a set of means for its attainment.

Whether this scheme is worthy of serious attention as a possible addition to the body of theory on norms would seem to depend upon its usefulness as an analytical tool, particularly as a means of organizing empirical findings. We have, with this in mind, selected some studies which help illustrate the possible utility of these notions in the process of relating theory to concrete data.

At least one area of patterned activity which particularly lends itself to analysis in this context has undergone extensive investigation.[14] The several sociological studies of the relationship between sociocultural factors and the consumption of alcoholic beverages should provide us with a "goodness of fit" [15] criterion for our conceptual analysis. The specific studies to which we refer are those of Straus and Bacon, Snyder, Skolnick, and, more recently, Mulford and Miller.[16] All represent a high order of methodological procedure in terms of sampling, question design and data analysis. All of these studies focus on variations in drinking behavior among various social strata and ethnic groups, and provide a broad range of data on norms, beliefs, and sentiments concerning the uses of alcohol. Thus they are

[14] The senior author wishes to acknowledge a personal intellectual debt to Selden D. Bacon, Charles R. Snyder, and Jerome H. Skolnick, his former colleagues at the Yale University Center of Alcohol Studies.

[15] For a discussion of the "goodness of fit" concept in the verification of typologies, see, for example, James M. Beshers, "Pragmatic Criteria in Typology Construction," paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York City, August, 1960.

[16] See, for example, Robert Straus and Selden D. Bacon, *Drinking in College,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954; Charles R. Snyder, *Alcohol and the Jews,* Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958; Jerome H. Skolnick, "Religious Affiliation and Drinking Behavior," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* 19 (September, 1958), pp. 452–470; and Harold A. Mulford and Donald A. Miller, "Drinking in Iowa," five articles appearing in separate numbers of Volume 21 (1960), *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol.*

particularly valuable for codification. Our first problem, then, is to demonstrate whether any differences between prescriptive and proscriptive dimensions of norms are of significance in the analysis of concrete data.

The above studies report significant differences among the various groups with regard to pathological reactions resulting from differential patterns of alcohol consumption. By "pathological" we mean the extent to which these behaviors represent deviations which are defined by the group's members as either a threat to the existing institutional system, e.g., the kinship or religious system, or as threats to the personal well-being of group members, e.g., problem drinking or psychosis. We are suggesting that the extent to which these levels of pathology are present in a given system is directly related to problems of system maintenance.

CULTURAL NORMS AND DRINKING PATHOLOGY

Three sets of data have been selected to demonstrate the existence of a relationship between types of normative system and drinking pathology. Snyder's study shows that intoxication is related to religio-ethnic group affiliation for college students.[17] As contrasted with the rates for the Jewish students, whose behavior is presumably directed by prescriptive norms, for example, the intoxication rate is much higher for the ascetic Protestant and Mormon groups, for whom the drinking of alcoholic beverages is proscribed. Snyder holds that,

> These data should not be construed as representing the comparative overall effectiveness of the norms of these groups in minimizing intoxication. The percentages . . . are based on the numbers of students in each group who have had some experience in using alcoholic beverages. They, therefore, do not reflect the large numbers of abstainers, especially in the Protestant group, who have never been intoxicated.[18]

We would hold that Snyder's interpretation is most meaningful within the context of the relationship between group affiliation and overall drinking behavior. However, it is precisely the question of the "overall effectiveness of the norms" for those who drink which concerns us here; this is the sphere in which the fundamental difference between our concern and that of the various analysts of drinking behavior manifests itself. While their focus is on the relationship between norms and specified features of the social structure, ours is on the qualitative nature of the norms themselves.

Skolnick's data[19] reveal even more sharply some of the consequences of normative deviation. When one compares the degree of social complications associated with religio-ethnic group affiliation, one finds that social complications tend to increase for selected groups of students. While social complications for the Jewish students are minimal, there is a marked increase for the ascetic Protestant groups. Thus, the data again reflect a relationship between ascetic Protestant affiliation and drinking pathology with respect to the extremities of deviant reactions for these groups.

Still other results that are significant in the context of the present study are the findings of Mulford and Miller in one of the most elaborate and extensive studies of the drinking behavior of an adult population. They approach questions similar to those posed by the other researchers from a social psychological viewpoint. Differentiating between drinking behavior that is directed by normative systems and that which involves idiosyncratic decisions regarding alcohol consumption, they developed a scale of "personal-effects definitions," which makes a distinction between relatively

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[17] Snyder's data were derived from original data gathered by Straus and Bacon for the college drinking study. See Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[19] Skolnick's data were derived from original data gathered by Straus and Bacon for the college drinking study. The reader should note a possible objection associated with the groups on which *problem drinking* rates are based. For example, it has been pointed out that comparisons of alcoholism rates can be variously interpreted, depending upon whether the *base* of the comparison is the *total* membership of the two groups, or solely on the *drinkers* in the two groups. It should be clear, however, that (1) we are not speaking of *alcoholism* rates, but *problem drinking* rates; and (2) that we are primarily concerned with comparing alcohol pathology rates in different groups *for those who do drink*. For a discussion of these points, see Skolnick, *op. cit.*, footnote 16, p. 460.

normative and non-normative drinking behavior.[20]

Mulford and Miller's interpretation of their findings is consistent with those of Straus and Bacon and Snyder with regard to the lack of norms which characterizes the drinking behavior of respondents with abstinence backgrounds. From their results, it seems clear that the focus on "personal-effects" on the part of the drinker as contrasted with a more normative orientation is associated with problem drinking. An extensive statement by Mulford and Miller with regard to their findings reflects some points of convergence between their viewpoint and our own.

> The heavier consumption by the personal-effects drinker may also be a reflection of the *relative absence of social norms* in the situations where he does much of his drinking. Persons who drink primarily for social effects may be presumed to do most of their drinking in more intimate group situations, involving family and friends, where restrictive norms are relatively effective; although, of course, the party norms may permit considerable latitude. The personal-effects drinker who attends parties probably is the one most likely to exceed the party norms, but as he does so repeatedly, he may find that he is not welcome and is then 'forced' to do more of his drinking alone and in public places where there is relative freedom from intimate group-norm restrictions.
>
> Finally, the heavy drinking of the individual who is drinking mainly for the personal effects of alcohol may also reflect the likelihood that he does not carry in his mind a conception of *how many drinks* it takes to attain the desired effect, especially since such *prescriptions* are presumably not general in our culture. . . .[21]

We can conclude from the above studies that normative systems play a role in the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and that pathological reactions to drinking tend to be greater for certain ascetic Protestant and Mormon groups, as compared with other religious groups. We would hold, in general, that pathological drinking behavior is associated with a relative absence of directives for the act of drinking alcoholic beverages itself. The important question then is: What is there about the nature of the normative systems of the ascetic Protestant and Mormon groups that predisposes their deviants to greater pathological reactions and, consequently, their structure to greater strain?

SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESCRIPTIVE AND PROSCRIPTIVE DIMENSION

We have indicated above that there is an absence of directives regarding drinking behavior among the ascetic Protestant and Mormon groups. In contrast to the prescriptive norms associated with drinking by Jews, for example, the ascetic Protestant and Mormon norms may be characterized as primarily *proscriptive*. Total abstinence is the norm for these groups. Hence, deviation from the abstinence pattern, even in what is ordinarily recognized as socially approved drinking in the larger society, e.g., before dinner, at parties, and like occasions, is associated with an almost complete absence of directives. As Straus and Bacon have pointed out in discussing the drinking behavior of Mormons, "If drinking behavior is adopted, variation must be the rule since there is no norm. Extremes are likely since the behavior itself represents rejection of social rules."[22]

[20] For a description of the scale and a preliminary report on the study, see Harold A. Mulford and Donald A. Miller, "Drinking Behavior Related to Definitions of Alcohol: A Report of Research in Progress," *American Sociological Review,* 24 (June, 1959), pp. 385–389. See, also, Robert F. Bales, "Cultural Differences in Rates of Alcoholism," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* 6 (March, 1946), pp. 480–499.

[21] Harold A. Mulford and Donald A. Miller, "Drinking in Iowa, III," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* 21 (June, 1960), pp. 276–277. Italics ours.

[22] Straus and Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 144. Skolnick, *op. cit*, p 465, makes the point that extreme drinking behavior of those exposed to abstinence teachings is a result of another norm derived from descriptions of the behavior of extreme drinkers, i.e., "the horrible example." Although we see the virtue of his notion of a "negative" role model, we would hold that theoretically, at least, a distinction must be made between role models—both positive and negative—role expectations, and norms. Thus, unless the expected behavior of the role model becomes generalized to the larger group, i.e., becomes an explicit, shared norm, it remains external to a given social system In the case of drinking norms, Skolnick's observations need not lead to a rejection of our own explanation, since the negative role model, as we see it, may represent an *additional* factor rather than an exclusive causal factor. However, the reader should keep in mind the fact that these notions—both Skolnick's and our own—represent hypotheses rather than conclusive generalizations.

Jewish drinking, as Snyder has shown, is patterned by an elaborate system of explicit directives as to what, when, where, with whom, how much, and why one is expected to consume alcoholic beverages. The norm is predominantly *prescriptive* in nature, and deviation from the drinking norms is associated with gradual and predictable patterns of deviant behavior. Thus Snyder's statistics show that tendencies to alcohol pathology increase in "step like" fashion from Orthodox Jewish drinking, which is associated with the relative absence of signs of pathology, to the Reform and Secular drinking pattern in which pathology is relatively high. Nevertheless, the highest rate still tends to remain lower than rates for the Protestant group.[23]

We would hold that it is inherent in the nature of the two sets of norms, the ascetic Protestant and Mormon norms, on the one hand, and the Jewish norms, on the other, that they predispose group members to different kinds of deviant reactions. The consequence of the differential deviant reactions is differential strain for the two sub-systems. Alcohol pathology represents not only personal problems, but problems for the group as well. The various efforts to cope with problems of alcohol on the part of different groups—governmental agencies, private welfare organizations, and religious groups, to name only a few—suggest that strain exists not only for the sub-systems in which they occur, but for larger social systems as well. In general, it can be noted that at least four types of group reactions to system strain can be isolated as indices of the extent of perceived threat to the system or its members. Group reactions may take the form of: (1) *Retrenchment,* in which all deviants are cast out of the group, leaving only a small hard core of adherents; (2) *Regeneration,* in which there is an attempt to revitalize the norm through a cultural renaissance; (3) *Rational-Scientific Innovation,* which includes efforts on the part of persons outside of the group as well as enlightened group participants to adapt new normative patterns to the pre-existing cultural system; and (4) *Permissiveness,* which involves individual determination of limits.[24] Examples of these types of reactions may be found reflected in behavior associated with deviant drinking activities. *Retrenchment* has manifested itself in the strong reactions to public intoxication on the part of the Chinese in the United States, who, in the past, forced alcoholics and problem drinkers to return to the Chinese mainland if they failed to mend their ways, at the same time reinforcing the norms of individual responsibility to the

[23] Snyder, *op. cit.,* Table 48, p. 197.

[24] Merton and Parsons, it should be noted, have focused on deviant reactions to structured strain Merton's typology is concerned with structured individual reactions to a disjunction between norms and success goals in American society. Parsons also deals with individual deviant reactions in terms of motivational analysis. The typology presented here differs from both Merton and Parsons in the following respects: (1) our focus is on *collective* reactions rather than *individual* reactions; (2) this typology is concerned with *normative* reactions to strain rather than *deviant* reactions to strain; and (3) whereas Merton's focus is on *chronic* strain, i.e., a persistent element in the system, the above typology, at least in this context, is concerned with *acute* strain. Adding to the above approaches Williams' concept of "patterned norm evasion," we may derive the following classification of approaches to reactions to strain:

Deviant-Individual [a]	Normative-Individual [b]
Deviant-Group [c]	Normative-Group [d]

[a] See, for example, Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949 (and 1957 Revision); and Talcott Parsons, *The Social System,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, Chapter 7. Cf., also, Albert K. Cohen, "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behavior," in Robert K. Merton *et al,* editors, *Sociology Today,* New York: Basic Books, 1959, pp. 461–484.

[b] This category is perhaps the most prevalent in the sociological literature. It is characterized by the following sequence: deviant act—group reaction—individual conformity. One of many examples may be found in Fritz J. Roethlisberger and William J Dickson's description of "binging" as a negative sanction for non-conformity. See *Management and the Worker,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

[c] See, for example, Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society,* Revised edition, New York: Knopf, 1960. Chapter 10 is devoted in its entirety to norm evasion.

[d] In addition to our independently conceived notions concerning normative group reactions to strain, Howard Becker's posthumously published paper deals with similar types of problems. See Howard Becker, "Normative Reactions to Normlessness," *American Sociological Review,* 25 (December, 1960), pp. 803–810.

group.[25] *Regeneration* is reflected in the abstinence movement in the United States. The *Rational-Scientific Innovation* reaction is exemplified in Mulford and Miller's suggestion that prescriptive drinking norms should replace proscriptive drinking norms for the ascetic Protestant groups in the United States.[26] And the persistence of patternless drinking in a good many American social contexts is a manifestation of *Permissiveness*.[27]

A TYPOLOGY OF NORMS

We have suggested above that the proscriptive and prescriptive dimensions of norms do make it possible for us to attain greater understanding of the dynamics of social pathology. We have, up to this point, discussed the two dimensions in very broad terms. To what extent can we specify the nature of these dimensions and place them in a context of social system analysis? With this perspective in view, norms may be classified ideal-typically in terms of the following descriptive characteristics which have emerged from our review of the various studies cited above: (1) the degree of elasticity; (2) the degree of elaboration; (3) the degree of pervasiveness; and (4) the degree of functional interrelatedness.

Table 1 describes those aspects of norms which make them classifiable as either proscriptive or prescriptive.[28] Table 2 shows how these factors are related, by way of illustration, to drinking behavior. The extent to which these factors, in varying degree, manifest themselves in given normative systems represents, in our judgment, a measure of the relative degree of predisposition to normative mal-integration with respect to a given norm.

TABLE 1. QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESCRIPTIVE AND PROSCRIPTIVE NORMS

Characteristic of Norm	Proscriptive	Prescriptive
Elasticity	Inflexible: Behavior is defined as either compliant or deviant and there are no directives for action	Flexible: Behavior is defined in degree of conformity and directives for how to act are explicit
Elaboration	No ritual, no embellishment associated with act	Great deal of embellishment in ritualized and symbolic acts
Pervasiveness	Focus on a specific act applying to any and all contexts	Focus on a variety of similar acts in specified contexts
Functional interrelatedness	Norm tends to have few or no convergences with other norms in the larger system	Norm tends to converge with other norms in the larger system

DISCUSSION

As we have suggested above, the overall effectiveness of norms in the process of system maintenance can be attributed to at least two characteristics: (1) the ex-

[25] Rose Hum Lee and Ephraim H. Mizruchi, "A Study of Drinking Behavior and Attitudes Toward Alcohol of the Chinese in the United States," unpublished manuscript. In the general context of group reactions to system strain, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," in Seymour M. Lipset and Neil J. Smelser, editors, *Sociology, The Progress of a Decade*, Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961, pp. 206–220.

[26] Harold A. Mulford and Donald E. Miller, "Drinking in Iowa, V," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 21 (September, 1960), p. 498.

[27] Our usage of "permissiveness," or individual determination of limits, represents what might otherwise be called unresolved *anomie*. However, since the group reactions described above are in effect reactions to an anomic condition, we have attempted to avoid using *anomie* for purposes of clarity.

[28] In an initial classification of norms for general purposes, for example, norms may be classified as being predominantly proscriptive or prescriptive according to whether they enjoin or prohibit behavior. For a more complete understanding of the dynamics of normative behavior, especially with reference to problems of social control, a more intensive analysis of the norms themselves is necessary. Our hypothetical scheme, it should be noted, is derived from: (1) inspection of the various monographs cited in Table 2; (2) inspection of unpublished data on the Chinese; and (3) participant observation in various subcultural contexts.

TABLE 2. DRINKING NORMS FOR SELECTED GROUPS BY QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS AND PRESCRIPTIVE-PROSCRIPTIVE DIMENSION

	Elasticity	Elaboration	Pervasiveness	Functional Interrelatedness	
Prescriptive					
	++	++	++	++	Jews[1]
	+	+	+	++	Italians[2]
	—	—	—	+	Mormons[3]
Proscriptive					

[1] For an elaborate description of Orthodox Jewish drinking patterns, see Charles R. Snyder, *Alcohol and the Jews,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958.

[2] Wine is viewed by Italians as both a food and as a beverage. It does not, however, embody the sacred element associated with Orthodox Jewish drinking. Italians do not recite blessings over the wine. See, for example, Phyllis Williams and Robert Straus, "Drinking Patterns of Italians in New Haven," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* 11 (1950) [4 papers]; and Giorgio Lolli, *et al., Alcohol in Italian Culture,* Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

[3] References to Mormon drinking may be found in Robert Straus and Selden Bacon, *Drinking in College,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

tent to which both internal and external sanctions effectively direct the behavior of group members; and (2) the nature of the norms themselves. It is the latter to which we have addressed ourselves in this paper. Though the two are undoubtedly related, we would hold that the qualitative nature of the norm is analytically distinct from the strength of sanctions attached to the norm. Thus, whether controls are internalized or externalized, or whether the sanctioning agents are informally or formally designated does not concern us here. The above data are consistent with our hypothesis that predominantly proscriptive norms are more likely than predominantly prescriptive norms to lead to extreme degrees of pathological reactions when deviation occurs.

It is possible to treat the whole matter of the relationship between norms and social pathology in terms of the relationship between the normative and factual orders. While we have indicated that our focus is on the qualitative nature of the norms themselves, our ultimate concern is with social control and group integration. The normative-factual orders lend themselves to analysis within the framework of the prescriptive-proscriptive dimension. Thus, one could interpret our discussion as an attempt to explore the consequences of situations in which the normative order and the factual order are more or less convergent or divergent. Rather than assume that it is the divergence between these two orders which is productive of strain, we would hold that it is still primarily the quality of the normative order which determines the extent of strain. The following suggestive scheme provides an illustration of a possible systematic approach to these dimensions. Thus, the following table describes a factual order, given a certain prescriptive-proscriptive normative order. The examples represent approximate empirical referents with regard to drinking norms.

	NORMS	
	Jewish Italian	Mormon Methodist
Normative Order	Highly Prescriptive	Highly Proscriptive
Factual Order	Deviation	Deviation
Level of Pathology	Low Level of Pathology	High Level of Pathology (Anomie)

As this preliminary scheme suggests, the following propositions can be formulated with respect to the aspects of norms referred to above:

HO.[1] Given a situation in which there is *proscription* on the *normative* level and *deviation* on the factual level, pathology will be *high*.

HO:[2] Given a situation in which there is *prescription* on the *normative* level and *deviation* on the factual level, pathology will be *low*.

The above discussion implies that under certain normative conditions behavior which deviated from the norm does not threaten

the system of order, while under other conditions it does. It should be added that the present analysis does not include a discussion of the relative effectiveness of each type of norm under conditions of normative integration without strain. Presumably, pathology is minimized as a result of conformity to both the predominantly proscriptive and prescriptive norms referred to above. Stated as a third proposition:

> HO:[3] Given a situation in which there is *either* prescription or proscription on the *normative* level and *conformity* on the *factual* level, pathology will be *low*.[29]

Thus, this approach is systematic and directly lends itself to empirical analysis.

The four characteristics of norms suggested above reflect a first attempt to describe systematically significant features of two general aspects of norms.[30] We have already suggested that proscriptive and prescriptive dimensions are to be found in the analysis of other normative systems and data other than those dealing with alcohol pathology alone. We would suggest that sex behavior may be a fruitful area of investigation.[31] Some specific examples of problems that would seem to lend themselves to this type of analysis would be studies of norms proscribing aggression among Jews; norms proscribing female pre-marital intercourse among Italians; and norms proscribing the acquisition of material luxuries among the Old Order Amish.

In conclusion, the extent to which this scheme will prove fruitful in the elaboration and elucidation of a sociological theory of norms will depend upon the careful organization of concrete research directed to the testing of hypotheses which support more general propositions.

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[29] For discussions of the normative and factual orders, see, for example, Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, pp. 89–94; and Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, New York: Macmillan, 1949, Chapter 3.

[30] Upon completion of our inductive analysis, we became aware of the late Howard Becker's ideas regarding the prescriptive dimension. Robert N Bellah has described Becker's usage as follows. The prescriptive *type of society* is characterized by the

> comprehensiveness and specificity of its value commitments and by its consequent *lack of flexibility*. Motivation is frozen . . . through commitment to a vast range of relatively specific norms governing almost every situation in life. Most of these specific norms are . . . thoroughly integrated with the religious system which invokes ultimate sanctions for every infraction. "Religious Aspects of Modernization in Turkey and Japan," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (July, 1958), p. 1. Italics ours.

Although Bellah's and Becker's usage of "prescriptive" is different from our own, Bellah's usage in this context tends to link *lack of flexibility* with specificity and comprehensiveness of value commitments and norms. We would disagree, however, with the assumption that lack of flexibility, specificity, and comprehensiveness are *affine*, to use Sorokin's terminology. There is an assumption in Bellah's statement that norms which have these qualities essentially impinge upon and limit the individual's range of behavior. To hold such a view of norms, as restrictive, implies that the group's relation to the individual, through its normative system, is essentially one of stifling the individual's spontaneous potential This is contrary to our view of prescriptiveness which clearly suggests that the normative system must provide both specific goals and the specific means for the attainment of these goals. The notion that "motivation is frozen" clearly implies that individual "freedom" exists apart from, and is independent of, a particular system of norms and values. We would agree with Schneider that it is through the internalization of norms and values that the individual gains his freedom. (See Louis Schneider, "Some Psychiatric Views on 'Freedom' and the Theory of Social Systems," *Psychiatry*, 12 [August, 1949], pp. 251–264) This romantic notion tends to obscure the nature of individual determination of action.

[31] Christensen has noted the possible connection between proscription and extreme reactions, and has suggested that sex behavior and drinking behavior may be analogous in this respect. See Harold T. Christensen, "Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), footnote 23, pp. 38–39.

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

SEGREGATION SCORES FOR METROPOLITAN AREAS

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In an article in the *American Sociological Review* analyzing trends in residential segregation of nonwhites from 1940 to 1950,[1] it was acknowledged that combined indexes for whole metropolitan areas were more meaningful than separate indexes for each municipality and the author expressed his intention to develop such combined indexes to the extent that the original data would permit. The present note fulfills that promise.

Since the index in question is based upon the block statistics published by the Bureau of the Census as a part of the Census of Housing, such combined indexes can be developed only for the areas for which such block statistics are available. This will include only those municipalities, central or suburban, whose population in 1940 or later was 50,000 or over. By this procedure, we may obtain a combined index for Minneapolis and St. Paul, and for Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas.

We shall refer to these indexes as indexes for the metropolitan areas, but it should be noted that the areas referred to here are not the same as the Standard Metropolitan Areas. For the most part, the SMA's include whole counties which are adjacent to a central city and are deemed to be economically integrated into the life of the central city. This will include many small towns and cities, certainly many with populations of less than 50,000, as well as much unincorporated territory, both urban and rural in nature. Since block statistics are available only for cities (municipalities) with 50,000 or over, however, the combined segregation indexes can relate only to two or more cities each of which has a population of 50,000 or more. Again using Minneapolis as an illustration, the combined index will cover only the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul; it will not include other smaller municipalities within the SMA, such as, Bloomington, Edina, Minnetonka, Richfield, and St. Louis Park, nor will it include the unincorporated parts of the five counties which are contained in the SMA. This is then a very limited concept of the metropolitan area, but it is one which is necessitated by the limitations of the data.

Table 1 presents the combined segregation indexes for 21 metropolitan areas along with the original indexes for the separate municipalities for the year 1950.

TABLE 1. COMBINED SEGREGATION SCORES FOR METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1950

Metropolitan Areas and Cities Included	Separate Indexes	Combined Metropolitan Index
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y.		.863
Albany	.816	
Schenectady	.806	
Troy	.738	
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Pa.-N. J.		.662
Allentown	.697	
Bethlehem	.640	
Beaumont-Port Arthur, Tex.		.824
Beaumont	.812	
Port Arthur	.844	
Boston, Mass		.912
Boston	.836	
Cambridge	.695	
Lynn	.720	
Malden	.653	
Medford	.859	
Newton	.660	
Quincy	.100	
Somerville	.656	
Buffalo, N. Y.		.859
Buffalo	.851	
Niagara Falls	.882	
Chicago, Ill.		.885
Chicago	.880	
Cicero	.231	
East Chicago, Ind.	.777	
Evanston	.870	
Gary, Ind.	.933	
Hammond, Ind.	.889	
Oak Park	.000	
Cincinnati, O.-Ky.		.839
Cincinnati	.837	
Covington, Ky.	.839	
Cleveland, O.		.862
Cleveland	.855	
Cleveland Heights	.481	
Lakewood	.056	
Detroit, Mich.		.853
Detroit	.838	
Dearborn	.500	
Highland Park	.719	
Pontiac	.919	

[1] Donald O. Cowgill, "Trends in Residential Segregation of Nonwhites in American Cities, 1940–50," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 43–47.

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Metropolitan Areas and Cities Included	Separate Indexes	Combined Metro-politan Index
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.		.841
Kansas City, Mo.	.845	
Kansas City, Kans.	.721	
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.		.830
Los Angeles	.798	
Alhambra	.471	
Burbank	.031	
Glendale	.409	
Long Beach	.843	
Pasadena	.815	
Santa Monica	.856	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.		.816
Minneapolis	.789	
St. Paul	.855	
New York-Northeastern New Jersey		.787
New York	.794	
Bayonne, N. J.	.831	
East Orange, N. J.	.733	
Elizabeth, N. J.	.729	
Hoboken, N. J.	.766	
Irvington, N. J.	.333	
Jersey City, N. J.	.710	
Mount Vernon	.751	
Newark, N. J.	.605	
New Rochelle	.816	
Passaic, N. J.	.790	
Paterson, N. J.	835	
Union City, N. J.	.100	
Yonkers	.885	
Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.		.884
Norfolk	.893	
Portsmouth	.867	
Philadelphia, Pa.-N. J.		.820
Philadelphia	.821	
Camden, N. J.	.823	
Chester	.780	
Pittsburgh, Pa.		.831
Pittsburgh	.809	
McKeesport	.898	
Providence-Pawtucket, R. I.		.870
Providence	.880	
Pawtucket	.596	
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.		.855
St. Louis	.857	
East St. Louis, Ill.	.922	
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.		.705
San Francisco	.693	
Alameda	.804	
Berkeley	.647	
Oakland	.695	
Richmond	.835	
Springfield-Holyoke, Mass.		.876
Springfield	.875	
Holyoke	.724	
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.		.929
Tampa	.881	
St. Petersburg	.972	

It will be noted from the table that, in general, the combined metropolitan indexes are not greatly different from the separate indexes of the central cities. The range of change was from +.076 to −.010. The greatest increase was for Boston and the next was for Tampa. The latter city, when combined with St. Petersburg, the municipality with the highest degree of residential segregation among all of the original cities, rose +.048. The maximum decrease was in Providence, but the decreases were very slight in all cases.

The number of cities that increased was twice the number that decreased. Fourteen cities increased while only seven decreased and, as noted above, the range of the increases was much greater than the range of the decreases. On the whole, the conclusion is warranted that the combined metropolitan indexes tend to be higher than the separate indexes of their central cities.

It should also be pointed out that some of the metropolitan indexes are higher than any of the separate indexes of the individual cities included within them. This is the case in Albany, Boston, Cleveland, and Springfield, Mass.

This strong tendency for the metropolitan indexes to be higher than the indexes for the separate cities confirms the hypothesis which led to the effort to combine them in the first place. It underscores the idea that residential segregation is a pattern of a total community, not just of some section or district. The pattern consists of both concentration and dispersion; the lack of nonwhites in one area is as significant within the total pattern as the concentration of them in another area. Thus, the important thing is not whether the few nonwhites living in Oak Park, Ill. are segregated within Oak Park (this is what the separate index measures); the important thing is whether there is a tendency for nonwhites to avoid Oak Park entirely and to live in other parts of the larger community, Chicago.

This explains the fact that the inclusion of suburban cities with few nonwhites and relatively low segregation indexes has the apparently anomalous effect of increasing the combined index. The relative lack of nonwhites in these suburbs is a part of the total segregation pattern. To measure any part of the community separately, whether suburban or central city, is to reflect only part of the spectrum. If there is real segregation present, as there is in all American cities, the larger the portion of the total community which is included in the measurement, generally speaking, the higher will be the segregation index.

These combined indexes are relatively high, indicating a high degree of segregation. They

confirm the judgment that the separate indexes for such suburban communities as Quincy, Cicero, Oak Park, Lakewood, Cleveland Heights, Dearborn, Burbank, Alhambra, Glendale, Irvington, and Union City are misleading. Internally their pattern is less one of segregation than it is one of exclusion and this exclusion is a part of the segregation pattern of the larger community. One of the values of this note, then, is to correct any misapprehensions that may have arisen from the publication of the separate and ofttimes misleading indexes for these types of suburban cities.

By the same token, the original scores understated the degree of residential segregation in most of these metropolitan communities. The combined scores reported here come closer to a true measure of the degree of segregation in these communities in 1950.

In summary, then, this note presents combined segregation scores for 21 metropolitan areas. While the combined scores are not greatly different from the original scores of the central cities, they manifest a strong tendency to be higher. This is interpreted to mean that the inclusion of suburbs in the combined scores gives a fuller and truer measure of the actual degree of segregation in these metropolitan areas.

REPLICATED TESTS OF THE ATTRACTION-COMMUNICATION HYPOTHESIS IN A SETTING OF TECHNICAL INFORMATION FLOW *

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An hypothesis much cherished by sociologists and social psychologists is that communication and attraction (to use Newcomb's term) tend to go together. A corollary of this hypothesis would be that *degree of respect between individuals is associated with the amount of relevant communication which takes place between them.* This paper deals with this corollary.

In the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Riecken and Homans [1] reviewed experimental support for the hypothesis that "persons who interact frequently with one another tend to like one another." Considering the hoary respectability of this hypothesis and the frequency with which it is assumed to be true in theoretical discourse and in empirical investigations of related variables, it is odd that direct tests of it have been so few. Riecken and Homans obviously searched far for relevant work, and a scrutiny of *Psychological Abstracts* beginning with 1955 uncovered only one study [2] which seemed to be a reasonably direct test of the hypothesis, though it is surely true that tests are reported in larger works such as Newcomb's *The Acquaintance Process* [3] which are indexed as a whole and not by parts.

In the work reviewed by Riecken and Homans and in later work with attraction, operational definitions have consisted very largely of subjects' reports of undifferentiated liking or friendship, or of observers' impressions of friendships in natural situations. Apparently little has been done to focus this hypothesis upon particular aspects of attraction such as trust for another (although Mellinger [4] studied the relation between trust and *accuracy* of communication) or respect for a particular competency of another.

This paper reports some results concerning the relation between frequency of communication within secondary school faculties concerning the testing and counseling of students on the one hand and respect for the judgment of the communicant concerning these matters on the other.

SUBJECTS AND MEASURES

The data to be presented here were gathered in the fall of 1959 from faculties of 28 secondary schools scattered over the state of Illinois. In smaller schools the entire faculty was included in the study; in the larger schools about half the faculty was sampled.

The measure of respect was very simple. A questionnaire item asked the respondents:

> Please write here the names of members of your school staff whose judgment about counseling or testing you highly respect. (If none, please write "none.")

* The research reported here was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

[1] Henry W. Riecken and George C. Homans, "Psychological Aspects of Social Structure," in Gardner Lindzey, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 786–832. See esp. pp. 794–801.

[2] Otto N. Larsen and Richard J. Hill, "Social Structure and Interpersonal Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (March, 1958), pp. 497–505.

[3] Theodore M. Newcomb, *The Acquaintance Process*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1961.

[4] Glen D Mellinger, "Interpersonal Trust as a Factor in Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52 (May, 1956), pp. 304–309.

Accordingly, the feeling of respect on the part of a respondent toward the judgment of each of the others in the school sample was categorized either as existing or as not existing.

LEVEL OF COMMUNICATION

Information concerning communication links in the school was gathered by means of a questionnaire personally administered to small groups of respondents by interviewers from the research staff. Each respondent was given a list of his school faculty and asked first to cross off the list

> all persons with whom you communicate only an insignificant amount . . . to whom you speak only to say "good morning" in the hall or "how are you" at faculty meetings. . . . There is no certain number each of you should remove.

The first section of the questionnaire instructed the respondent to indicate for each other person on his list about how often he communicated with him (on the average, over the past year), whatever the purpose of the communication. After the first section of the questionnaire was completed, respondents were instructed to cross off their lists all persons whom they had marked "less than once a month." In the next section of the questionnaire the respondent was asked whether teaching topics, other school topics, or sociable conversation (these were defined both in print and orally) was the least part of his communication with each other person; and he was then told to cross off the list all persons with whom teaching topics was the *least* part of his communication Having crossed off persons with whom his communication was largely irrelevant to teaching problems, the respondent was led into the next section of the questionnaire.

The next section asked the respondent to indicate how much of his communication with each other person had to do with guidance. This was defined for the purposes of the questionnaire as

> learning the abilities and other characteristics of students through talks with students, through tests, through school records, through talks with parents, etc., and guiding the student through the school curricula and other activities and into occupations or higher education.

We had, then, an estimate by Person A of his frequency of communication about any topic with Person B and also an estimate by A of the proportion of his conversation with B which was devoted to matters of guidance, testing, and related topics. These two estimates were combined by a kind of multiplicative rationale to give a measure of relative level or frequency of communication about guidance and testing. Codes for several levels of communication were assigned.

After assigning one of these codes to each respondent's estimate concerning his communication with every other person in the school sample, we then compared, within each pair of persons, what Person A said about Person B with what B said about A. Both persons in the pair were then assigned a new code, the same for both persons. This new code was the lower of the two original codes given by the two members of the pair. The result was that the final communication frequency assigned to each pair of persons (and to each member of the pair) represented a *lower bound estimate of the communication between them concerning guidance and testing,* based on the reports of both persons about each other. In other words, a given frequency assigned to the members of a pair meant that the two persons agreed that the level of communication between them was *at least* a certain amount.

At this point, every pair of respondents within every school in our sample had been coded into one of five levels of communication. We could have employed various of these levels of communication in further analyses—and we hope in the future to do so. In this report, however, all analyses are based on splitting the communication levels into two groups: those equivalent to at least one conversation per week and those below this level. It will be convenient, in what follows, to call pairs of persons "connected" if their communication category was equivalent to one conversation per week or more, and "unconnected" if less.

FIRST TEST OF HYPOTHESIS

Two approaches were used in testing the relation between respect and communication about guidance and testing. For the first manner of test, the hypothesis was modified somewhat. Rather than looking at each respondent individually, we took this view of the hypothesis: *among densely connected groups of persons the general level of respect will be higher than among loosely connected or unconnected groups.*

To work out a test of the hypothesis in this form, it was first necessary to locate some collections of persons having relatively high connectedness. Every pair of persons within every school had been designated as connected (i.e., having the equivalent of at least one conversation per week about guidance and testing) or unconnected. This made it possible to look for groups of mutually-connected persons or *cliques*.

Although Harary and Ross,[5] whose method of finding cliques we used, define a clique as at least three persons each of whom is connected to every other, we arbitrarily chose to define the *densely* connected members of the faculty as being those persons who were members of cliques containing *four or more* persons.

Actually, however, the present form of the hypothesis directs us not to look for densely connected *persons*, but rather high densities of *connections*—and connections, of course, are coterminous with *pairs* of persons. Accordingly, the unit of analysis in this first manner of testing the hypothesis is the *pair* of persons, and measures of communication connection and of respect level were accordingly assigned every *pair*.

Within each school, three groups of pairs of persons were distinguished. One group represented a high level of communication or density of connectedness, and was composed of all those pairs of persons which were parts of cliques containing four or more persons.[6] Another group consisted of all unconnected pairs. This group represented the lowest level of connectedness. (It should be remembered, however, that we are using the term "unconnected" here to mean that at least one member of the pair reported less than one conversation per week with the other concerning guidance and testing; "unconnected" does not mean that *no* communication on relevant topics took place within the pair.) The third group consisted of all remaining pairs. These were connected pairs, but pairs whose connections were not links in 4-person-cliques or larger. These three groups of pairs will be called, in order of descending connection density, the "clique group," the "connected group," and the "unconnected group" of pairs.

Of course, some schools were relatively low in density of communication. Some contained no cliques at all of four or more persons. Because of this, we retained in this analysis only those schools which yielded a reasonable number of pairs to constitute the clique group. We arbitrarily omitted any school which turned out to have fewer than eight pairs eligible for a clique group.

The next step after ascertaining the three groups representing levels of communication frequency was to determine the level of respect in the three groups. To do this, a simple score was assigned each pair. If neither member of the pair had mentioned the other as someone whose judgment about guidance and testing he respected, the pair was assigned a respect score of zero. If one person mentioned the other as someone he respected, the pair was assigned a score of one. If both persons had mentioned each other, the pair received a score of two.

This raw respect score for pairs of persons, however, could not be used as it stood to ascertain the general level of respect in the group of pairs because the pairs overlapped each other in the persons composing them. The respect scores for pairs were not experimentally independent. An individual who tended to respect a great many people, if he were one of many pairs in a group of pairs, would "inflate" the summed respect scores for that group of pairs. His tendency to respect more people than others respected needed to be taken into account. To do this, new respect scores, adjusted for the tendencies of the individual persons to respect others, were assigned the pairs by the method of Runkel, Smith, and Newcomb.[7] This method assigns adjusted scores which take the form of deviations from the grand mean of the entire sample being studied. For each of the three groups of pairs in each school, then, an adjusted mean level of respect was computed. The results are shown in Table 1.

RESULTS

The prediction was that the respect levels would decrease from left to right across the three columns labelled by groups in Table 1. Since the mean respect levels in these columns are deviations from the mean respect level for the school, a positive mean for one of the three groups of pairs necessitates a negative mean for some other group. In the table, all but one of the means for the clique groups are positive; the means of the unconnected groups are negative except for two zeros. In nine of the schools (the uppermost section of the table) the respect levels of the three groups of pairs fell precisely in the order predicted; this is indicated by the taus of 1.00. In School 13 the order of means could not be assessed because one group did not materialize; pairs in School 13 were either parts of cliques or were uncon-

[5] Frank Harary and Ian C. Ross, "A Procedure for Clique Detection Using the Group Matrix," *Sociometry,* 20 (September, 1957), pp. 205–215. We are very grateful to Mr. Donald C. Furtkamp and Mr. Bud J. Meador for programming the Harary and Ross procedure for the IBM 650 and carrying through the computations.

[6] One clique of four persons would produce six such pairs; one clique of six persons would produce 15 pairs; two distinct cliques, each of four persons, would produce eight pairs, etc.

[7] Philip J. Runkel, J. E. Keith Smith, and Theodore M. Newcomb, "Estimating Interaction Effects Among Overlapping Pairs," *Psychological Bulletin,* 54 (March, 1957), pp. 152–158.

TABLE 1. MEAN ADJUSTED RESPECT LEVELS WITHIN GROUPS OF PAIRS OF PERSONS CLASSIFIED BY COMMUNICATION LEVEL

School No.	Mean Adjusted Deviation from School Mean Respect Level: Clique Group	Conn. Group	Uncon. Group	Tau	Pr of Clique Group Mean *
1	.21	.08	—.02	1.00	.0005
2	.44	.13	—.06	1.00	.0003
3	.20	.07	—.04	1.00	.010
4	.28	.07	—.04	1.00	.018
5	.09	.05	—.02	1.00	.179
6	.22	.08	—.01	1.00	.158
7	.19	.08	—.02	1.00	.077
8	.11	.10	—.02	1.00	.232
9	.08	.01	—.02	1.00	.146
10	.32	—.07	—.01	.33	.093
11	.03	—.02	.00	.33	.435
12	.22	—.12	—.02	.33	.078
13	.03	None	— 02	—	.314
14	.16	.20	— 02	.33	.231
15	.01	.05	—.01	.33	.498
16	.16	.22	—.05	.33	.071
17	—.06	.03	.00	—.33	.696
Combined probability				<.001**	<.001***

* One-tailed probability of difference from zero of the clique group means, by t-test.

** Binomial probability of obtaining 15 out of 16 positive taus from, e.g., appendix Table D of Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956. Siegel may also be consulted for a description of Kendall's tau statistic.

*** Probability of the combined result by the method of Mordecai H. Gordon, Edward H. Loveland, and Edward E. Cureton. "An Extended Table of Chi-square for Two Degrees of Freedom, for Use in Combining Probabilities from Independent Samples," *Psychometrika,* 17 (September, 1952), pp. 311–316.

nected. In the other three schools of the second section of the table, the clique groups had the highest respect levels, as predicted, but *connected* groups had the *lowest.* In the third section of the table the unconnected groups had the lowest respect levels, as predicted, but the *connected* groups had the *highest.* In the single school in the last section of the table the order of the means was contrary to prediction.

To assess the outcome over all the schools (except No. 13) in Table 1, we used the simple method of counting the number of positive taus (15 out of 16) and comparing this with what the binomial distribution with $p=.5$ would predict. It is to be remembered that each school gave us independent data, and each row of Table 1 can be considered a replication of the "experiment." The over-all result for order of group means was significant beyond the .001 level.

Obtaining the predicted order of only three things (i.e., group mean respect levels) can only be significant at the .167 level at best, and this gives us an unsatisfactory amount of information about an individual school. For this reason, we went on to examine the results in another way. The three means in any one school are not statistically independent, but the mean of one of them can be tested for significance without complicating the interpretation. We computed the random probability of obtaining a mean as large as that obtained for the clique group in each school. These probabilities appear in the last column of the table. Four schools of the 17 yielded clique group means with probabilities beyond .05 (one-tailed); eight gave probabilities beyond .10; only one school had a mean in the direction opposite to prediction. The combined result over all the 17 schools, assessed by the method of Gordon *et al*,[8] was significant beyond the .001 level.

Although our measure of communication frequency was used only to characterize each pair of persons as either connected or not connected, we went a step further than dividing the pairs of persons in each school merely into connected

[8] *Op. cit.*

and unconnected groups. From among the connected pairs of persons, we took out yet a third group of pairs which belonged to *densely* connected structures—namely, to cliques of four or more persons. Do our results show that we were justified in making a distinction between collections of connected pairs and *densely* connected groups of pairs?

If the relation between connectedness and frequency of respect choice depended only on whether there were a connection with the person being respected, then we should predict that the clique group mean would be greater than the connected group mean no more often than the other way round. But if being connected to persons who are themselves connected (i.e., belonging to a clique) increases the likelihood of respect, then we should, as we did, predict a tendency for the clique group mean to be higher. It can be seen in Table 1 that of the 16 schools having both clique and connected groups, only four produced clique group means lower than connected group means. The binomial probability of so few as this is .038, which supports our sub-hypothesis.

As to the strength of the relation between communication and respect in the realm of guidance and testing, it is clear from Table 1 that the relation was moderately strong in some schools and very weak (if present at all) in others. It should be remembered that these schools differed widely in ways which might affect such a relation as that we have been examining. They differed in size, in relative number of counselors, in duties assigned to counselors and their officially-assigned paths of communication, in stability of opinion about the use of test results, and in other variables. The influence of some of these variables on the relation between communication and respect is an open field for future research. For example, it may be that some connected groups of pairs show a low level of respect because the communication links are forced by the official channels—links which would be broken off if the participants were free to do so.

SECOND TEST OF HYPOTHESIS

The manner of testing the hypothesis decribed in the previous section paid no attention to the "kinds" of persons involved. The question arises whether the association between respect and communication was primarily due to the fact that the official position of counselor, for example, might have captured high levels of both these variables. This kind of question is also raised by some of the studies reviewed by Riecken and Homans[9] in which communication was seen to be directed more frequently toward persons of higher "rank" of one kind or another.

In our second test of the hypothesis that amount of communication is associated with frequency of respect choice, we used the same measures of communication linkage and respect choice; but our unit of analysis was the individual rather than the pair. For every individual, an index of association was computed between his being connected to another person and his choosing that person as someone whose judgment he respected. As a measure of the association between our two variables within every individual, we chose Kendall's[10] Q-statistic.

SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

In the first test of our hypothesis, all respondents in a school could be included in the analysis if the school could be included. In the present analysis, on the other hand, a contingency table must be constructed for every respondent in which those others whom he does and does not respect are tallied in the rows (let us say) and those with whom he does and does not have communication connections are tallied in the columns. Some respondents were connected to no one and respected no one. In the contingency tables of such persons, two of the marginals were zero. Although Kendall's Q has a value of zero for such a table, the measure is all but meaningless. Individuals' tables having one zero marginal are similarly dubious. Persons whose contingency tables contained a zero marginal are omitted from this analysis. Every school in the sample, however is represented.

Another portion of the respondents yielded contingency tables in which one marginal had a value of one; the respondent respected only one person or was connected only to one person. It is clear that the value of Q for such a table is a very unreliable measure, since the placement of only one tally in the cells of the table determines whether the Q-value shall be +1 or −1; no intermediate values are possible. We felt such unreliable contingency tables should receive special attention, as will be seen below.

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[9] Op. cit.

[10] Maurice G. Kendall, *The Advanced Theory of Statistics*, London: Charles Griffin & Co. Ltd., 1943, Vol. I, pp. 310–313.

TABLE 2. ASSOCIATION (KENDALL'S Q) BETWEEN COMMUNICATION LINKS AND RESPECT CHOICES IN 1959, CLASSIFIED BY GROUP OF RESPONDENT CHOOSING AND CHOSEN

Choosers	Chosen	Smallest Marginal in Contingency Table of Choosers Included in the Computation >0	>1	Mean Q	Prop. Pos. Qs *	Chooser N	P **
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Teachers	Teachers	—	x	.13	.67	21	<.063
		x	—	−.04	.51	81	NS
Specialists	Teachers	—	x	.48	.92	25	<.001
		x	—	.26	.76	50	<.001
All	Teachers	—	x	.32	.80	46	<.001
		x	—	.07	.66	131	<.001
Teachers	Specialists	—	x	.36	.76	72	<.001
		x	—	.28	.67	183	<.001
Specialists	Specialists	—	x	.47	.81	59	<.001
		x	—	.45	.77	85	<.001
All	Specialists	—	x	.41	.78	131	<.001
		x	—	.33	.70	268	<.001
All	All	—	x	.46	.82	275	<.001
		x	—	.27	.70	390	<.001

*Proportion of positive Q-values. Where Qs of exactly zero occurred, half were called positive.
** Binomial probabilities (one tail) of the proportion of positive Qs. NS means P>.20.

RESULTS

Table 2 shows that the over-all result was in the predicted direction, which is not surprising since the underlying data are the same as those used in the first test of the hypothesis.

The results in Table 2 are grouped into seven bands, each band containing two lines. In the first band, for example, only the contingency tables of teachers are included—teachers are the *choosers* in this band—and only teachers are tallied in those contingency tables—teachers are also the *chosen* in this band. The first line (the line containing an "x" in Column 4 of the table) shows that for those teachers having unambiguous and reliable contingency tables (tables with all marginals at least 2), the mean Q was only .13 (Column 5), the proportion of contingency tables showing a positive association between respect and communication was .67 (Column 6), there were 21 contingency tables in the computation (Column 7), and the one-tailed binomial probability of the proportion of .67 was less than .063.

It can be seen that when only the contingency tables in which teachers chose teachers were examined, the number of unambiguous and reliable contingency tables was a small fraction of the total number of teachers in the sample. When one sets aside subjects because their data are not easily handled by the method of analysis he has chosen, he runs the risk that the remaining subjects may carry an unknown bias into the final result. This is the reason we have included the second line in each band of Table 2. In the second line, contingency tables containing marginals of at least one are included in the computations. Even with the addition of the more unreliable cases into the computations, however, it can be seen that the conclusions to be drawn from the table remain in substantially the same direction.

If official position were responsible for the association between respect and communication about guidance matters which we found in our first analysis, then counselors, deans, and department heads would tend to fall in the "connected and respected" cell of the chooser's contingency table; and teachers and librarians would tend to fall in the "unconnected and not respected" cell. Then, if the chooser were limited to choosing among persons in only one of these groups, the association would weaken, if not vanish. In Table 2, counselors, deans, and

department heads are called *specialists* [11] and librarians as well as teachers are included in the term *teachers*.

Table 2 shows clearly that the association between communication and respect did not diminish precipitously when respondents' choices within only one respondent group were examined. When all respondents were considered as choosing among all others, the mean Q was .46 (first line of last band). When all chose only among specialists the mean Q was .41, and when all chose only among teachers the mean Q was still .32. The corresponding proportions of positive Qs were .82, .78, and .80—which are substantially equivalent to each other. There is certainly no evidence here that official position connected with guidance duties in the school accounted for any important part of the association the respondents showed between their communication links and their respect choices.

TABLE 3. SELECTED DATA FROM TABLE 2

	Chosen			
	Teachers		Specialists	
Chooser	Mean Q	Prop. Pos. Qs	Mean Q	Prop. Pos. Qs
Teachers	.13	.67	.36	.76
Specialists	.48	.92	.47	.81

Nevertheless, there are some interesting suggestions in Table 2 concerning differential association between the variables. To make these clearer, Table 3 abstracts certain information from Table 2.

In Table 3, it appears that the relation between communication and respect was weaker within the choices by teachers than within those by specialists. It was not so much who was *chosen* that made the difference as who was *choosing*. Other parts of the research from which this report is drawn suggest that a good part of the strength of the association between respect and communication may depend upon sufficiently trained cognitive structure to support discriminating respect choices and the selective establishment of communication links. The specialists, presumably trained to think and take action concerning guidance matters discriminatingly, did differentially communicate with teachers, did differentially respect them concerning guidance matters, and did associate these two kinds of choices positively. Our data demonstrate this. It is doubtful that teachers, on the other hand, were behaving this way toward other teachers (see the first band of Column 8 in Table 2). While the proportion of positive Qs when specialists were choosing teachers was significant beyond the .001 level, the relation when teachers were choosing teachers did not reach the .05 level even when the computation was restricted to the most reliable of the contingency tables.

This conclusion, that some minimum capacity for cognitive differentiation is necessary if a relation between communication and respect is to appear, needs some qualification. In the first place, it probably should not be extended to the relation between communication and *liking* since liking in the approach-avoidance sense is a very "primitive" orientation requiring little more cognitive discrimination than the ability to tell one person from another at sight. This difference between the orientations of liking and respect can often be observed in the relations among professional persons. We often find ourselves liking a colleague whose professional capacities we do not especially respect, and vice versa. Correspondingly, the frequency of *professional* communication can follow respect at the *professional* level; and purely social conversation can conform to *liking*. In fact, as we go from coterie to coterie at convention time, we alter the content of our communication to suit the kind of orientation which can support the approach behavior.

The point just made is a point of *relevance* between the nature of the attraction and the content of the communication. When a restricted content of communication is being studied, or a restricted dimension of attraction, one should not expect an association between the variables unless they are relevant to each other—unless they belong to the same cognitive domain. The empirical exploration of the possible relevant domains mediating attraction and communication has hardly begun.

[11] Administrators were not included in the computation because they had not been asked to make respect choices.

ADOPTION AND INFERTILITY

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Among the cures for infertility extant in American folklore certainly none is more dramatic or more far reaching in its consequences than adoption. Stories of post-adoptive fertility as well as actual instances are familiar to many of us. In the ideal-typical version, such stories

usually contain a couple who have unsuccessfully attempted to have children for five or so years. Upon thorough medical examination they are informed no serious reproductive malfunctions can be found, but it is unlikely that they will have children. The decision to adopt a child is made, implemented, and within six months after the placement of the adopted child in the home, pregnancy occurs.

The imputation of causality in these cases has been endowed with respectability through the application of psychoanalytic doctrine with its emphasis of unconscious psychic influences upon somatic processes. One of the most extreme versions of the psychogenic hypothesis is to be found in Leontine Young's discussion of the unmarried mother. Young holds that these girls unconciously induce ovulation during intercourse in order to satisfy certain repressed needs (usually the desire to present their mothers with an illegitimate child). If this thesis holds true for the unwed mother, perhaps its reverse obtains for the wed unmother. She may unconsciously withhold ovulation to satisfy some repressed desire. Unconscious fear of pregnancy or fear of competition for her husband's attention are two reasons cited for psychogenic infertility.

While speculation about causal connection continues, a number of fundamental questions remain to be answered. There is no systematic evidence regarding even the prevalence of post-adoptive fertility. It is the purpose of this research report to present some basic descriptive data regarding this phenomenon. Specifically, it is addressed to the following three questions:

What is the prevalence of post-adoptive fertility?
What are some of its correlates?
What are some of its effects on the family and on the adopted child?

The data bearing on these questions come from a study begun in 1956 directed toward assessing the outcome of independent (i.e., non-agency) adoptions in a southern state. Nearly 500 families which had adopted children 9–12 years previously were followed up. Intensive interviews by trained social workers were conducted with the adoptive parents and a battery of psychological tests administered to the adopted children. In connection with the study, information was gathered concerning both changes in family composition since the adoption and the reasons for the parents' infertility prior to adoption.

To the best of the author's knowledge, these data are unique in their applicability to the problem at hand. While several other follow-up studies of adoption have been conducted, neither the sample size nor length of follow-up interval was sufficiently long to permit investigation of the frequency of post-adoptive fertility. The fact that these data are from non-agency adoptions is also an advantage. Many agencies require demonstrated infertility of their applicants. The selective bias is eliminated by having independent adoptions from a state in which the proportion of agency placements is very low.

THE PREVALENCE OF POST-ADOPTIVE FERTILITY

Home interviews were obtainable from 438 of the 484 couples locatable in the state. Of these, 43 or roughly 10 per cent had children born to them after adoption. This is probably much lower than would be popularly predicted. However, the 438 cases contain some with characteristics that should probably exclude them from the population at risk. Eliminating cases which have had natural children prior to adoption or in which the marriage was broken by death or divorce reduces the number to 313 families. An additional 57 cases in which the mother was 45 or older, the father was sterile, or the mother had had a complete hysterectomy, were removed, making a total of 256 in the refined population at risk. Of these, 35 or 14 per cent had natural children after adoption; 221 did not. These 256 cases form the base for succeeding analyses.

If adoption cures infertility, it is not a very rapid cure. Contrary to the popular version, there was a mean gap of 3.5 years between placement of the adopted child and the birth of the first natural child. In only six cases did conception take place within the first year after placement; in an additional eight cases, it took place within two years. On the other hand, there were 11 cases in which conception did not occur for five or more years after placement.

In slightly over half the cases, (19) there was only one natural child born by the time of the follow-up. In 12 of the remaining cases, there were two natural children. Since information was not obtained about contraceptive practices after the birth of the natural child, it is not possible to tell whether planned limitation or continuing difficulty in conceiving accounts for this pattern.

THE CORRELATES OF POST-ADOPTIVE FERTILITY

The search for correlates of post-adoptive fertility was not a very rewarding one. No statistically significant differences between the fertile and infertile groups were found in traditional socio-economic variables, in the manner in which the adoption was arranged, or in the expressed motives for adopting a child. There was no difference between the groups in mani-

fest anxiety in the mother as rated by the social workers. The only reliable differences related to biological factors.

Information was obtained in the follow-up interview about the medical bases for infertility. The distribution of fertile and non-fertile cases by categories of reported diagnosis appear in Table 1. The categories are based on parents'

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS FOR INFERTILITY BY POST-ADOPTIVE FERTILITY STATUS

	Infertile	Fertile
No known basis	106	14
Medical basis but not specified	22	3
One tube or ovary removed	27	0
Multiple miscarriages or stillbirths	28	10
Uterine cysts, or tumors	6	2
Uterine malformations	11	2
Tubal disorders	21	4
Total	221	35

reports and are extremely crude, especially the first. It contains two types of cases; those for whom a doctor could find no basis for infertility and those for whom no diagnosis was sought. It was not possible to make a reliable distinction between the two from the case records.[1]

The largest number of fertile cases, 14, or 40 per cent, fall into this undiagnosed category. However, the rate for this category is roughly the same as that for the total. The category with the highest proportion of fertile cases (36 per cent) was miscarriages and still-births and is one in which the mother had already demonstrated the capacity to conceive. The disproportion in this category would be statistically significant.[2]

The crudeness of the categories employed suggests caution in attempting to isolate patterns in these data. With this caveat in mind, it does appear that fertility decreases as severity of reproductive impairment increases, an hardly surprising finding.

The sharpest difference between the fertile and infertile groups was in the age of the mother. As can be seen in Table 2, all of the mothers in the fertile group were 35 or younger

TABLE 2. POST-ADOPTIVE FERTILITY STATUS BY AGE OF MOTHER AT TIME OF ADOPTION

	Fertile	Infertile
20–35 years	35	120
36–44 years	0	101

Chi-square corrected for continuity=24.995, p less than .05.

at the time they adopted. For most of this group, the follow-up interval represents the middle years of the fertility span, while for the infertile group it is the latter third of the fertility span. One concomitant of the younger age of the fertile groups is the shorter period of time they were married prior to adoption, 5 9 years on the average as compared to 7.5 years in the infertile group.

THE IMPACT OF POST-ADOPTIVE FERTILITY ON THE FAMILY

Since the concern of the main study was the assessment of adoption outcomes, data bearing on the impact of post-adoptive fertility focus primarily on the adopted child. Are there any differences in his adjustment or in his relationship with his adoptive parents when a natural child comes into the family?

Through the administration of a battery of adjustment tests in classrooms containing sample children, data were obtained on the following adjustment variables: withdrawn maladjustment, aggressive maladjustment, leadership, popularity, social adjustment, and personal adjustment. Achievement test data were obtained from school records. Scores on withdrawn maladjustment, aggressive maladjustment, and leadership were based on the Behavior Description Chart, a teacher rating device developed by Bowman and his colleagues.[3] Popularity was measured by a three item sociometric preference rating. Social and personal adjustment scores came from the two major scales of the California Test of Personality.

Means on each of the adjustment measures were computed separately for the adopted children of fertile and infertile families and the differences between means tested statistically. In no case did the difference approach the 5 per cent Alpha level. Nor was there any consistency in the direction of the differences.

The follow-up interview with adoptive parents provided information on a number of variables characterizing their relationship to

[1] Of course, medical diagnoses, even when accurately reported, may be in error in estimating the consequences of reproductive impairment. Seven of the fertile mothers report that a physician informed them pregnancy was impossible.

[2] With one degree of freedom, Chi-square corrected for continuity=4.837, p less than .05. The probability value is only suggestive because of the ad hoc collapsing of categories.

[3] P. H. Bowman *et al.*, *Mobilizing Community Resources for Youth*, Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1956.

the adopted child. Data were obtained on specific aspects of the parents conception of and attitudes toward the child, and on their handling of him. In addition, global assessments of important dimensions of home "quality" were made by the social workers. Differences between means of the two groups were compared for eight specific and five global variables with uniform results. The differences were all not significant.[4] The finding of no differences is somewhat surprising in the light of differences between the groups in family structure. All of the children of fertile parents had, as an artifact of setting up the group, some siblings. On the other hand, nearly half of the adopted children in infertile families were only children.

DISCUSSION

Any attempt to draw inferences about the effects of adoption on infertility would really require a control group of non-adoptive couples. Ideally, what would be required is a sample of married women of zero parity who had not adopted, who had the same average duration of marriage, average age, and a similar distribution of fecundity impairments as the present sample at the time of adoption. They should also come from the same distribution of cohorts (i.e., by year of birth). Then, following the logic of this *ex post facto* design, this group should be followed up jointly with the adoptive sample, and the proportion of couples having children in each group compared.

Attempts to construct a hypothetical control group from published fertility data met with no success. In order to be potentially meaningful the comparison requires that the groups be matched on all of the variables just discussed. However, data on the critical control, length of marriage, were never given in establishing subsequent fertility rates for zero parity women. Comparable classifications of extent of fecundity impairment also were not available. The best that could be done was to match the samples on parity (zero), cohort, and age of mother. Based on data from Whelpton's *Cohort Analysis of Fertility*, a group of such women would be expected to bear more than 10 times the number born in the adoptive sample.[5] Clearly, the absence of controls on duration of marriage and fecundity impairment makes this comparison meaningless.

Causal inferences based upon differences between the fertile and non-fertile groups within the adoptive sample can only be sheer speculation. However, speculation when clearly so labelled, can have some value in developing or comparing hypotheses. It is true that there is nothing in these data that would disprove the psychogenic hypothesis. On the other hand, there were a number of comparisons which had the chance to turn up inferential support for this kind of explanation and failed to do so. A significantly lower level of anxiety in the fertile group would have been in the "right" direction. There should have been a higher proportion of women in the "no diagnosis" category who had babies post-adoptively. Some of the variables characterizing parent-child relations such as emotional response and regard for the child as an individual should have differed between the groups. Differences in the motives for adoption could have appeared. Instead, the variables which made a difference were primarily biological ones: age, and type of fecundity impairment. Women over 35 are less likely to become pregnant, even in the absence of contraception, than women under 35. The more severe the impairment to reproductive organs, the less likely it is that conception will take place. These near-truisms suggest that a simple probability model would be at least equally cogent as an interpretation of the observed patterns.

The consequences of having children of mixed statuses in the same household is a problem that has been of considerable concern to those involved with child placement. Adoption agencies in particular pay a good deal of attention to the extent to which applicants have explored the bases for their infertility and what they have found. Some of this concern is unrelated to the problem of mixed statuses. It is

[4] The variables were selected on the basis of having shown a significant correlation with one or more of the adjustment test scores for the total sample. They were: parent's conception of the child's disposition, parent's conception of the child's preference for peers as companions, parent's satisfaction with child's school performance, frequency of discipline, use of physical punishment, degree of difficulty in supervising child, frequency of pleasurable activity with the father, and frequency of pleasurable activity with the mother. In addition, social work ratings of the over-all quality of the home, marital relations, emotional response to the child, manifest anxiety in relationship to the child, control of the child, and regard for the child as an individual were included in the analysis.

[5] P. K. Whelpton, *Cohort Fertility*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, Table E, p. 327. Other sources checked include W. Grabill, C. Kiser, and P. K. Whelpton, *The Fertility of American Women*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958; R. Freedman, P. K. Whelpton, and A. Campbell, *Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959; and P. K. Whelpton and C. V. Kiser, editors, *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*, Vols. I-V, New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1958.

regarded as important for a couple to have exhausted all reasonable expectation of having a child of their own in order to become fully confirmed in their desire to adopt.

In addition, there is the fear that the presence of natural children in the home will be detrimental to the adopted child. He could feel less secure and make invidious comparisons about the extent to which he "really belonged" to the family. And there is the possibility that his concerns might reflect accurately the preference of his adoptive parents for their natural children.[6] Such possibilities were investigated for the cases in which the child was adopted by parents who already had natural children as well as when a natural child was born after adoption.

The casework evaluation of adoptive homes was significantly lower for the 74 homes having natural children prior to adoption than for the remainder of the sample. However, the reasons for the lower ratings appear to be independent of the presence of children of mixed statuses. The mothers were older, on the average, a variable negatively correlated with the ratings. Now that their own children were growing up, many of these mothers had motives for adoption which were regarded as questionable, as, for example, companionship for themselves. There were no significant differences between the psychological data for these children and for children with no non-adopted siblings. As noted previously, no differences could be found in parental handling or in the adjustment of children of families who became fertile post-adoptively, even in the face of differences in family structure.

The number of cases of children in mixed status homes, 109, is not large and many factors which may operate as correlated biases have not been controlled in this study. On the other hand, neither the examination of the adoptive homes nor that of the adoptive children's adjustment was cursory. With all due respect to the possibility of Beta error, the negative effects of natural children upon adopted children in the same home are likely to be subtle indeed, if they exist at all on any general basis

[6] There is the possibility that the invidious comparisons and their effects might work the other way. The modal way of telling a child of his adoptive status is to indicate that he was "chosen." This conception could provide him with a real edge in competition with his siblings.

COMMUNICATIONS

IS SOCIOLOGY DEAD IN COMMUNIST CHINA?

To the Editor:

In "The Recent Development of Sociology in China,"[1] O'Hara reported that ". . . after the communist takeover . . . practically all sociological books have been destroyed along with the data that had been collected with great effort," and that he "has searched the bookstores of Hong Kong . . . for sociological books and reviews . . . (and) has only been able to find two or three of the works of Dr. Sun Pen-wen," a Chinese sociologist. I find this very puzzling as, in connection with my current research in Hong Kong, I have visited probably many of the same bookstores here and have come upon many Chinese sociological publications of the pre-1949 vintage. Perhaps, our definitions of "sociological" literature differ; but, this is only a very small point that seems in need of clarification.

Contrary to O'Hara's statement that "as the communist regime took over the China mainland (in 1949), . . . departments of sociology were immediately abolished and even courses of sociology were denied an existence," the abolition of sociology departments and courses did not take place until 1952. This is also a minor point.

A much bigger issue is raised by the statement that "in the first few years after the communist takeover there was some mention of Dr. Sun Pen-wen, Ch'en Ta and Fei Hsiao-tung, but later there was no further news of Dr. Sun and occasional news of Ch'en Ta and Fei Hsiao-tung which seemed to indicate that they were cooperating with the Party." While the communist action against sociology in China is deplorable and cannot be defended, a few words about Ch'en Ta and Fei Hsiao-tung appear in order. I would not interpret their "cooperation" with the new regime as meaning a loss of critical faculties or sense of responsibility as sociologists. Under the circumstances, they and others cannot say very much; but, what they did say a few years ago, and what they continue to say should not escape our notice.

Ch'en Ta, who is primarily a demographer, was very critical of the 1953–1954 Census of Mainland China, and openly wondered in 1957 whether the government could have trained the 2,500,000 census workers (that it claimed to have trained) sufficiently so that they might carry out their assignments. He further declared that the methods used in the 1953–1954 enumeration were not scientific enough.[2]

Also, in 1957, according to official Chinese Communist publications, Fei, Ch'en, Wu Ching-ch'ao, and others "conspired" to restore "bourgeois" sociology in China (*People's Daily*, August 16, 19, and 30, 1957). The "conspiracy" began in January of that year, when Wu published in *New Construction*[3] an article entitled "Does Sociology Still Have a Place in the New China?" Fei followed with a statement in a Shanghai newspaper (*Wen Hui Pao*) on February 20 and formally requested a change in the official attitude towards sociology, at a conference on propaganda activities called by the Central Committee on the Chinese Communist Party (March 24). On April 10, *New Construction* organized a seminar on sociology, which was chaired by Fei. Less than two weeks later (April 23), the Academic Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences[4] also held a seminar, at which time Fei, Wu, and six others were elected to form an "organization subcommittee." Its functions were, at the appropriate time, to assist in establishing (within the Academic Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences) a committee of research in "social problems."

At the same time, Ch'en, Wu, and others were also engaged in various other activities: (1) They delivered (March 7) a petition to the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, urging the establishment of a population research organization and the introduction of courses in demography at the university level; (2) In an interview published in *Wen Hui Pao* on April 16, Ch'en reiterated his view about the restoration of sociology; (3) In May, Ch'en and others

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[1] Albert R. O'Hara, "The Recent Development of Sociology in China," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (December, 1961), pp. 928–929.

[2] *Statistical Work*, No. 12, 1957. This is the official journal of the State Statistical Bureau of the Central Government.

[3] A Chinese journal devoted to discussions of political, economic, demographic, and other policies and problems.

[4] The Academy of Sciences is the highest academic and scientific organ in China. Its members include almost all leading scientists of China.

wrote a letter to the Ministry of Higher Education, voicing their opposition to the previous elimination of sociology departments.

All these above activities seemed to have had implicit official sanction or, at least, were tolerated, until July, when they were openly and severely attacked by officials at the Fourth Session of the First National People's Congress.[5] Prior to this, there was a "private" meeting on June 6, which was attended by Ch'en, Fei, Wu, and others and was held at Ch'en's home. The official version of what took place at that meeting runs as follows: The name of the committee of research in social problems was changed, without proper authorization, to "Sociology Work Committee," and Ch'en was elected chairman of the committee. It was resolved to enlist systematically those academic colleagues trained in "bourgeois" sociology and to re-establish the Chinese Sociological Society. It was further resolved to restore sociology departments in universities, first in Peking and Shanghai and then in Canton and Chengtu. Wu was to be in charge of a sociological research center at the People's University in Peking, and another sociologist, also surnamed Wu, the head of the proposed sociology department at Peking University.

None of the plans was realized, and those responsible were purged in the campaign to weed out the so-called rightists which followed this ephemeral period of the "hundred flowers." Nonetheless, might it not be too early to conclude, as O'Hara has done, that "sociology in China was completely wiped out"? In fact, both Fei and Wu have recently been "depurged," and there are faint signs of an improved intellectual and scientific climate in China. For example, copies of a journal dealing with minority populations in China (*National Solidarity*) re-appeared in Hong Kong in recent months after an absence of nearly two years. Moreover, for the time being, one can at least note that work is going on in China in anthropology and archaeology.

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CONFORMITY AND OVER-CONFORMITY

To the Editor:

Periodically a concept appears in sociological writing which makes good sense in a limited application only to be spoiled by indiscriminate use. Such is the case with the concept of over-conformity. The basic notion is that on a scale of conformity both extremes are deviant. This viewpoint implies several special limits with regard both to norms and to behavior, and very often is nothing more than a thinly disguised praise of mediocrity.

Some norms are themselves extreme, and it is impossible to over-conform to them because it is impossible to reach them at all. No runner can intelligently be accused of over-conformity when he tries to break the record, because the norm against which all are judged is to run faster than anyone has run before. The fastest runner does not over-conform, he merely conforms, as does every other runner who runs as fast as he can. The only deviant is the one who dogs it.

Some norms involve directional limits, so that excess in one direction is by definition a violation, or a foul. Blackjack is a good example. You must try to get as close to twenty-one as you can, but close means at or below. With twenty-two you lose. You can't over-conform.

One confusion is to be found in the use of absolute sounding words to describe norms which are relative. We may tell our children "never lie" when we really mean "don't lie except when there is a good reason to do so" and neglect to indicate the good reasons. Under these circumstances, most kids learn the good reasons informally, but a few kids take us at our word. These always-truthful kids then become the "over-conformers."

In other words, what appears from one viewpoint as over-conformity may only be conformity to an incorrectly stated or incorrectly perceived norm. It is like the shaggy dog story in which the searcher rejects one dog after another as not shaggy enough only to find the shaggiest dog in the world, which he rejects as too shaggy. If a coach tells his player "get that ball any way you can" and the kid fouls, is he then over-conforming?

I suspect that the concept of over-conformity is a slick pejorative which appeals to people who in earlier life complained about the others whose efforts surpassed theirs and called the winners "teacher's pet" or "eager beaver" or less printable military names. Anyone who aims at a norm higher than mine is over-conforming All the world is queer but me; the man who is more worried than I is neurotic and the one who is less worried is a psychopath; a hair splitter is a man who thought up a distinction before I did; and anyone who is more honest

[5] *The Complete Report*, The First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 4th Session, Peking, 1957, pp. 386–388 and pp. 1414–1421.

about his income tax than I am is over-conforming!

The point is that few situations in real life can be judged by a single, clear, operationally definable norm. Such cases as do exist are usually artificially simplified games, such as bowling. Within such a game there can be no such thing as over-conforming. Outside the game, there are many competing norms, only a few of which are operationally definable in a consistent manner, and only a few of which are measurable on an absolute scale. Most real life situations can be and are evaluated in terms of multiple norms, some of which oppose or moderate others. The ball player (such as Ty Cobb) who best lives up to the norm of aggressiveness automatically fails the norm of good sportsmanship. The violinist who best approximates the norm of pitch accuracy fails the norm of expressiveness, because variations in pitch are one of the techniques of expression. Such conflicts in norms are widely recognized: "Nice guys come in last."

Sociologists have long decried the several uses of the term "normal," complaining that mere statistical frequency is not the only basis for norms, but the concept of over-conforming merely imports the mode again. In a day in which most intellectuals complain that we are all pushing and shoving our way toward the sacred middle it ill-becomes sociological writers to over-conform!

William Bruce Cameron
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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

After *July 1, 1962,* manuscripts, books for review, and other editorial correspondence should be addressed to·

Editor or Book Review Editor
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
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Neil J. Smelser will serve as Editor and David Matza as Book Review Editor effective with the February, 1963 issue of the *Review.*

The *Review* will continue to maintain its offices at 19 Johnson Hall, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon for completion of the 1962 issues (August, October, and December, 1962). Only correspondence relating to these 1962 issues should be sent to the University of Oregon address.

ERRATA AND CLARIFICATIONS

The Editor invites readers to direct his attention to errors and ambiguities that have appeared in recent issues of the *Review*. Errata and clarifications will be reported from time to time as a convenience to our readers and contributors.

VOLUME 23 (April, 1958), p. 202.

The reference to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* should read: 1, 4, 3.

VOLUME 26 (October, 1961), pp. 758–777.

Professor David J. Bordua and Professor Robert H. Somers of the University of Michigan direct attention to what they regard as a serious methodological error in the article by Jan Hajda on "Alienation and Integration of Student Intellectuals." "The error," they note, "is that percentages in nearly all the tables are run in the wrong direction." They explain as follows: "As noted by Zeisel and others, it is logically correct, in nearly all cases, to run percentages in the direction of the independent variable. Having run them the opposite way, Hajda cannot legitimately make statements such as, 'While the high status of the father's occupation substantially increases the student's chances of feeling at home in non-academic circles, it also increases his chances of becoming an intellectual.' (p. 767.)

"An examination of the article will show that the majority of statements describing data are of this nature, and therefore logically incorrect. While it is perhaps true that when properly percentaged the data would yield many of the stated conclusions, this is by no means obvious. Hajda himself notes (p. 765) that he obtains different results, in a preliminary table, when percentages are run in the opposite direction. He seems unaware that this jeopardizes the principal conclusions in the body of the article. Only in the final sections of the article do we find the proper type of statement, e.g., 'The alienated intellectuals among graduate students are persons committed more or less exclusively to the academic community.' (p. 775.)"

In reply, Professor Hajda acknowledges the correctness of the observations that the tables should have been run in the direction of the dependent variable and that the interpretation is in some instances inconsistent with the form in which the data are presented. He believes, however, that it does not follow that this error jeopardizes the principal conclusions in the body of the article.

A comparison of the published results with a version of the paper in which the data were percentaged properly leads Professor Hajda to observe that most of the conclusions based on the proper procedure are identical with those that appeared in the published article. He wishes to assure his critics that he has no reason to withdraw the particular statement that they singled out for comment. Father's high occupational status, he finds, does increase a student's chances of feeling at home in non-academic circles as well as his chances of becoming an intellectual.

"At the same time," he reports, "the properly percentaged tables show the following: Ph.D study, original Jewish affiliation, having three or more siblings, and desire to be helpful to others, increase the probability of student's feeling of alienation from, rather than integration into the larger society Original Protestant affiliation is more frequently associated with intellectual rather than non-intellectual self-conception. Being brought up without a religious affiliation emerges as a factor favoring an intellectual orientation as well as integration into the larger society. High evaluation of non-conformity in personal life emerges as an attribute of alienated intellectuals. Identification with conservative rather than with liberal Republicans is typical of the integrated non-intellectuals. There is no relationship between intellectual self-conception, integration into the larger society, and the following attributes: regarding oneself as being in the 'top fifth' among fellow students; coming from a family where 'it was naturally assumed that children would go to college;' having one sibling; being the oldest or the youngest child.

"Otherwise, the conclusions presented in the published article stand as written."

VOLUME 26 (December, 1961), pp. 874–883.

Professor William R. Dill, Carnegie Institute of Technology, questions the validity of Perrucci's conclusion that the evidence presented in the Perrucci paper "indicates a possible trend toward rigidity in the American opportunity structure" (p. 883). "Such a conclusion," he

writes, "depends in no small measure on the validity and overall salience to the problem of Perrucci's assumption that family background is more important in upper-level promotions than in lower-level ones and that, therefore, background has not yet had its major impact on the younger ('Time 3') engineers in his sample. This may be true, but data we are now collecting at Carnegie (also on engineers) suggest an opposite hypothesis: namely, that men who have become presidents, vice-presidents, or chief engineers before age 40 are more likely than older men in these positions to have achieved them through family influences. Family background may have been overemphasized in the 'Time 3' sample data, not underemphasized.

"There are other reasons why I find Perrucci's statistics hard to interpret. First, there may be differences in the labels that older and younger engineers use to describe their fathers' occupations. Perrucci acknowledges this problem in a footnote, but, as Bendix and Howton have shown in their dissection of the difference between 'gentry farmers' and other kinds of farmers, such distinctions can be critical in the evaluation of data gathered for different generations of engineers.

"Second, titles like 'president' and 'chief engineer' may not carry the same prestige, the same material benefits, or even the same job responsibilities in a small company as they do in a large one. There is nothing in Perrucci's article that indicates a control for the kinds of organizations his respondents worked in. Size of organization is particularly important if one wants to answer questions about trends toward rigidity or openness in American social structure because of evidence that hiring and promotion practices may be quite different in smaller firms than in large corporations."

Professor Perrucci replies as follows: "Mr. Dill's reservations regarding the conclusion of my article seem to stem from his apparent reluctance to view the specific engineering data within the context of the theoretical model presented. The main objective of my paper was to suggest an alternative approach for assessing changes in the social structure over time. In addition, the paper indicated the kinds of data needed to test such a model (pp. 878–879). It was clearly stated, I believe, that all the data necessary to test the outlined model, as well as the validity of certain assumptions, were not available. Nevertheless, I hope that I can clear up the questions raised by Mr. Dill.

"The first objection raised by Mr. Dill concerns my assumption that the obtained differences among the younger engineers (the 'Time 3' data in Table 3) will become greater over time. It seems to me that the verification of Mr. Dill's 'opposite hypothesis' would in no way refute the validity of my assumption as it bears upon the conclusion of a trend toward rigidity in the American opportunity structure. Since my assumption was that time would maximize the obtained differences among younger engineers, an adequate test of this assumption, and the conclusion based upon it, must indicate whether the differences among younger engineers increase, decrease, or remain the same over time. The need for such a test concerning the effect of time upon career mobility patterns was clearly indicated in the paper (step 'd', p. 879, and footnote 19, p. 879). Mr. Dill's hypothesis suggests that the obtained differences among 'Time 3' engineers will remain the same, since the younger men have already achieved their positions through family influences. Thus, even if the hypothesis that the 'Time 3' differences remain the same over time is empirically supported, it would not alter the conclusion.

"The second question raised by Mr. Dill has to do with the 'differences in the labels that older and younger engineers use to describe their fathers' occupations.' While I am pleased that Mr. Dill shares my concern with this problem, I can do little more than repeat the importance of obtaining information on the actual occupations of the fathers. This was indicated in the paper (footnote 22).

"Mr. Dill's comment on the possible relationship between size of organization and the relative prestige of similar job positions is an important one. While data were not available to make the necessary 'control tests' in this study, this dimension should certainly be included in the procedures for obtaining relative prestige rankings of various job positions (step 'c,' p. 879)."

BOOK REVIEWS

Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School. By HOWARD S. BECKER, BLANCHE GEER, EVERETT C. HUGHES, ANSELM L. STRAUSS. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961. xiv, 456 pp. $10.00.

Sociologists who study a medical school might be expected to observe both faculty members and students as well as to attend to the social structure of the institution. In the present instance, however, Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss chose to identify themselves almost entirely with the student. Their report is, therefore, a case study of one medical school, the University of Kansas, as seen by its students. Through participant observation over a two-year period they accumulated some 5,000 pages of field notes on the behavior and viewpoints of first-, third-, and fourth-year students. These notes were then analyzed in terms of "perspectives," a concept derived from G. H. Mead and considered by the authors to be more encompassing than attitudes and values.

The first several chapters in the book are introductory and deal with method and rationale. This section also contains a description of the setting and an attempt to demonstrate that University of Kansas medical students are representative of medical students in the country at large by a comparison with a national sample in terms of attributes, such as social class origins and aptitude scores. The body of the book describes perspectives that the investigators believe characterize students at different phases of their training. Findings obtained by participant observation are supplemented by responses to a structured interview given to 62 students scattered somewhat randomly through the four classes. Finally there is a summary chapter labelled "Coda" which summarizes the work and draws all the themes together.

Medical students at Kansas emerge as a rather uninteresting lot, at odds with the faculty, and blindly but idealistically seeking the professional role of physician. The title of the book is meant to imply that they do not achieve the role until they receive their degrees; before that they are kept firmly in their place as students by the ever watchful faculty. The authors are competent sociologists and one must assume the picture they draw of the University of Kansas Medical School is reasonably accurate. Some aspects of their method, however, cause one to pause before fully accepting their picture as typical of American medical schools; moreover, there is even room for some doubt as to whether they have adequately described all the important nuances of medical student life at Kansas.

First-year Kansas students carry on their studies at the University campus 40 miles away in Lawrence, Kansas and then move to Kansas City for their further training. Although the second year thus represents the first real contact with other students in the school, curiously enough, the authors chose to leave this period out of their investigations. The second year is also the students' first experience with an autopsy and their first encounter with patients, but this possibly significant period in the development of the student is dismissed as unimportant to the study because it can be explained in terms of a combination of first-year perspectives and those of the clinical years. This may well be true; nevertheless the hiatus, plus the assumption that the student body is almost completely homogeneous, gives a peculiarly static quality to the image of student life. It comes as no surprise in fact when in the section called "Perspectives on the Future" an analogy to the prison is introduced. Actually the assumption of homogeneity may in some respects be an artifact produced by interpretations of interview responses from the supposedly random sample of 62 students—a "sample" actually overweighted with freshmen —because in most instances responses are treated as representative of the whole student body without making allowance for attitude change from year to year.

Furthermore, in order to avoid bias, the investigators have deliberately eschewed other studies of the educational process and even seem

at times to have ignored their own experiences as teachers and students. They have approached their field work as innocents and, then, as they identified perspectives during their observations, checked their field notes and counted the number of times a perspective was expressed. They identified these expressions as to whether they were volunteered by a student or elicited by the observer and they have presented them in tables indicating prevalence and intensity. This carries qualitative field work methods to an ultimate; the next step would be an acknowledgement of the inadequacy of participant observation for *systematic* data collection and the use of survey methods.

The authors deserve credit for having carried qualitative field methods as far as they have, and the main contribution of their report is perhaps as an exploration of field work methods. Since they have sedulously avoided hypotheses when observing, their findings tend mostly to be the obvious; for instance, the final perspective for first-year students comprises the ideas that medical school is a great deal of hard work, and that since there is more than can easily be mastered, it is necessary for students to look to their teachers for guidance as to what is most important for them to study and learn.

On the other hand, their major finding of an autonomous student culture is a valuable one for understanding student behavior in a number of contexts. Some of the perspectives, too, such as the responsibility and experience perspectives are of some interest for those concerned with studying the clinical role. And the student views of practice and the specialties provide helpful insights into motives for career planning.

Boys in White will be of interest to many sociologists, particularly those concerned with participant observation as a field work method. It might have been a more satisfactory documentation of medical school life with adequate quantification of faculty and student attitudes. And it might have been expected to appeal to a much wider audience, had there been more straightforward, detailed reporting of the daily life of a medical student.

GEORGE G. READER
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Campus U.S.A.: Portraits of American Colleges in Action. By DAVID BOROFF. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. ix, 210 pp. $4.50.

Sociology has come to occupy a curiously strategic place in the intellectual world. There is a sociology of everything. Yet our knowledge of society does not and cannot derive solely from professional sociology. The historian, the moralist, the biographer, the novelist, each with his distinctive idiom has a viable approach to the understanding of man in society. What is characteristic of the vast body of contemporary literature from these sources is an increasing consciousness of the existence of professional sociology with, typically, an ambivalence of respect and contempt for its possibilities and achievement. Professor Boroff, who is not of the sociological guild, illustrates the position of the layman in this book on American colleges by a challenge. "Sociologists, though they have taught us a great deal, cannot evoke the vibrant reality of a particular college. For one thing they anatomise and isolate. What we need is the organic reality, the way it really is."

Here then is a challenge, not only to sociologists of education, but in principle to the whole sociological enterprise. It is an assertion which reflects all the uneasiness that is engendered by the fact that social life may be studied, criticized and evaluated in any one of a dozen idioms—the novel, the statistical abstract, the poem, the sermon, the essay. Choose any medium and you also choose an uncertainty as to its sociological validity.

What is wrong, I think, is Boroff's implication that there is *one* way to represent the "organic reality." His own method—that of sociological journalism—is one I much admire. At its best, and here it *is* at its best, this kind of writing can provide us with a lively picture of an institution, evaluative because unencumbered by the discipline of the guild regulations which proscribe overt commitment, and economical because Professor Boroff has the literary facility to make a brave anecdote do the work of a hundred plodding and painstaking questionnaires. He therefore succeeds in sketching the panorama of diversity which is American higher education with materials gathered from but 10 of the 1700 possible campuses.

He is to be congratulated. But not I think at the expense of the sociologists, whose aims are distinctively different. His purpose is primarily to keep alive public conversation on a matter of great social importance ("education is our secular church—the one faith that unites us all"). Theirs is to cumulate theory. He succeeds in his task but not in theirs. Those who need to be reminded that the university ought to make a

permanent mark on the social character of its students would do well to read Professor Boroff. Those who need to know how these processes occur will need to turn to, say, Newcomb's study of Bennington. Those who want a quick aromatic sniff of the flavor of student life at Harvard or Wisconsin will, again, find this book an admirable source. Those who seek a generalized and testable theory of the varieties of student subculture will need to go to the sociological analysis presented by Trow and Clark in Newcomb's and Wilson's *The Study of College Peer Groups.*

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Education, Economy, and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education. Edited by A. H. HALSEY, JEAN FLOUD, and C. ARNOLD ANDERSON. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. ix, 625 pp. $7.50.

The major theme of this book is "the analysis of educational institutions under conditions of rapid social change." Apart from a brief introductory chapter, the book includes no editorial commentary and is made up solely of reading selections, most of which have been previously published and none of which appears to have been first prepared especially for this volume. These are organized under six headings relating to economic change, social mobility, educational selection, educational achievement, the changing social functions of educational institutions, and teachers.

The editors state that their reader is "narrowly focused on the connection of education in modern society with the economy and the class structure." While the treatment of their chosen topic, in itself broad, retains a relatively sharp focus, it is by no means narrow. The choice of readings, which are, for the most part, scholarly and sophisticated, reflects the British sociological orientation of Halsey and Floud. Indeed, many of the selections are of British origin. These, together with those of American authorship and others from the work of social scientists in several additional Western countries, give to the book a comparative dimension and serve to broaden further its scope. A number of the selections are comparative analyses in themselves, and the comparison of aspects of British and American education relating to the theme of this work is one of the book's more significant features. Combined with this breadth is a depth of logical analysis going, in most instances, beyond the commonplace to provide genuine insight and a true understanding of the problems treated.

Despite the breadth and depth of this offering, it does not follow, as stated on the dust jacket, that its theme "necessarily involves discussion of all the important issues in educational sociology." It does not, and it is quite evident that the editors had no intention that it should. This is neither a systematic introduction nor a comprehensive treatment of the sociology of education, and the book will probably find its greatest usefulness as a supplementary text.

Its value for this function must be judged in terms of the importance of its major theme, the intrinsic worth and pertinence of the selections offered, and the adequacy with which the contents are organized. On all three criteria, the book achieves a fairly high standard.

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Social Aspects of Education: A Casebook. Edited by EDWARD T. LADD and WILLIAM C. SAYRES. Engelwood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962. xi, 388 pp. $5.75.

Here are 22 true stories (only the names are fictitious) of violent conflict, peaceful change, slick political pressure, enlightened leadership and stupid leadership—all centered around the problems of schools. The cases are truly social. Their main dimensions are sociological, political, and legal, with the psychological entering in a secondary way. They are filled with information of a kind the sociologist looks for, although the editors have limited the facts presented to those available to a "key observer, decision-maker or assessor." The book is intended for use in training future teachers and school administrators who must always make decisions with less information than they would like to have.

To give the reader a concrete hint of the resources here contained: we have a case of conflict between a teachers' organization and a not-too-tactful school superintendent, with the teachers winning an apparent victory through use of a reprehensible pressure technique. We have an ex-Communist, hired to teach in full knowledge of his political past, and then dismissed after being made a political football in a local campaign. We have two cases involving the separation of church-and-state as applied to education. We have an instance of desegregation, more rough than smooth.

Obviously I have not been able to refrain from editorializing about the cases and neither will other readers. That is all to the good. The editors hope that students will learn to raise "neutral" questions leading to better understanding before arriving at conclusions. An ef-

fective decision-maker must do this, but he must also have unambiguous commitments to principle. The cases would be useless as teaching devices if they did not move us. As it is, social scientists teaching in schools of education will surely be grateful for this provocative book. They will have to supply their own bibliographies because those given are inadequate and not annotated.

LEILA SUSSMANN

Wellesley College

Slums and Suburbs: A Commentary on Schools in Metropolitan Areas. By JAMES B. CONANT. New York; Toronto; London: McGraw-Hill. 145 pp. $3.95. (Paper, $1.95).

The 1954 Supreme Court ruling in the Brown case, that segregated schools were inferior by virtue of being segregated, was the first official recognition given to the fact that even when all other things, such as income, years of school, occupation, etc. are equal, there remains an essential core of significant distinction between Negro and white in America which works substantial damage upon Negroes. To be sure, there is only scattered scientific evidence on this point, but there can be very little doubt that the future evidence will overwhelmingly support this view. To see how safe a bet this would be, one has to look only at some of the findings of Karon, Kardiner and Ovesey, and Kenneth Clark, or read what James Baldwin and others tell us about what it feels like to be a Negro in the United States, or perceive the eloquent messages contained in the actions of Negro college students on their freedom rides, sit-ins, and pray-ins.

So, too, however appropriate it may have been fifty years ago or more to make the most of a bad situation by following the shrewd lead of Booker T. Washington, it is quite evident that no such program will enjoy the slightest sympathy or acceptance in the Negro community today. One can no longer treat American Negro youth as though, with rare exceptions, some form of practical vocational education was the best thing for them. However "unrealistic" other educational perspectives may seem, from the viewpoint of the stark realities of early drop-outs and unemployment of Negro youth, it is altogether unrealistic, from the viewpoint of democratic commitment and Negro self-images, to advocate different education for Negroes and whites. There are, in short, *several* sets of harsh realities which must be confronted, and there is little question as to the reaction of the Negro community to proposals to provide primarily vocational education for Negro boys and girls.

It is altogether surprising and dismaying, therefore, to read what James Conant has to say in *Slums and Suburbs.* Conant has been a major positive force in the serious aspects of the great public debate on education. Perhaps more than anyone else, he has been able, by virtue of his eminence, to demand that serious attention be given to school problems. He has shown great sympathy with democratic school goals. He is altogether opposed to segregation. He clearly knows what goes on in schools in the slums and in the suburbs. And yet, apparently dismayed by the urgency and the enormity of the problems arising out of Negro slum schools, he has seen fit in this book to suggest an educational program that both accepts the fact of segregation and advocates an educational program for Negro slum youth closely resembling what Booker T. Washington advocated many years ago.

In all fairness to Mr. Conant, it must be noted that he does not accept segregation as desirable in any sense, but only as an evil whose eradication *cannot* be made first order of business in view of the urgency of school and job problems of Negro slum youth. Nor does Conant advocate vocational education of Negro youth as the "suitable" thing, but rather, again, as the expedient demanded by the job crisis in which these youths find themselves. Yet, the advocacy is there, and in spite of Mr. Conant's most sincere and democratic intentions, his eminent name is sure to be cited by that large number of persons connected with school systems who are unwilling to recognize that fundamental social changes must be made if anything effective is to be done about the educations and lives of Negro slum children. This is just what is wrong with the Conant proposals: promulgated out of sincere wishes to do something immediate and effective about basic problems, the proposals hope, against overwhelming sociological evidence to the contrary, that treating the symptoms may cure the diseases.

The short space of this review is inadequate to describe the thoughtfulness and complexity of Mr. Conant's observations and recommendations. The book demands reading. There is much more to it than can be reviewed here. I have chosen to focus on the two major proposals which are likely to become most controversial precisely because they raise the most basic questions.

MELVIN TUMIN

Princeton University

Students' Culture and Perspectives: Lectures on Medical and General Education. By EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES. Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Law School, 1961. 59 pp. $2.00 ($1.50, paper).

This collection of four papers delivered at the University of Kansas in 1959 is basically an attempt to explain to a non-sociological audience the sociologist's approach to the study of professional education and student culture. In the introductory essay the author discusses how a sociologist may approach the investigation of an educational institution, while the following two essays deal with some observations of medical student culture and perspectives at the University of Kansas. The final and most interesting paper deals with the development of American educational institutions, emphasizing their variety and changing character.

In the context of his introductory discussion, Professor Hughes raises a number of points that deserve serious discussion among sociologists, as, for example, his contention that in the study of organizations any level of conformity whatsoever must be explained. The questions the author raises about the effects of early professional commitment on career choice and the educational process also deserve considerably more research time than we have heretofore provided. Or, to take another area, the effect of student perspectives on the acceptance of educational tasks and goals similarly deserves attention.

In being oriented to the novice, this volume has limited value for the professional sociologist. Its greatest asset is that it presents one approach to organizations that has proved fruitful in stimulating ideas of value to sociological theory, and the author raises many interesting questions. Yet, on leaving this volume, I had the strong feeling that it was too lengthy for what it contained, and far too brief to deal adequately with the important issues and questions the author raised. The insights of the author and clarity of his expression, however, will make this volume a valuable piece which explains at least part of the sociological enterprise to the nonsociologist.

DAVID MECHANIC

University of Wisconsin

Race Relations: Problems and Theory. Edited by JITSUICHI MASUOKA and PRESTON VALIEN. Essays in Honor of ROBERT E. PARK. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. vi, 290 pp. $6.00.

Race Relations: Problems and Theory contains papers presented in a series of seminars on "Race Relations at Mid-Century" held to honor the memory of Robert E. Park in connection with the dedication of Park Hall at Fisk University. Six of the essays were written specifically for the book. Among the contributors are former colleagues or students of Park, including Robert Redfield, E. Franklin Frazier, Everett Hughes, Ernest Burgess, and William Ogburn.

The introductory essay by Charles S. Johnson which sets the framework for the other selections, includes the following observations: We cannot take up race relations in America unless we do so in connection with other structures and changes in the society. Our society is changing from a racial society to a human-relations society in which status and rank are determined increasingly by interpersonal and nonracial group characteristics. Issues involving race relate to basic forces in the society, itself, rather than to anything in and of itself racial. Finally, the changes taking place in the area of race relations are economic and cultural rather than racial in quality.

The essays following upon these generalizations largely represent extensions, modifications, and applications of the concepts and varied interests of Park in the field of race relations. The papers pertain to the varying forms of race relations as affected by historical and situational determinants; to the nature of racial frontiers, in general, and particularly in Hawaii and in colonial cities; to the changing structure of race relations in the framework of conflict and racial movements, with special reference to the integration of public schools, segregation in public transportation, and voting rights; to minority group membership and personality development and to the general questions of research methods, social change, prejudices, and language in terms of race relations. The last two papers take up respectively the consequence of economic reorganization in the South for Negro-white relations, and questions involved in the use of research, as a social instrument, in the solution of minority group problems in the community.

Several of the papers warrant separate discussion, but for want of space one might call attention to just a few. Among the theoretical papers, Redfield's discussion of the basis of ethnic relations in primitive and civilized society is excellent. The papers dealing with changing race relations in the South include a fruitful interpretation by Preston Valien of the Montgomery bus protest as a social movement and a perceptive analysis by Inez Adams of responses among Negroes and whites to the integration of public schools in terms of the relation between values and status, resulting in

a paradigm that may have wider research value.

These essays faithfully reflect Parks' insatiable curiosity and his informed concern for making a better world, as well as the slow incorporation of the study of race relations, as an instance of intergroup relations, into a larger theoretical framework.

ARNOLD A. SIO

Colgate University

The Black Muslims in America. By C. ERIC LINCOLN. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961. 276 pp. $4.95.

Lincoln has developed his Ph.D. dissertation at Boston University into the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the Negro Muslim yet published. This group is one of a plethora of bizarre Negro cults that began just before the depression ended in the metropolitan slums of the North. It expounds a policy of separation from the white world and believes that as soon as Negroes build a self-sufficient society apart from the whites, Allah will "wipe the white man from the face of the earth" so Negro Muslims may enjoy their millenium in peace.

Two full chapters of the Lincoln book are devoted to tensions outside and inside the movement, respectively. The first considers the cult's friendship with the Eastern Muslims, as well as its rejection by the orthodox Muslims in the United States. Information on the movement's recruitment practices is presented, particularly those revolving around its proficiency in stealing ministers and religious "bigwigs" from Baptist and other Negro congregations. Also analyzed are the Negro Muslim opinions of the NAACP and other Negro movements, and, conversely, the non-Muslim Negro's attitudes toward Muslim Negroes. This includes relationships between cult members and non-Muslim Negroes, from Negro politicians and "institutional leaders" to the "Negro man in the street." Comment, though perhaps too brief, also is given on Negro Muslim contacts with the "white community" and the "Jewish community."

Tensions inside the movement, on the other hand, aside from power struggles—past, present, and potential—among cult leaders, are not so thoroughly portrayed as are those outside the movement. Most neglected of all, perhaps, are family tensions arising from mixed (Negro Muslim and non-Muslim Negro) marriages, and the apparently more prevalent conflict situation of a young male Muslim convert in a family that is intensely Christian.

For the most part, Gordon W. Allport seems correct when in the foreword he calls Lincoln's study "deeply understanding and sympathetic" (though sympathy, being only contempt in reverse, may be no more of a scientific virtue than the latter emotion). Bias of one form or another, however, does occasionally slip through; but this is not surprising, inasmuch as Lincoln, a professor of philosophy and religion at the predominantly Negro Spellman College, is, along with Allport, an outsider to the movement and the social class in which it seems to thrive.

NATHAN HARE

Howard University

An Inventory and Appraisal of Research on American Anti-Semitism. By MELVIN M. TUMIN. New York: Freedom Books, 1961. v, 185 pp. $4.00. (Paper, $2.75).

Tumin has produced one of the better area inventories to appear in recent years. Though more modest in scope, this work compares favorably with the best of such appraisals: Robin Williams' *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions.*

Inventories of necessity begin with the question, "What shall be included and what shall be excluded?" and the success or failure of the enterprise depends in large measure on the author's answer to this question. Tumin chose to emphasize empirical studies rather than the speculative; this led to the decision to concentrate on studies of American anti-Semitism rather than European, the latter treatments being typically speculative; perhaps for the same reason the sociological is emphasized over the psychoanalytical.

The book would have been improved had the author divided it into two parts with appropriate labels for each, because the materials do in fact fall into two categories. The first portion integrates a variety of research materials on the "what is" aspects of anti-Semitism, e.g., psychological and sociological correlates; Jewish traits and identifiability; Jewish-Gentile interaction patterns. The remainder of the book contains a much heavier emphasis on "ought to" approaches, i.e., proposed remedies and the relationship of various psychological and social factors to these. Social action research and theory, by their prescriptive nature, rarely measure up scientifically to empirical inquiries. Comparison of the two parts of this work clearly illustrates this. But this would be a poor argument for ignoring considerations of policy. The scientific method remains the most effective approach for the assessment of the relation of means to ends.

While the second part of this inventory is

replete with the value judgments of many persons writing in this area, Tumin keeps his own to a minimum. Mrs. Cora Kay Wilson, who, Tumin tells us, contributed most of the digests included in each chapter, is to be congratulated for a job well done.

FRANK R. WESTIE
Indiana University

Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States. By JEAN GOTTMAN. Foreword by AUGUST HECKSCHER. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1961. xi, 810 pp. $10.00.

An advanced, but by no means final, stage of urban development is rapidly emerging in the megalopolitan belts of Great Britain, of Western Germany and the Low Countries, and along the Northeastern seaboard of the United States. These areas are the product of a combination of rapid population increase and cumulative concentration of population in towns, cities, and metropolitan areas. Their physical growth is based on technological developments and a phenomenal rise in standards of living. The distinctively new structural feature of Megalopolis is the symbiosis of city and country. Ultimately, continuous settlement covers an extensive land area within which urban, suburban, and rural land uses coalesce in response to the functional requirements of the enlarged community. Economic and social integration of the region increases, but is hampered by the failure, so far, to achieve commensurate political integration.

The Megalopolis of this book is the strip city from southern New Hampshire to the Virginia suburbs of Washington. Here some 37,000,000 people, or about 20 per cent of the American population, live and work on less than two per cent of the land area of the country. The distinctive characteristics of the region are, in Gottman's view, "the high degree of concentration of people, things and functions crowded here, and also their variety." The author attempts to account for these conditions historically, to describe the radical changes which have occurred in land use, and to indicate the changing economic base of the region and the resultant impact on occupation and residence. The final section is a statement of problems associated with close living and a philosophical essay on some necessities for their solution.

The credentials of this book are impeccable. It is, we are told, the product of 20 years of background interest and five years of concentrated study by a distinguished political geographer. It was written at the Institute for Advanced Study with the help of a small staff, two special research assistants and several consultants, who prepared summary reports utilized in the final manuscript. Gottman has consulted a dazzling list of scholars and libraries from California to Greece. Finally, the work has been sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund.

Despite such an obvious wealth of talent and resources, the study is disappointing. True, no other volume, unless it is the *Statistical Abstract*, presents as many diverse kinds of information about the region, ranging from its colonial history to its drainage problems. But the result is not the analysis of the forces producing Megalopolis which Gottman promises in his preface. Rather the text and the many charts are for the most part a potpourri of description and prescription. We look in vain for the application of social science methods in the formulation of a research problem or in the development and testing of hypotheses. The treatment of the data is colloquial, and the analysis generally is limited either to a repetition of such well-known propositions as the interdependence of the parts of the region or to personal interpretations of what is or ought to be. There are many little "essays," often with the overtones of sermons, by and large couched in general terms, and often in elementary or oversimplified form. On occasion, Gottman's generalizations seem to depend not so much on the data he presents as on his own observations and interpretations of particular situations, and in a number of places the sources of data used in charts or text are not given. In addition, many questions can be raised about the validity of particular statements or interpretations that lack of space precludes discussing here.

It would be unfair to imply that this study has no merits. It contains much useful material about the growth and current condition of Megalopolis, although nothing which is not known to experts. For laymen, both the general notion of the region as a vast network of interdependencies and the supporting details may offer an exciting new idea. Perhaps this is a book for the layman then, and it will be useful if it succeeds in giving wider currency to the understanding that a new type of region is emerging in many parts of the world in which the old notion of distinct rural and urban parts and interests has lost its meaning. Manifestly, it is important that such a development be widely recognized and that its growth be planned in advance. Even here the changes may be more far-reaching than Gottman suggests since his viewpoint is at heart a highly traditional one.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY
University of Pennsylvania

Gemeindesoziologische Untersuchungen zur Ballung Stuttgart. By MARTIN IRLE. Mitteilungen aus dem Institut für Raumforschung, Heft 42. Foreword by ERICH DITTRICH. Bad Godesberg, Germany: Das Institut, 1960. v, 135 pp. No price indicated, paper.

The attitudes and behavior of residents and commuters into and out of Stuttgart are examined in the pages of this study in order to ascertain the effects of metropolitan agglomeration on the lives, work habits, and leisure-time activities of the population.

Using mainly the customary survey methods of American Sociology, the author finds *inter alia* that only every third Stuttgarter was born and raised in his community; nearly two thirds have changed their residence within the last nine years; one fourth of the city's labor force comprises nonresidents; and about one half of the labor force was recruited from villages and small towns surrounding Stuttgart—with three fourths of the latter having changed their residence between 1948 and 1957.

Other findings concerning the use of leisure time indicate that in contrast to the Stuttgarters living and working in the metropolitan area, who have three hours of leisure time per working day, commuters have only one hour available. However, commuters are like Stuttgarters in their acceptance of the metropolitan way of life with its concomitant of commuting. If a change were being sought, it would be to bring the site of work to the residence rather than to seek housing closer to the place of work.

Irle finds many current hypotheses regarding housing and communal relationships to be untenable, such as the alleged negative influence of metropolitan living on leisure-time activities. However, the author does confirm the theory of social liability of in-migrants in the case of Stuttgarters, but maintains that social disorganization has taken place. He reports propinquity to have a small influence on friendships, and finds, not unnaturally, the problem of the realization of a living democracy in a metropolitan community not yet solved.

Of the 25 references given, nearly one half are American, but no cognizance is taken of the work of Bogue, Breese, the Philadelphia School, and Walter Izard, to name but a few. A further problem is the cumbersomeness of the language —a strange mixture of technical terms translated from the English in a maze of the New German—that makes reading of the text extremely difficult.

JOSEPH H. BUNZEL
Virginia Union University

Population. By WILLIAM PETERSEN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1961. xx, 652 pp. $7.95.

Petersen's book has a rather wide scope and contains a good deal of interesting material that is presented in readable form. It deals with world population rather than with just the population of the United States, although this country receives particular attention. The author's purpose is most explicitly stated on page 3 in these words: "Like most fields that require some competence in mathematics, demography is more or less divided into two parts. The gathering, collating, statistical analysis, and presentation of population data demand technical skills, in some cases of a rather high order. No attempt is made in this book to teach *formal demography,* which concentrates on such techniques. The intent rather is to introduce the reader to what can be termed, for contrast, *population analysis,* or the systematic study of population phenomena in relation to their social setting." This reviewer feels that the implied definitions of both "formal demography" and "population analysis" are somewhat unconventional.

Actually, there is a smattering of information about demographic sources and methodology in the book, but it is rather uneven in coverage and contains a fairly large number of errors. For example, there is some discussion of population projections, but no mention of the problems connected with intercensal and postcensal estimates. Contrary to what is stated or implied, punch cards were not used to any important extent in the 1960 Census of Population (pp. 44–45); there have been recent improvements in marriage statistics (p. 51); and statistics on state of birth tell us very little about the movement from "countryside to cities" (p. 56). Moreover, the critique of the net reproduction rate fails to emphasize the distinction between a synthetic and an actual cohort (p. 279).

The opening chapter treats population as a field of study. Part I then gives 10 chapters on the United States, in which Petersen introduces some material on concepts, techniques, and sources of data while describing the growth and demographic structure of the American nation. Part II deals with population in primitive societies, in pre-industrial civilizations, in societies at the time of the industrial revolution, in totalitarian societies, and in underdeveloped countries. One chapter is devoted to each type of society with a particular country sometimes being singled out for illustrative purposes. The final major section, Part III, devotes three chapters to the general determinants of fertility,

mortality, and migration, respectively, and another chapter to Malthusian theory.

In part I, there is a good account of age changes in population structure. Although both migration and urbanization receive considerable attention, rural-urban migration is not discussed very explicitly. Particularly in Part II, Petersen makes rather wide excursions into political, social, and economic history in which he sometimes cannot resist making value judgments, and he occasionally cites dubious sources of information. In the final chapters on fertility, mortality, and migration, one expects more on the various differentials with respect to type of residence, demographic characteristics, ethnic group, and socio-economic class. The discussion of fertility is particularly weak on this score.

In conclusion, Petersen's *Population* does not compete with the methodological books by Barclay, Benjamin, Cox, Spiegelman, and Wolfenden. Bogue and Taeuber and Taeuber have a better and more thorough description and analysis of America's population. The present work is most closely in the tradition of Warren S. Thompson's *Population Problems* or T. Lynn Smith's *Fundamentals of Population Study.*

HENRY S. SHRYOCK, JR.
U. S. Bureau of the Census

Exploring the Metropolitan Community. Edited by JOHN C. BOLLENS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961. xvii, 492 pp. $7.50.

In 1956–57 there was conducted an interdisciplinary study of St. Louis and St. Louis County, major segments of the Metropolitan Area. The survey was financed by grants amounting to $325,000, and staffed by five sociologists, four political scientists, and two economists, plus twelve graduate students from St. Louis and Washington Universities.

While the study was focussed on the nearly 200 units of local government, it also dealt with population make-up and distribution, the economy, popular attitudes toward public affairs, and participation in government through voting and otherwise. Part I contains the descriptive part of the survey, with a final chapter indicating how the City-County area "thus far has been able to avoid public problems of catastrophic proportions." Part II presents the Survey's recommendations and "the rationale of its decisions." Part III deals with citizens' participation, relations to local governments, conceptions of needs, and opinions about possible changes. Part IV is concerned with expenditures, standards of adequacy for selected services, and forecasting.

The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey is reminiscent of some earlier social surveys in its scope and in being pointed toward social action. However, it is better integrated than some, because everything is related to the structure and operation of local government. Also, unlike many social surveys, it is greatly concerned with popular attitudes, beliefs, and participation.

The reason for the last mentioned feature is that the survey staff realized that no proposals for change in local government would have much prospect of adoption, unless the people of the area were concerned about their governments, aware of possible alternatives and their significance, and possessed the machinery for the public opinion processes of discussion and decision-making.

As might be expected, the study revealed much apathy, combined, of course, with vested interests, suspicion or fear of social change, and no mechanism for the development of a truly metropolitan public opinion. The situation was complicated by other conditions and trends not peculiar to St. Louis, such as flight from the central city of both population and industry, expanding rings of blight, increasing costs and decreasing tax base in the central city. In addition, the "social atmosphere" was affected by some strictly local conditions and events.

One commendable feature of the book's organization is the placing of detailed statistical tables, sample survey methodology, and related materials in the 75 pages of appendices.

All in all, this can be described as a competent job likely to be of use not only in local (St. Louis) social action, but in the effort to understand our growing metropolitan complexes. No student or teacher of urban sociology can afford to ignore this book.

STUART A. QUEEN
Washington University, and
University of Arizona

Problems in Stable Population Theory. By ALVARO LOPEZ. Foreword by ANSLEY J. COALE. Princeton, N. J.: Office of Population Research, 1961. ix, 107 pp. $4.00.

Over a generation ago, Lotka demonstrated that a population subjected to an unchanging schedule of age-specific birth and death rates, and free of migratory movements, would eventually be characterized by a stable age distribution. He argued further that the ultimate age distribution would depend only upon the birth and death rates, and *not* upon the original age distribution. Lopez generalizes these theorems

to include the situation in which the age-specific birth and death rates are allowed to vary. He argues that even when the birth and death rates vary, the age distribution at any point in time has only a temporary impact upon the age distributions at future times. In other words, the shape of the age distribution is influenced only by the pattern of age-specific birth and death rates and not by the age distribution that existed in the remote past. This phenomenon he calls weak ergodicity. From it he is able to demonstrate Lotka's theorem (which includes a stable solution) as a special case when the natural rates do not vary.

The final chapter presents an application of the use of some of the procedures developed abstractly in earlier chapters. In particular, intercensal birth and death rates for the population of Columbia are computed from corrected census figures and are compared to those derived from vital statistics. A comparison of the results can be used to estimate the extent of under-reporting of births and deaths, for instance. In general, however, the author simply wishes to illustrate how his methods can be used in practice in countries which are characterized by relatively constant age-specific birth rates and declining age-specific death rates.

The book is a highly technical discussion of stable population theory. The author defends the utility and applicability of this theory, as well as generalizing it, in a more rigorous manner than has been done in the past. It is reasonable to say that the author has accomplished his objectives. The evaluation of his conclusions on the part of scholars will probably depend primarily upon their attitude toward equilibrium models in social science. Those who favor the use of such models will find in this monograph a compelling addition to their resources. Those who do not find much value in such models may find the book somewhat elaborate. This reviewer is inclined to the former position.

THEODORE R. ANDERSON

University of Iowa

Fertility Differences in a Modernizing Country: A Survey of Lebanese Couples. By DAVID YAUKEY. Foreword by ANSLEY J. COALE. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xviii, 204 pp. $4.00.

Yaukey's short monograph adds substantially to our understanding of the pattern of fertility decline in transitional societies. It does so by specifying some of the mechanisms that affect the decline, by identifying the social classes that participate in the decline, and by suggesting the temporal pattern of fertility control mechanisms.

The method of selecting the sample of 900 married Lebanese women emphasized two social characteristics, religion and residence. Two "extremely isolated" villages were chosen—one largely Moslem, the other Maronite Catholic—for contrast with the metropolis of Beirut. In the analysis, education is the other major characteristic added to the independent variables, which are then related to fertility and to fertility control mechanisms—age at marriage, coital frequency, birth control, lactation, and separation.

While all three social characteristics are related to fertility, the degree of the relationship depends upon the particular way in which these variables are combined. Thus, residence is *strongly related to fertility only* among Christians, and education shows a relation to fertility largely among urban Moslems. In rural areas, fertility tends to be high among all groups, but in urban areas Moslem fertility is markedly higher than Christian, even when education is controlled.

The explanation for the differentials is largely in terms of age at marriage and practice of birth control. Among the better educated urban women, a quarter of the Christians and almost a third of the Moslems married for at least ten years reported one or more abortions, and about 85 per cent have practiced some form of contraception, especially withdrawal and the condom. In short, the fertility of village areas, at least the isolated ones represented in the sample, appears as yet unaffected by modernization, but urban groups, especially the educated and Christian ones, are leading the way with respect to fertility declines. But why *Christians?* Yaukey naturally finds no explanation in specific dogma or teaching, but speculates that the greater exposure of Christians to Western ideas and influence and the strain of rationality and planning running through Christion philosophy may be responsible. These ideas merit research.

The book illustrates the utility of the parsimonious use of dependent and independent variables in a study. The judicious selection of a handful of variables within a simple conceptual framework makes the book pleasant reading, cogent, and in a limited sense, definitive. Of course, the utilization of a single measure for fertility, the use of simple dichotomies for residence and education, and the failure to control for any number of other variables are mixed blessings, but in the present instance the balance is decidedly favorable.

J. MAYONE STYCOS

Cornell University

Microanalysis of Socioeconomic Systems: A Simulation Study. By GUY H. ORCUTT, MARTIN GREENBERGER, JOHN KORBEL, and ALICE M. RIVLIN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. xviii, 425 pp. $8.00.

Combining knowledge gained from the sample survey technique with advances in computer technology, these four economists have attempted to generate a model with the potential for making predictions about population, labor force participation, and higher education, among others.

The authors feel that the simulation approach has unique advantages for the "solution" of their stochastic type of model. In essence, their procedure involves specifying a population of decision-making units, assigning to these units initial values of various dimensions of status in proportion to their correspondence in the real socioeconomic system under study, and, finally, feeding this information into the appropriate electronic equipment for storage. Then, in the demographic model, for instance, based on the probabilities of marrying, securing a divorce, bearing children, and dying, the units are processed by the computer so that each month, or for any specified time period, the population is slightly different, in its composition, from the original one. This is repeated for as many time periods as is desired. In this way, a census can be taken after a specified time period to determine the size and composition of the decision-making units in the population. Several other uses of the simulation approach are also suggested. Each of the uses discussed often requires major commitments of funds, specialized talent, and electronic equipment.

The technical composition of some of the chapters of this sophisticated work will render it difficult for many otherwise interested readers. Chapters on the organization of the simulation on a computer and on the computer program require prior familiarity with programming. For those who have such familiarity and who desire to stay abreast of current developments in the use of modern research tools, this book deserves careful attention. Unfortunately, however, in view of the problems that the authors faced in generating this model, their approach is of limited use for most sociologists at this time. The authors discuss these problems frankly, as well as the errors made along the way. These sometimes force alterations in their plans. In particular, the authors were hampered by the inadequacy of data available from other sources. Such simulation studies can, of course, be expected to gain in power and utility as the data improves. With improvement in the scope and type of data available for manipulation, additional adherents should join the relatively small number of sociologists who now utilize this approach.

L. WESLEY WAGER
University of Washington

Pattern in Organization Analysis: A Critical Examination. By SHERMAN KRUPP. New York and Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1961. xiv, 201 pp. $5.00.

Myrdal's discussion of "hidden valuations" in *An American Dilemma* has led social scientists to become more aware of the interlacing of factual, theoretical, and value premises in research. To explore the extent to which implicit values are still pervasive in much of social science thinking, Krupp, an economist, undertakes an analysis, in the Myrdal manner, of six currently dominant approaches to organizational analysis. Value commitments embedded in the works of scientific management, of administrative management, of the human relations in industry approach, of the Follett-Barnard writings, of related contemporary small group research, and of the Simon-March formulation of organizational behavior are examined in this study.

According to Krupp, a basic value commitment underlying organizational analysis is the belief in the primacy of formal organizational goals and in the need for their enhancement by organizational research. The belief that a "harmony of interests" prevails, or must prevail, in organizations is another value that is seldom made explicit. These two value premises condition decisions about expository devices, concepts, empirical observations, modes of verification, and normative preferences regarding organizational and extra-organizational values.

Critics of managerial and plant sociology have previously pointed out these hidden premises and their consequences. Krupp's contribution is two-fold—substantive and methodological. The analysis of a related series of formulations and research within one study, especially those of more recent small group research and the Simon-March work, permits estimation of the extent to which hidden valuations permeate organizational analyses. The documentation gained is more than adequate for independent verification. As a minor note, a little more attention to the genealogical roots of present day organizational research would have suggested that similar trends in different writings are a result of common parentage. Small group research and the Simon-March formulations are direct descendants of the human relations in in-

dustry studies, the Follett-Barnard writings, and, in part, the administrative management studies.

The skillful use of a five-point framework of analyzing expository, analytic, empirical, inductive, and normative preferences in each theory or approach is both novel and useful for future work. The employment of comparisons from different theoretical conceptions that are committed to opposing or countervailing sets of values is also well executed. Economic theories of the firm, institutional studies of inter-organizational and inter-institutional conflicts and processes, and conflict-oriented neo-Weberian studies of organizations are utilized to suggest different, opposing interpretations from those proposed by the six approaches.

Because the study is much more descriptive than explicitly evaluative, any lessons for theory construction, methodology, or interpretations of facts in organizational studies have to be derived by the reader. Krupp seems to have some implicit set of values or criteria of his own in analyzing hidden valuations in organizational studies. The difficult and complex discussion of the consequences of adopting a positivistic-behavioristic mode of verification of theories implies that the author is not satisfied with present trends in theory construction. We may ask what are the functions of hidden valuations in limiting the self-corrective pressures in a theory? Are self-corrections in a substantive area of study due to the exposing of hidden valuations and their functions? Or, are there other criteria by which theories are accepted or rejected? Perhaps the author will enlighten us on these issues soon. For giving a sense of history and aiding in the search for answers, this book is recommended to sociologists and to other students of organizations.

KIYOSHI IKEDA

Oberlin College

The First Two Years: Problems of Small Firm Growth and Survival. By KURT B. MAYER and SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN. Foreword by JOHN E. HORNE. U. S. Small Business Administration, Small Business Research Series No. 2. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961. ix, 233 pp. $1.00.

The authors make a significant contribution to knowledge of a highly publicized sector of the industrial community—that of small business. The findings dispel some folklore associated with this sector and may startle certain public officials involved in aiding and fostering enterprise in small business. Based on findings gained from a longitudinal field study, the report concerns eighty-one newly formed small businesses in and around the Providence, Rhode Island area. The purpose was to investigate the causes of successes and failures occurring in these firms in the initial two years of operation. The character of the study, in conjunction with the field methods employed, permitted Mayer and Goldstein to gather a rich body of qualitative data. They were able to ascertain, for example, that the motivation for starting a business may be much more of a spur-of-the-moment decision than one arrived at by logical process and that management experience apparently plays a greater role in success than does prior occupational experience. It is doubtful whether the many interesting findings presented in this report would have been forthcoming if the methodology had not departed so significantly from the usual statistical studies in which the main source of data consists primarily of records obtained from already established or defunct concerns.

The research is not without policy implications. Among the findings and recommendations found in this report are: First, "an important aspect of social mobility . . . consists of repeated crossings between white-collar, blue-collar, and self-employment." Second, "those who were more rationally motivated and had planned more extensively had a better survival rate; [but] only six of the 81 openings conformed to the stereotype of the capitalist entrepreneur who attempts to isolate the most profitable opportunities by careful calculation." Accordingly, the authors prescribe for "an extensive counseling service with expert interpretation and advice which reaches prospective owners before they embark on their ventures." Moreover, they propose "a refinement in the size classification of small business used by Government agencies . . ., [since the current] high limit has the effect of gearing most . . . [assistance] to the relatively small proportion . . . close to the upper limit."

The publication contains a set of appendices, including a set of methodological notes discussing such problems as establishing and maintaining rapport with respondents. In addition, Mayer and Goldstein have included their schedules and intervew guides used in the study. Thus, the research could be replicated or modified, according to the authors' suggestions for further research, for example, the desirability of ". . . a more intensive study of the entire career profile of a sample of business owners [that] might identify typical patterns that lead to success."

The report has the usual limitations of a case study, including the tendency to redundancy

in the presentation. On the other hand, it offers highly fruitful reading, and this reader hopes that it gives encouragement to other social scientists to enter this relatively unexplored arena of business behavior.

FREMONT A. SHULL, JR.
Indiana University

Chicago and the Labor Movement: Metropolitan Unionism in the 1930's. By BARBARA WARNE NEWELL. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961. viii, 288 pp. $6.00.

Newell has sought in the pages of this work to characterize the relationship between the growth of Chicago and the development of the labor movement, with particular emphasis upon the decade of the 1930's. Two hypotheses are cited as determining the frame of reference of this study: "that there exist certain patterns of industrial interdependence arising from urbanization and that, from these patterns, union interdependence has followed; that there is such a thing as a metropolitan 'mould' which will greatly influence the patterns of development of unions in a locality." Except for one chapter out of the eleven in the volume, these hypotheses are largely ignored. It would appear that these hypotheses fulfill the ritual of a Ph.D. dissertation-type study without seriously influencing the organization of evidence or the reporting of findings. Nevertheless, the volume represents a valuable and competent study of trade unionism in Chicago.

The author discusses the various trade unions that were organized to make up the Chicago labor movement, with the building trades, teamsters, and building service locals comprising its core. These three groups tend to represent strategic trades because they are able to stimulate or obstruct trade, industry, and commerce within a metropolitan area. Newell reports that union growth appears to be related importantly to the ability of a union to exercise some measure of restrictive control over the labor force, and these three unions tended to exhibit this ability. Unions having the greatest early success in organizing workers in industries competing on a regional or national market basis were the printers and clothing workers. The clothing workers played a vital role in assisting the efforts of the new CIO unions to organize. While boycotts and sympathetic strikes were ineffective in assisting industrial unions, the ability of the entire Chicago labor movement to help create a favorable political climate within the community, particularly after the 1937 Memorial Day massacre, played an important role in union organization among industrial unions. It was not the central labor council as much as individual unions which were most helpful in organizing the unorganized industrial workers. However, prior attempts to organize steel and packinghouse workers in 1919 contributed to a reservoir of good feeling toward industrial unionism, and the power structure within the Chicago labor movement was favorable to the new CIO.

Newell spells out a number of causal factors responsible for shaping the character of the Chicago labor movement during the 1930's. They are the role of the press, nature of employer's associations, the ethnic pattern of the city, the particular role of the social worker, the favorable attitude of the Catholic Church, the role of the ward boss as another type of social worker, and the tradition of unionism in the city. While there is uneven treatment given to the discussion of these factors, it should be of particular interest to sociologists and suggestive for further study.

JACK LONDON
University of California (Berkeley)

Human Relations in Administration: with Readings and Cases. By ROBERT DUBIN. Introduction by HERBERT BLUMER. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961. xix, 635 pp. $8.25.

The second edition of Dubin's book adds to the value of an already valuable text. The major characteristics of the book are unchanged. Thus, the second edition consists of a relatively large number of rather short selections. The readings themselves are quite clearly selected with a business school audience in mind. However, the book includes an adequate representation of solidly sociological analyses of administrative organizations.

Of course, the revisions undertaken by Dubin update the contents of the book, with the exception of the case studies at the end of the volume which remain unchanged. When compared with the first edition, the tone of the book is somewhat more analytic. I think this is a consequence of the development during the past decade of more precise notions of what the administrative sciences are about. For example, the introduction to and bridges between the various selections strike me as being more confident with respect to the relationships between the readings and how they together constitute an over-all view of organizations. It should be noted that these introductions and bridges by Dubin are very well done and are the main reason why the large number of different selections form a coherent whole.

Perhaps the most important lack is the relative absence of comparative materials, es-

pecially since excellent studies of administrative practices in other societies have been reported during the past decade. In any case, this was a good and useful book when it was first published ten years ago and the second edition maintains these qualities intact.

ARNOLD S. FELDMAN
University of Delaware

Dilemmas of Youth: In America Today. Edited by ROBERT M. MACIVER. A Publication of the Institute for Religious and Social Studies. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. 141 pp. $3.00.

The dilemmas of contemporary American youth are the subject of this stimulating volume. Topics discussed are: the differential postponement of social adulthood beyond biological adulthood in various groups of youth, social and emotional problems of adolesence, frustrated aspirations and misuse of leisure time, shifts in educational values in contemporary society, anti-intellectual pressures, pressures for conformity, urbanization and youth, the armed services as a mirror and moulder of youth, the nuclear age and the cold war, the ambiguities of public morality, and new opportunities for contemporary youth.

The contributors represent the fields of education, sociology, psychiatry, philosophy, history, economics, religion, and social work, as well as the applied areas of Child Labor Committees, Youth Commission work, College Boards, and college administration. Collectively, the contributors are an impressive group. Although most are primarily academicians, many have had sufficiently extensive experience to qualify as authoritative commentators on the volume's topic.

The different viewpoints, topics, and styles of the individual contributors, coupled with the fact that their contributions were speeches rather than formal papers, necessitate a rather loose organization that requires the reader frequently to shift his frame of reference. Despite such inherent difficulties, the book offers easy and rewarding reading. Exposition is usually clear and professional jargon is at a refreshing minimum. An adequate index is provided for the interested reader who seeks to interrelate further the separate aspects of the central topic.

Apart from the natural appeal of youth as a topic and the interesting comments of the contributors, the chief virtue of the book lies in the fact that the topic, itself, is simultaneously examined by different "authorities" from different professional veiewpoints. This emphasizes the multi-dimensionality and complexity of the subject and implies, in turn, the need for further integration of the separate fields and viewpoints on the level of both theory and program.

The major reservations I have about the materials presented are a suspicion that much of the authoritative comment is unsubstantiated opinion, or, at least, interpretation of facts that are implied but not stated, and a disappointment at the scarcity of information about the subject matter *from the viewpoint of youth.* Those interested in how today's youth view their lot will be more satisfied with such popular articles as the Gallup Poll's report "Youth" (*Saturday Evening Post,* December 23, 1961) or, on a more professional level, with the series of papers now beginning to appear in the professional journals which are based on extensive, first-hand research on youth. Despite these limitations, the present volume is a welcome and stimulating addition to the literature on contemporary youth.

JAMES S. DAVIE
Yale University

The Children of Sánchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family. By OSCAR LEWIS. New York: Random House, 1961. xxxi, 499 pp. $7.50.

"The efforts of human intellect," wrote Morris Cohen, "may be viewed as a tension between two poles—one to do justice to the fullness of the concrete case before us, the other to grasp an underlying abstract universal principle that controls more than the one case before us." This story of Jesus Sánchez and his four children and grandchildren who grew up in a one-room home in the slums of Mexico City represents the first of these poles. The Sánchez family, first introduced in the author's earlier book, *Five Families,* here tells its story in depth through a series of autobiographies providing the reader with a Rashomon-like multifaceted view of events. Each life story was secured in the course of numerous interviews and tape-recorded with the microphone attached to the clothing of the informant. The author adds that he spent "hundreds of hours" with members of the family, accompanying them on their visits to relatives, on pilgrimages, to places of work, etc., and establishing a friendship with them which was renewed during visits to Mexico between 1957 and 1959. The materials of the interviews, "selected, arranged, and organized . . . into coherent life stories," are presented in the first person by each member of the family. The questions of the interviewer are not included.

The stunning impact of this book derives in large part from the human misery that it de-

picts: economic survival so precarious that if not food itself then a pair of shoes or a doctor's visit confronts the family with repeated crises; alcoholism and delinquency, wife beating and violence; sexual promiscuity and frequent abandonment of mothers and children, infidelity on the part of both wives and husbands—and above all the repeated experience of defeat. Moreover, the book reveals in full detail and meaning what living in one room does to family life and human dignity. The author wants us to recognize also what he feels are the virtues of his characters, their warmth and capacity for gaiety, their desire for understanding and love, and the readiness to share the little they have. Their greatest strength it would seem is the strength to carry on at all.

The fullness and frankness of the autobiographies testify to the author's talents as an interviewer. Considering their low level of education, the Sánchezes are amazingly articulate and reflective. It is quite unlikely, for example, that an American workingman with 3 or 4 or even 6 years of schooling would use such words as "paradoxical," "astute," "subconscious," or have the sophistication to distinguish his "rage" from his "rebellion" ("I got sore as hell" would be the more likely expression). We may be dealing here with a real cultural difference. On the other hand, the conceptual and verbal level may have been upgraded in the translation. Moreover, because the author's questions were omitted, the reflectiveness and depth of the autobiographies appear spontaneous.

So much for Cohen's "concrete case." The conceptual context in which the author wants us to place the case is suggested in the Introduction. It is "the culture of poverty" which the author thinks has "some universal characteristics which transcend regional, rural-urban and even national differences." But this intriguing idea is not developed. Not only are the cross-cultural comparisons lacking but there is no systematic attempt to discern the influences which have molded the Sánchez family. The author makes no effort to distinguish those features of the Sánchezes which might conceivably be typically Mexican from those which resulted from poverty and its correlates, or were the effects of unique family relationships, such as the role of the cold, harsh, if responsible father. Nonetheless, the book is a signal achievement. The author has given us a full-blooded, vivid, and poignant description of a way of life and a kind of family which have had in the past all too few such skilled biographers.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

Barnard College, Columbia University

Personality Development in Children. Edited by IRA ISCOE and HAROLD W. STEVENSON. Papers by HAROLD E. JONES, JOHN E. ANDERSON, MILTON J. E. SENN, ROBERT R. SEARS, JOHN W. M. WHITING, and ORVILLE G. BRIM, JR. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1960. viii, 171 pp. $4.00.

During the celebration of its seventy-fifth year, the University of Texas sponsored six lectures on personality development in children. This book makes available the addresses given on that occasion by four psychologists (Harold Jones, John Anderson, Milton Senn, and Robert Sears), an anthropologist (John Whiting), and a sociologist (Orville Brim). Each paper surveys recent work by its author.

The papers by Jones, Anderson, Senn, and Sears are semi-popular discussions. Jones sketches the outcomes of longitudinal studies begun in 1928 at the University of California. He says little about the methodological opportunities and difficulties that emerged in this program, reporting instead a sample of substantive findings, most of them published elsewhere in more detail. Sociologists not already acquainted with these studies may be especially interested to learn that records taken at adolescence of early physical maturing (as measured by skeletal X-rays) and of intelligence account for a very substantial part of the variance in adult occupational status, and that adolescent popularity and social prestige predict the informal social skills of adult males but not of adult females.

Anderson's longitudinal investigations follow age cohorts of rural Minnesota school children from middle childhood to the beginning of adulthood. In this paper, he is concerned with the predictive efficiency of measures taken early in the study for the forecast of later "adjustment" and reputation. The number of significant relations is very large, with the higher correlations accounting for 20 to 25 per cent of the variance. Of special interest is the finding that good rather than poor adjustment and reputation are the more accurately predicted. Anderson concludes, "If our experience with this population does not make us optimistic about the technical aspects of prediction over a long time, at least it makes us optimistic about the capacity of normal . . . populations to meet their own problems." It happens that Jones also notes with surprise the resilience of his subjects when faced with threats and handicaps.

Senn's paper on the role of the medical disciplines in the study of personality development is a brief statement of aspirations with little to show as yet for the value of the approach. Sears

summarizes recent discussions of the dynamics of conscience and part of the research published by himself and others on this topic. Brim, like Senn, provides a programmatic paper, his dealing with personality development as role-learning. He gives a cogent statement of the strategy one would follow in adopting this approach and some indication of its value. He says less about the difficulties that have made others hesitate to adopt it. All told, however, Brim's is a timely reassertion of these views, and he goes much further than others in stating their implications.

The remaining lecture, that by Whiting, presents a new theory of identification. He proposes that individuals will seek to be most like those persons who control and sometimes withhold a coveted resource. In this circumstance, Whiting expects the individual to gain practice in the desired role by imagining himself in that role. He assumes that this covert practice enhances the individual's ability to play the role overtly when an opportunity arises and makes his performance of the role less subject to modification by success or failure in overt practice. Whiting then draws provocative implications for the organization of super-ego, for latent identification, and for the relation of family structure to identification.

GUY E. SWANSON
The University of Michigan

Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook. Edited by YEHUDI A. COHEN. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. xiv, 528 pp. $7.50.

Over thirty articles on personality development selected from a wide variety of cultures and points of view are presented in this casebook. Some are reprints, some are abridgements of larger studies, and two are the editor's previously unpublished cross-cultural studies on food and friendship. Anyone teaching in the field will be indebted to Cohen for bringing together such a wealth of material. Students will find the cases inherently interesting. Those entering alien societies or even those who simply want to understand people in the modern world could well read this collection to broaden their conceptions about the nature of human nature and how variations in social behavior are brought about.

The selections are loosely laced together by a rather simplified theoretical framework which, while it does not mine the material (in fact often ignores theoretical implications), has not led the editor to delete from the case studies data which lend themselves to alternative analyses.

It would be patently unfair to criticize a[n] author-editor for not doing a job which h[e] did not set out to do, but perhaps it is appro[-] priate to take up the challenge implied in hi[s] introductory remarks. "The case and theoret[-] ical materials will speak for themselves; thei[r] final significance and other meaningfulness fo[r] the development of other ideas and investiga[-] tions must be left to the reader."

Although social structure is part of the titl[e] of the book, most of the theoretical discussio[n] and readings ignore the direct significance o[f] complex social structure for personality devel[-] opment (e.g., no references are made to th[e] significant works of Riesman *et alia* in thi[s] regard). Instead, they concentrate on non[-] literate small societies, on the primary grou[p] (basically the familial) dimensions of comple[x] societies, and the disjunctions in the socializa[-] tion process in simpler societies which are pre[-] cipitated into the maelstrom of contacts wit[h] complex societies.

Although not explicitly stated, the tenor o[f] the discussion implies that socialization take[s] place only in primary groups, particularly th[e] family, and somehow ends with a personality a[t] about the time of the assumption of adult roles. This is a generalization appropriate for simpl[e] societies in which kinship is not only the mai[n] institution of socialization of the young but als[o] the encompassing institution for adults, and fo[r] societies in which the majority of adult role[s] are ascribed and socialization in them proceed[s] almost from birth onward. It is an assumptio[n] less appropriate for complex societies in whic[h] the family is but one among many institution[s] socializing the young; for societies in which th[e] majority of adult roles are achieved and th[e] socialization for which takes place *after* child[-] hood and adolescence; for societies in which th[e] adults not only are socialized to roles as adult[s] but actually create, in part, the adult roles the[y] play; and for societies which are plummetin[g] into the modern world not as subordinate[d] people but as new nationals.

It is this implicit assumption of socializatio[n] as ending in a personality at about the time o[f] adulthood that leads the author into the rathe[r] naïve theoretical discussion in Section III, "I[f] the Shoe Fits," in which institutions (which ar[e] taken as "given") fit personalities into slots o[r] reject them as inappropriate. While there is [a] germ of truth in such an idea, it ignores th[e] growing body of evidence we have (includin[g] some of the articles included in this collection) that profound personality changes do take plac[e] among adults and the aged in complex, chang[-] ing, and nascent societies.

Because there are discrepancies between th[e]

theory and cases and because of the hinted at but unexplored dimensions, the book challenges the reader into saying "yes, but" instead of "yes, yes." Perhaps this provocativeness is enough to recommend it.

RUTH HILL USEEM
Michigan State Uuiversity

Community as Doctor: New Perspectives on a Therapeutic Community. By ROBERT N. RAPOPORT. With the collaboration of RHONA RAPOPORT and IRVING ROSOW. Introduction by MAXWELL JONES. London: Tavistock Publications; Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1960. x, 325 pp. $9.75.

Case studies of hospitals and hospital units have appeared with increasing frequency during the past decade. Still rare, however, are studies of the same hospital from different points of view or during different periods of time. The first book about the Social Rehabilitation Unit at Belmont (now Henderson) Hospital near London was published in England in 1952 under the title *Social Psychiatry,* and in the United States in 1953 as *The Therapeutic Community;* its senior author was Maxwell Jones, the psychiatrist who directed the Unit. In *Community as Doctor,* we are fortunate to have a second book-length report on this famous 100-bed Unit, a report written by social scientists on the basis of field-work conducted between 1953 and 1957 under the sponsorship of Dr. Jones.

Amassed in the present volume is a great deal of information about the Unit patients' socio-psychological characteristics, hospital activities, reactions to the Unit, and response to therapy during hospitalization and after discharge; about staff ideology and role relationships; and about the social processes that occur in the Unit. Wherever possible, the authors analyze their data so as to illuminate not only the social structure and functioning of the Unit, but the relationship between concepts of "treatment" and "rehabilitation" as well. Indeed, clarification of the objectives, accomplishments, and shortcomings of the Unit in terms of the latter concepts constitutes a guiding principle throughout the report. The authors view *treatment* as measures aimed at "alteration of the individual personality toward better intra-psychic integration," whereas *rehabilitation* refers to measures concerned with "the fitting of a particular personality to the demands of an ongoing social system." Both ideology and practice in the Unit tended to blur this distinction, according to the authors, with the result that the hospital community was often ultimately less therapeutic for patients than the staff assumed.

Specific implications of the findings for planning and operating a therapeutic milieu are offered in the form of some 30 postulates in the concluding chapter. The reader who wants to know what implications the study might have for sociological theory, however, will be disappointed; they are nowhere summarized. In a similar vein, the methods and tools of research used by the investigators are described mainly in scattered footnotes, and then less completely than is desirable in a scientific account. Supporting tables for assertions about values held by the "majority" of staff members are curiously absent, even though the values were in part ascertained by means of a questionnaire. Such omissions are particularly regrettable in the light of the authors' otherwise quite exhaustive treatment of a timely and difficult set of problems in the sociology of mental health and illness.

MARY E. W. GOSS
Cornell University Medical College

Jewish-Gentile Courtships: An Exploratory Study of a Social Process. By JOHN E. MAYER. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961. ix, 240 pp. $5.00.

The author of this small but significant book had previously studied Jewish-Gentile intermarriage, as reported in his 1951 M A. thesis at Columbia University. His present study represents a shift in focus to the *courtship process* involved in such marriages.

Forty-five Jewish-Gentile couples were identified by acquaintances of various sorts, and, then, interviewed (husband and wife separately) to determine what sociological factors influence persons originally opposed to inter-marriage to move ahead with the marriage in spite of their negative predisposition. This sample, which is not claimed to be representative, consisted of recently married couples residing in New York City whose parents were thought to have opposed the union. Twenty-nine of the persons interviewed, representing 25 couples, turned out to have been originally resistant to inter-marriage. These, labeled "Reluctants," were given major attention in the analysis. Remaining interviewees were spoken of as "Amenables." It had been planned to include couples who courted but then broke off the relationship because of their resistance to inter-marriage. The failure to locate such a "control group" represents an admitted weakness of the study. Other limitations, also recognized, include the smallness of the sample and the inadequacy of a single interview, coupled with the breadth of the substantive inquiry.

The Relucant's relationships with his partner,

his parents, and his friends during the courtship process are reported. He was found to be moved toward marriage, despite initial resistance, because of such factors as: immediate attraction to future spouse because of certain observable features possessed by this person; being initially unaware of the person's ethnic affiliation; discovering vitally important assets in the person, superior to those of his ingroup dating partners; an early feeling that they would remain friends and not become deeply involved; the making of certain religious concessions by the other person; the failure of the subject's parents to keep fully abreast of the degree of involvement taking place; the existence of certain insulating conditions against parental pressures; and the reassurance provided by approving friends.

The author regards his work as exploratory and his conclusions as tentative. He feels that the undertaking was an important one, however, for "it is likely that the same causal factors will obtain" in other tabooed relationships as in inter-marriage. Though the analysis is certainly not definitive, it is this reviewer's opinion that it is well worth reading for the insightful ideas and hypotheses for future research it contains.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

Purdue University

Unmarried Mothers. By CLARK E. VINCENT. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. x, 308 pp. $6.00.

Vincent's study is a significant contribution to sociology, both applied and pure. It deals in a scientifically sophisticated fashion with unwed motherhood. In spite of contraceptive knowledge, this age-old human experience is on the increase, as shown by absolute numbers, ratios, and rates. The book ranges in scope from basic cultural inconsistencies in values to the difficult decisions made by unwed mothers to retain their babies or to give them up to the adoption market via either independent mediation or adoption agencies. The scientific method is used as a sharp instrument to puncture myths, stereotypes, and fallacies as to simple causation. Theories, insights, and evidence, not specifically derived from the author's research, will also provoke rethinking concerning illegitimacy.

The empirical research, some of which has been published in excellent articles, was primarily based on data concerning 539 births, nearly all the illegitimate births in Alameda County, California, in 1954. Furthermore, 137 cases handled in private practice in 1952 are considered in some of the substudies. Questionnaire and interview materials were supplemented by scores on the California Personality Inventory obtained from both unwed mothers and matched control groups of single girls who were not pregnant. Valuable information was obtained from unwed mothers concerning the characteristics of their sex partners and the nature of the relationships which resulted in illicit pregnancies.

The findings included evidence that unselected, unmarried mothers do not differ greatly from non-pregnant girls in the control group. The unwed mothers vary greatly in social status, personality traits, family background, situational circumstances, and attitudes toward themselves and their plight. There is food for thought in the evidence that girls less qualified for motherhood are more likely to keep their babies The better qualified, therefore, are more likely to contribute to the proportion of some 70 per cent of the illegitimate white children who eventually are adopted. While Vincent finds no simple generalizations possible concerning the cause, control and consequences of illegitimacy, he comes close to seeing unmarried motherhood as a product of inconsistent, incomplete introjection of conventional morality from meaningful others.

A reviewer hesitates to question a sociological contribution with many virtues, and he has no right to say that a different research should have been chosen. Yet one regrets that, as so often happens, matching is done with respect to the more controllable but less pertinent variables. Vincent was unable to match unmarried mothers with girls non-pregnant, but reporting similar coital behavior. With such matching, plus data on contraceptive knowledge and practice, pregnancy might have reflected more the factor of contraceptive carelessness. Illegitimacy then would be less a product of cultural inconsistency between an encouragement of "fun-morality" and a residual stigma prescribed by the double standard for the unwed mother.

In spite of minor reservations which would take excessive space to elaborate, it is the reviewer's considered opinion that Vincent has made a splendid sociological contribution. In theory, methodological versatility, documentation, objectivity, and awareness of implications, this book goes far beyond the usual treatment of a "social problem."

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

Indiana University

Conformity and Deviation. Edited by IRWIN A. BERG and BERNARD M. BASS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. viii, 449 pp. $6.50.

Conformity and Deviation is a collection of papers delivered at the 1960 symposium of the

same name at Louisiana State University. Contributors include, among others, Solomon Asch, Robert Blake, Donald Campbell, Milton Rokeach, Muzafer Sherif, and Harold and Pauline Pepinsky.

The book is superior in many ways to the usual published symposium. For one thing, while many of the papers maintain continuity with previous publications of their authors, all of them present new and potentially valuable ideas and interpretations of data. Furthermore, despite the number of distinguished contributors to the volume, there is sufficient communality in approach to make the end result a meaningful whole. This communality seems to come about largely through two means: a hard-headed parsimony in the interpretation of data and a recognition of the ecological validity of cues offered by others in many real life situations. Although these emphases lead to a devaluation of depth personality factors in conformity behavior, which might be objectionable to psychoanalytically oriented readers, they also serve to make the book a theoretical statement rather than simply a collection of papers.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book is the extent to which its theoretical analyses point to important new areas for research. Donald Campbell, for example, points out five ways other than through direct experience by which a person may acquire a disposition to respond to a situation in a given way. Once this differentiation has been made, it becomes clear that most conformity research to date confounds conforming as an end in itself with the conforming that occurs through the use of apparently valid cues as to the nature of the environment. Increased attention to points such as this should help to give further studies in this burgeoning research area greater theoretical significance.

David Wrench
University of Oregon

An Anatomy for Conformity. By Edward L. Walker and Roger W. Heyns. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall (Spectrum Books), 1962. xiv, 103 pp. $1.95.

This volume reports a series of experiments designed to ascertain the conditions under which conforming behavior becomes more probable. It also examines, in incomplete fashion, the suggestion that there are "kinds of people" more susceptible to conformist pressures than others.

Conformity is defined as ". . . movement from one's own position or attitude or way of behaving to one which is closer to that specified by a social norm or standard." Conformist behavior is considered an instrumental act, generated in satisfaction of some need, and directed toward a goal that satisfies this need or need-complex. This explanatory model is held to have been justified by the results of the many interesting experiments, some borrowing from the earlier ones of Sherif and Asch, conducted by the authors at the University of Michigan.

Given the instrumental nature of conforming behavior, it follows that it may be manipulated. And research seems to indicate that this manipulation may occur without the subject's awareness of the influences affecting his behavior or of the character of the change. It seems also that the conformity induced tends to generalize and that the situational determinants are of greater weight than the personalities brought to the situation.

The authors are well aware that their laboratory demonstrations often seem to have elaborated the obvious—the classic charge of the *littérateur* vs. the social scientist—and they defend themselves in terms of the greater confidence given to findings based upon experimental manipulation. While the defense can be acknowledged, it yet appears feeble.

At the outset of their book, Walker and Heyn tread warily around the traps that lie in the evaluations of conforming behavior. Since Riesman and Sputnik, "conformity" has become an epithet. The authors rightly remind us that "conformity *per se* is not necessarily bad" and that its evaluation depends upon the degree of conformity and the source of the conformist pressure. And, to these conditions, should be added the nature of the norm and of the pressure. Yet these early cautions seem forgotten by the end of the volume, where, having been given a manual for conformity-induction, the reader is warned: "Be absolutely certain you know what you want and that you are willing to pay an enormous price in human quality, for whether the individual or the group is aware of it or not, the result will be CONFORMITY."

The sacrifice of "human quality" may or may not be the price of conformity (to what?), but this conclusion is unwarranted by the research reported here.

Gwynn Nettler
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Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction. By Erving Goffman. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961. 152 pp. $1.95, paper.

The title of this book immediately sensitizes the reader to a particular unit of analysis—the encounter. Referred to variously as focused gathering or situated activity system, this con-

cept is not coterminous with the more commonly employed one of social group. It differs essentially in that it necessarily is located in face-to-face interactions "when people effectively agree to sustain for a time a single focus of cognitive and visual attention." That Goffman has elected to exclude the somewhat more enduring properties of the social group constitutes a significant break with tradition. It follows that the burden of his two essays is to provide an analysis of the workings of encounters that will serve to initiate distinct research foci and to stimulate new research activity. In fact, Goffman does come up with some new hypotheses.

The encounter, as explored in "Fun in Games," is approached from the perspective of a theory of games modified so as to include something more than the strategies of the game itself. The structure of the encounter is given by the presence of principles of selection whereby some perspectives are admitted to the definition of the situation and some are excluded ("rules of irrelevance"); concrete verbalizations or body movements that become the vehicles through which the interaction proceeds ("realized resources"); and methods of introducing external socially based attributes of the participants, such as age, sex, and class ("rules of transformation"). If a participant's own feelings concur with the definitions of the situation as laid down by the transformation rules then spontaneous involvement, the regulation of which is seen as crucial, is facilitated.

The second essay, "Role Distance," approaches the encounter through the more sociologically established perspective of role analysis. After a brief critical appraisal of some role concepts, the workings of the encounter are again explored and elaborately illustrated in such diverse contexts as riding merry-go-rounds and performing medical surgery. A distinct contribution to the role literature is provided by Goffman's analysis of *role distance*.

MILTON BLOOMBAUM
University of Wisconsin

The Self Concept: A Critical Survey of Pertinent Research Literature. By RUTH C. WYLIE. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961. xiii, 370 pp. $4.50.

Those whose research involves the self concept or other phenomenological variables will find this volume of considerable value. After a brief introductory chapter, Wylie disposes of the contention that the phenomenological theorist is restricted to response-response designs because he cannot define his stimulus apart from the response of his subjects. She notes that although the practical difficulties are greater in this instance, the same solutions employed by the behaviorist in other areas of psychology can be employed in phenomenological research. The third chapter contains an excellent though brief discussion of current methodological issues relative to problems of construct validity and reliability. Against this background Wylie surveys the various instruments employed to measure self-regard, as well as other aspects of the phenomenal self, and finds most wanting on both counts.

Anyone who has done substantive research in this area should approach the fourth chapter with some trepidation, since the probability is rather high that he will find that Wylie has detected a methodological flaw in his work. She pays particular attention to the problems of interpretation where two-part indices and rating scales are used without appropriate safeguards in correlational designs. The effects of social desirability are less frequently noted, although it has been this reviewer's experience that control for such effects is one of the most vexing problems of design in this area. One has the impression that the psychological literature was gleaned more carefully than the sociological, yet the coverage is extensive and the presentation systematic with convenient summaries at the end of each section devoted to a particular line of research. Chapter V is concerned with the nonphenomenal self, its measurement and its relation to other variables. Chapter VI reviews studies concerning insight as applied to the self concept, and this is followed by a brief concluding chapter and a bibliography of approximately 250 titles.

At a time when it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep up on the literature of even a small area of sociology or psychology, a work of this sort is of considerable value. Sociologists, who in increasing number are doing research in the areas of personality and social perception, will find Wylie's trenchant methodological criticism of particular value. Many of the same methodological flaws which are found in self concept studies plague the researcher in these areas as well.

CARL BACKMAN
University of Nevada

Literature, Popular Culture, and Society. By LEO LOWENTHAL. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall (Spectrum Books), 1961. xxiv, 169 pp. $1.95, paper.

"Approaching sociological research humanistically while retaining a sociological view of the humanities can lead to a new awareness of

the communion of the Western mind." Leo Lowenthal's work is both persuasive advocate and exemplar of the "communion" sought in this quotation from the introduction to the present volume. Here is a collection of essays spanning many years, drawn from a variety of previous publications and unified by the author's consistent interest in literature as a social institution. The governing theme amid a cluster of diverse topics is the unending debate about popular culture in its relation to fine art, to the writer's social role, and to the values of the audience. Lowenthal maintains a steady concern with the historical context of literary works; embedding imaginative writings in their natural *milieux*, he enlarges our perception and deepens our sense of literature's tangible engagement with life.

The acute historical sensitivity, the grasp of the concrete which distinguishes this book, is especially notable in the treatment of popular culture. Lowenthal shows very conclusively that contemporary anxieties about the mass media of communication are not at all peculiar to our own place and time. Although the scope and economy with which popular art is transmitted are indeed unique to the twentieth century, thoughtful men have long worried over the assault of the literary marketplace on traditional aesthetic standards and what this implies for both the artist's integrity and the quality of the public awareness. Thus Montaigne and Pascal, Schiller and Goethe, foreshadow the primary issues that captivate today's critics and sociologists. After rehearsing the early arguments, Lowenthal and Marjorie Fiske provide us with a detailed and illuminating case study of the literary world of eighteenth-century England. Their discussion of the rise of popular reading audiences, and the response of writers and critics to the literary market, is a model of analysis for the sociologist of literature. Stated too simply, the basic question centers on a calculus of optimism-pessimism about the effects of the change from aristocratic to mass audience upon intrinsic literary values; some regard the mass market as a nexus of opportunity, affording variety of content and a free competition of literary modes, while others stress the debasement of taste and the serious writer's bondage to Grub Street.

When Lowenthal comes closer to our own day, as in his chapter on "The Triumph of Mass Idols" describing trends in popular magzine biographies, a thread of disenchantment with popular culture becomes too strong to overlook. He would have readers more alert to great social issues and fine aesthetic nuances. Therefore the language of disillusion and exhortation infuses his observations; the plain fact is that the author doesn't like popular culture very well and yearns for a mass art that is neither soothing nor trivial.

In a final brief paper entitled "Literature and Society," Lowenthal outlines some of the tasks of the sociologist of literature and suggests with illustrations how certain of them may be confronted. Here he is again at his best—erudite, generous, and critically aware. The reader's pleasure throughout has been to engage a civilized mind, to range from *The Tempest* to *The Saturday Evening Post* with a cultivated and witty guide whose compelling scrutiny of literature in relation to social and psychological forces reveals exciting scholarly possibilities.

ROBERT N. WILSON

Yale University

Das Buch und der Leser: Entwurf einer Literatursoziologie. By ROBERT ESCARPIT. Kunst und Kommunikation Band 2. Köln and Opladen, Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1961. 132 pp. 15.50 DM, paper.

In this somewhat enlarged German translation of the original French version (*Sociologie de la Littérature,* Paris, 1958), the author, a humanist scholar, explicitly aims at making a contribution to sociology. While the organization of the book is indeed sociological in nature, centering around the categories of production, distribution, and consumption, it is, by and large, not a very successful enterprise. A good deal of the weakness is due to a somewhat naïve idea about sociological methods. Escarpit abounds in what he imagines to be statistical analyses and reasonings. The book is invaded by tables and curves, but, for the most part, they are either hard to decipher or are meaningless pleasantries, as, for example, the comparison of peak periods of production in the life span of poets, dramatists, and novelists.

One remains uneasy about the theoretical focus of Escarpit's interests. He is obviously infatuated with the concept of generation—hardly a world-shaking category for a functional analysis of literature. After fairly tortuous presentation of data on the ages of productivity, he finds that the age of 40 is significant: "Above all, one must state that the significance of the age 40 is neither biological nor psychological, but purely sociological. It represents the moment in which the writer finally acquires his social dimension." To which this reviewer can only add. *Tant de bruit pour une omelette.*

The German translation is excellent, and the translator has been at times very fortunate in adapting examples from a French cultural con-

text to a German one—in itself, a neat example of sociological action research.

LEO LOWENTHAL
University of California (Berkeley)

The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation 1570–1640. By CHARLES H. GEORGE and KATHERINE GEORGE. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. x, 452 pp. $8.50.

In search of modernity, we sociologists might well have a special interest in the seventeenth century. As the authors of this volume state, "We should thus be inclined to think the major factors in the industrial genius of the West were science, secularism and the nation-state . . . and that they were all in unique combination from the seventeenth century on." (p. 148) It is the thesis of this well-written book that the Protestant mind in England has to be understood in religious and responsive terms. That mind is seen as "pressed upon" by many forces which, as such, constitute the situation of change which marks the seventeenth century. Protestantism, though new, is in fact "a conservative, even reactionary, affirmation of an ancient religious view point. . . . Protestantism was both antimedieval and antimodern." It rejects both the feudal and sacramental version of Christianity and "the secularized and fragmented culture of modern intellectuals."

The two authors distill the essence of the Protestant Mind from the sermons so important for that time. The Protestant is seen as condemning the Roman Catholic twice: once for allowing all believers to believe that they can travel the road to salvation and once for obstructing that road with "ritualistic minutiae, discriminatory distinctions of ecclesiastical rank, and arbitrary counsels of perfection." To the Protestant there is need for new zeal. Zeal is kept at bay by the Church. The Church, thus, must be opposed in the name of the demand for "revivalism." That demand insists that the specialization of the religious life within the Church is not enough. It must be replaced by the priesthood of all believers. The faith of the latter is dichotomous: this fact inheres in Christianity with its dual belief in a City of Man and a City of God and its dual concern with death and salvation. Yet the antinomy of Protestant belief is further ordered by the triangle of sin, faith, and predestination.

The first part of the book concludes with observations on the relations between English Protestants and society. Charles and Katherine George believe that the twin tendencies toward equality and community to be found in the social ethic of Christianity establish an affinity between Protestantism and the twin characteristics of a sect: solidarity, biased toward equality "within," and antagonism toward the "outside." The duality of doctrine is thus made bearable by the division of society. But this book repeatedly insists that the social ethic of Christianity is quite secondary. Part I ends with a delicate discussion of the Protestant saint—an "odd fellow," who has virtue and courage but who also suffers the injustices of the world and who bears his goodness in humility.

After the interior of the Protestant Mind has been delineated in an elegant and ever circumspect manner, we are asked, in Part II, to see that mind in the context of the temporal facts of wealth, power, kinship, and church. Weber's thesis is rejected:

> For the new world taking shape was to be a world of business and science, perhaps the first civilization to dispense with religion as a primary concern for thinking humanity. . . . Where, then, is the "spirit of capitalism" in its Protestant guise? It simply does not exist in England before 1640. There is a spirit of work, of frugality, of rationality in opposing waste and the misuse of economic resources, but any push toward a society of individual profit-seeking, competition for economic rewards, and social mobility scaled to the economic pursuit of wealth, comes not from the ideology of Protestantism, but from the lay and secular world of capitalism *sui generis.*

Who composed that world? May the *actions* engendered by an ideology not be different, in their consequences, from the *demands* of the ideology? Are these demands not rather concerned with motives than with results? In the Georges' view, if I am not mistaken, religious phenomena are, if anything, socially caused, never themselves socially causal. What evidence would have led them to reject their own view? Merton's work on seventeenth century science might well have been considered.

This review cannot do justice to its subject, for the book is a rich compound of polemic and admiration. Gratitude for such a book is quite compatible with disagreement.

KASPAR D. NAEGELE
University of British Columbia

Religion in Chinese Society, A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of their Historical Factors. By C. K. YANG. Berkeley; Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1961. viii, 473 pp. $9.50.

Functional theory holds that religion is so universal and pervasive that an understanding

of religion is essential for an understanding of society. Yet some prominent Chinese and Western scholars have asserted that no great religion has captured the bulk of the Chinese population, as has been the case with other peoples, and that the Chinese are basically "unreligious." The singular contribution of this book, by a Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh and author of several other books and articles on Chinese social structure, is that it vindicates functionalist theory in the Chinese case.

It does this by answering comprehensively two questions and by making a major conceptual distinction. The two questions are: What functions did religion perform for the maintenance and development of Chinese society? Through what structural forms were these functions carried out? The functions of theistic and nonempirical elements for the integration of the family and kinship system, voluntary associations, agriculture, business firms, craft and trade guilds, the integration of the local community, for the legitimization of the Imperial state as well as for the justification of rebellion against it, are all convincingly demonstrated. The significance of religion is also attested to by the very concern of the government—both traditional dynastic and contemporary Communist—to control the manifestations of religion and to suppress religious heterodoxy.

Why, then, does Yang the sociologist assess the significance of religion so differently from other China specialists? The answer, I think, lies in Yang's conceptual innovation. In Chapter 12, surely the crowning chapter of the book, he makes explicit a conceptual distinction between *institutional* and *diffused* religion, based on Joachim Wach's earlier distinction. Institutional religion is priestly religion and is organizationally differentiated from secular institutions. Diffused religion functions not as an independent system, but only as part of secular institutions, e.g., the family, work groups, the State, etc. Armed with this distinction, Yang is able to modify the view that the Chinese are "unreligious." The vital center of traditional Chinese religious life lay, not where the Westerner would first look—in the priestly, institutional religions of Taoism and Buddhism—but *within* secular institutions, in the elements of diffused religion, e.g., ancestor worship, patron gods of the local community and the trade guilds, the theology of Heaven, fate, etc.

Some shortcomings should be noted. We are not told enough in an analytical way about the dysfunctions of religion in China. Yang's concepts of institutional and diffused religion need to be articulated with older conceptualizations, such as the sacred-profane and the ecclesia-sect distinctions. As types, the ecclesia and institutional religion are not precisely alike; nor are the sect and diffused religion. Again, the view Yang here attacks—that the Chinese are less religious than other peoples—calls for a comparative analysis which he fails to provide. Admitted that religion is salient in China, is it more salient than religion in Japan? In the West? In the Islamic world? The techniques for the measurement of the relative importance of religion in different societies, of course, have yet to be developed. But even qualitative and partial comparisons would be better than none. Finally, while the influences of Durkheim, Malinowski, and Radcliffe-Brown are everywhere apparent in Yang's analysis of Chinese religion, Yang himself does not, apart from his above-mentioned conceptual innovation, advance general theory in the sociology of religion.

But let there be no mistake: with the publication of *Religion in Chinese Society* there can be no longer any excuse for ignoring the Chinese case in courses on the sociology of religion.

ROBERT M. MARSH
Cornell University

Plainville Fifteen Years Later. By ART GALLAHER, JR. Foreword by CARL WITHERS (JAMES WEST). New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961. xvi, 301 pp. $5.00.

"A sociologist is a man who sends one of his sons to Sunday School every Sunday and keeps the other home as a control group." Surely this is among the least unflattering of the wisecracks about us. Would that we were often capable of such experimental precision. But few of us are blessed with identical twins; the discipline is cumulative, but it accumulates slowly.

Faced with a choice between being theoretically or statistically significant, a significant proportion of social scientists devote themselves to the arduous observation of social systems in nature. The attempt to perceive and understand natural social systems limits the observer to those elements that exhibit enough regularity to be subject to analysis. The reward for gathering our data the hard way lies in being able to say that a real human group really did a thing, rather than reporting that sophomores simulating the behavior of corporation executives behind oneway vision glass decided to decentralize or that a sample of respondents said on a questionnaire that, if the occasion ever arose, they would behave according to choice (d).

The principal disadvantage of building and testing social science theory through field observation can be overcome through replication.

Gallaher offers us a model of replication research in his field study of "Plainville," a rural community in Missouri. Anthropologist Carl Withers (James West) described *Plainville, U.S.A.* in 1945 as an isolated folk community, where outside pressures for social change were viewed with suspicion and hostility. West's farmers were like Fred Cottrell's railroaders: their work was not simply an occupation; it was a way of life.

Plainville is still a rural community, a commercial center for the small, substandard family farms that surround it. But the desire for an urban style of life, learned largely from advertising, has altered the folk ethos. Since West's monograph, the village has known the consequences of New Deal and Fair Deal farm programs, the Second World War, and exposure to the revolution in communications.

Its inhabitants welcome change. They watch television, read city newspapers, demand innovations from government agricultural agents. "Modern Plainville mothers depend less on tradition and more on Dr. Spock." The caste-like system of stratification reported by West has been replaced in Gallaher's view by a structure more achieved than ascribed.

The book is well written. The quotations ring true. Indeed, some of the most fascinating data are in the last twenty-two pages, most of which are devoted to elaborative footnotes. Unexplored hypotheses abound, e.g., that athletic institutions are so revered that they might quash marital ones: "Some teachers are very opposed to the marriage of high school students. They believe that 'these marriages could be slowed down' if school authorities would refuse married 'kids' the privilege of playing basketball on the school team." Sports have been credited elsewhere with building leadership; perhaps they can even induce celibacy.

RAYMOND W. MACK
Northwestern University

Africa: The Politics of Independence. By IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN. An Interpretation of Modern African History. New York: Random House (Vintage Books), 1961. 173, vi pp. $1.25, paper.

In the author's words, this volume ". . . is an interpretative essay that seeks to place within an overall perspective the whole range of modern political developments on the African continent." Excluding a brief but adequate introductory chapter on African prehistory and history up to colonial times—the map on page 9 is of little help—the bulk of the volume is addressed toward, first, consideration of the ways in which colonial administrations generated social conflict within themselves, and, second, the ways in which the independent African states acquire and maintain the loyalty of their subjects.

Many changes occurred in the colonial situations, but perhaps the most important was the rise of a "westernized" elite. This essentially urban group, cut off from traditional ways, was forced to provide some kind of social security system for itself, and this it did through various voluntary associations. Gaining control of these voluntary associations was a key victory for nationalist movements. To reach the masses, a revival of interest in African history and culture was basic; it continues after independence.

The treatment of political problems faced by the new nations of Africa is excellent. Once the focus against colonial rule is removed, the problem of integration becomes paramount. The national party and the national hero emerge as the two basic "integrating institutions." This reviewer was favorably impressed with Wallerstein's handling of "Pan-Africanism," "neutralism" (the determination to be tied too closely to none *but* somewhat to all) and the "Prospects for Democracy." The volume is highly recommended as an excellent introduction to a broad, difficult subject.

VERNON R. DORJAHN
University of Oregon

Savremena Sociologija. By MIHAILO POPOVIC. Beograd: Kultura, 1961. 155 pp. No price listed.

Z zagadnien wspolczesnej socjologii amerykanskiej. By ZYGMUNT BAUMAN. Warszawa: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1961. xxx, 241 pp. Zl.16.-

The Serbo-Croatian "Contemporary Sociology" can be compared with the Polish "Problems of Contemporary American Sociology." Popovic teaches sociology at the University of Belgrade, while Bauman teaches political science-political sociology in Warsaw. Popovic deals with sociology as a science while Bauman is more concerned with the political function of sociology. Compared to other critiques of Western sociology coming from Eastern Europe, both authors give credit to sociology for having made some positive contribution to knowledge about society. Among other conditions, Popovic postulates that a scientific field that has come of age should have a greater number of accepted than rejected theories. Both Popovic and Bauman praise the methodology which could also be used by Marxist social scientists. Popovic's critique stresses the well-known items advanced by Marxists: bour-

geois sociology is ahistorical, psychological, or naturalistic. Concern with the study of behavior leads away from the study of concrete macroscopic structures. The greatest weakness of the Western sociology is, according to Popovic, its failure to use the dialectical method. Yet, Popovic feels that the difference between Marxists and Western sociologists is not so great that one could not consider all of them members of the same scientific discipline. On that point Bauman would probably disagree because he stresses that between the emphasis functional theories place upon consensus and the Marxist emphasis upon conflict there cannot be any "communication and confrontation." Following then in traditional steps, Bauman criticizes the dominant concern with micro-sociology, which excels methodologically but evades basic problems of society. In the same vein, industrial sociology and social stratification studies are criticized because of their ideological upper social class function. In criticizing American research on social stratification, Bauman falls back most of the time upon critiques advanced by American sociologists themselves. This reviewer feels however that Bauman loses his critical self-control when he states that to derive the existence of social stratification from "the majority opinion" is "absurd." Applying the same political control focus upon Bauman himself, we might argue that by the so-called objective Marxist theory of social class one could justify the rule of a minority over a majority. Another interesting critical point, addressed at his sociological colleagues in Poland, is made by Bauman when he states that one cannot maintain that human behavior data are the only empirical and precise data that help to construct a science of society. Most American sociologists would probably not argue this point.

JIRI KOLAJA

University of Kentucky

Sociologia Zaktadu Pracy. By ALEKSANDER MATEJKO. Seria Sygnaty. Warszawa, Poland: Wiedza Powszechna, 1961. 318 pp. Cena Zl 22.—, paper.

Dr. Aleksander Matejko is a Polish sociologist who specializes in the sociology of industry. He teaches at the University of Warsaw and is director of the Sociological Department of the Central Institute of Works Safety. In 1957–1959 he was in the United States where he was chiefly concerned with the study of American theories of work and industrial organization and with observation of American industrial plants. Thus Dr. Matejko is exceptionally qualified to undertake the presentation of theories of industrial sociology and to compare their applicability to socialist and capitalist societies.

This book is designed as a text to serve two main purposes. First, it presents a systematic framework for the analysis of the sociological aspects of work in industry. Dr. Matejko reveals a thorough knowledge of studies made in the United States and Great Britain and uses the terminology in current use in these countries. Second, the book discusses the importance of industrial sociology for a rationally planned national economy. It is interesting to note that Dr. Matejko finds it rather difficult to draw a distinction between the problems of industrial sociology in a socialist economy and in a capitalist one. He attributes this to a lack of studies in Poland and Russia that can be systematically compared with studies made in the United States. However, it may be that there are some uniformities involved that are independent of prevailing political systems.

The content of the book and its relation to American sociology are reflected in such chapter titles as "The Factory as a Social System," "Formal and Informal Organization," "Occupational Role and Status," "The Role of the Director of the Factory," "The Role of the Specialist," "The Role of the Foreman," and so forth. The book includes a number of interesting photographs of Polish factories. As an introduction to the study of industrial sociology, this book is of high caliber. It compares favorably with the best American texts.

THEODORE F. ABEL

Hunter College

Trends in Social Science. Edited by DONALD P. RAY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. 169 pp. $4.75.

Since World War II, the social disciplines have witnessed a plethora of symposia, research inventories, and summaries of publications. Several of the social sciences and subfields have given expression to this trend. Few attempts, however, have been made to survey in a single volume the developments in several of the social sciences. The purpose of the book, the editor states, is to present recent research trends and needs in economics, political science, macrosociology, and statistical methodology, with the hope of stimulating a "generalist," interdisciplinary approach.

The chapters consist of elaborations or extensions of papers presented to the special symposium held by the Section on Social and Economic Sciences of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its Washington, D. C. meeting in 1958.

The editor of the volume presents a short introduction in which he gives the background of the papers and expresses the need and hope for an interdisciplinary approach in the social sciences. This is followed by Kenneth E. Boulding's chapter on "Contemporary Economic Research," Harold D. Lasswell on "Research in Politics, Government, and Law," Edward A. Shils on "The Macrosociological Problem: Consensus and Dissensus in The Larger Society," John W. Tukey, "Statistical and Quantitative Methodology," Ralph W. Tyler on "Trends in Interdisciplinary Research," and Harry Alpert on "The Funding of Social Science Research."

Each is superbly written—clear in style, provocative in thought, and abundant in content. The volume should be of interest and value to every social scientist.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

New York City

Floating Voters and the Floating Vote: A Critical Analysis of American and English Voting Studies. By H. DAUDT. Leiden, Netherlands: H. E. Stenfert Kroese N. V., 1961. 171 pp. f10.—, paper.

The apparent conflicts between certain normative theories of democracy and the findings of survey research on voting have led not merely to efforts at reformulation of democratic theories—as in the concluding chapter of *Voting*—but also to closer scrutiny of the findings themselves. This book is a critical re-examination of published data in the Columbia and Michigan survey studies and the British studies of Greenwich and Bristol, aimed at reconciling them with the notion that a substantial fraction of the electorate make meaningful decisions on the issues.

The author contends that the degree of determination of voting by social characteristics has been exaggerated—by omission of nonvoters from analyses, by emphasis on campaign changes, and by the verbal statements used to describe tables. He stresses changes that occur between elections rather than during the campaign, and includes as meaningful changes all transitions between nonvoting, minor parties, and the major parties. In these terms, he estimates that the proportion of interelection changers in the 1948–1952 transition was about 30 per cent, rather than the figure of less than one fourth of the electorate suggested in the summary table of propositions in *Voting*. Moreover, he shows that this combined category of changers constituted relatively uniform proportions of various class categories, of the "committed" and "uncommitted," and of types of citizens in relation to their involvement in the election. Thus the lack of involvement and information that has been demonstrated for those who decide late in a campaign may not be so characteristic of interelection changers.

If these findings should be specific to the 1948–1952 electoral transition, Daudt would use this very specificity to support his case. Not only does the proportion of "floating voters" vary from one election to another, but so too do the relations between social characteristics or group memberships and the vote. this variation, he contends, reflects the changing issues in different campaigns, which may well be channeled through different groups of "floating voters" at different times. Reports of research on individual elections may sometimes have tended to "universalize" findings derived from a particular time and place. But insofar as voting research becomes more broadly enlightened by historical and political perspectives (a tendency shown in the more recent Michigan studies), generalizations about voting will be accompanied by more accurate statements of the conditions under which they hold.

There remains a serious problem of presentation in voting studies. Verbal presentation for popular consumption encourages simplified statements; an example is the well-known statement in *The People's Choice,* "Social characteristics determine political preference." It is, of course, important to know how complete this determination is, and this requires quantitative expression. The authors of the studies in question have commendably presented detailed tables, which make possible quantitative estimates as well as re-analyses such as Daudt's. Are the authors to be praised or blamed? They would be justifiably indignant if a critic accused them of not having said what was plainly there in the tables; yet if part of their intended audience cannot read the tables critically, is there not an additional responsibility for accuracy in the text? One solution might be to make a sharper separation between scientific work, written for the statistically trained reader, and the popularization of this work.

A large part of Daudt's presentation consists of an extremely detailed analysis of specific tables from the voting studies. Much of this elaboration seems elementary; and its style, reminiscent of that of a schoolmaster lecturing a dull class, does not add to the interest of the book. But if this criticism encourages more precise, quantitative, and historically qualified statements about the determinants of voting, it will have served a useful purpose.

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR.

University of Chicago

BOOK NOTES

Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society. Edited by S. D. CLARK. In honor of CHARLES ALLEN ASHLEY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. vii, 150 pp. $3.50.

Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society is a slim volume of essays contributed by the sociology staff of the University of Toronto to honor Professor C. A. Ashley, former chairman of that university's department of political economy. This progress report on the work of the sociologists in this department evinces little conceptual cohesion beyond the broad theme suggested in its title.

One suspects that many readers will be lured to dip into this volume by Oswald Hall's insightful essay on "The Place of the Professions in the Urban Community." Hall's appraisal of the changing nature and dilemmas in the professions includes an analysis of the historic model, the organized profession, and the attributes of a profession. Essays by other contributors focus on a demographic analysis of the Canadian population (Keyfitz), a reassessment of the concept of surburbia (Clark), the social system of a slum (Mann), the changing moral standards in Toronto (Burnet), patterns of social control in the legal profession (Giffen), and the structure of a political party (Zakute).

As a tally, this book provides a concise summary of the department's current work, and it will be a useful sourcebook for sociologists interested in the Canadian scene.

ROBIN F. BADGLEY
University of Saskatchewan

Denkschrift zur Lage der Sociologie und der Politischen Wissenschaft. Edited by M. RAINER LEPSIUS. Vorwort von GERHARD HESS. Im Auftrage der Deutchen Forschungsgemeinschaft. Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1961. viii, 149 pp. No price indicated, paper.

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft presents in this ninth volume of its series on the academic disciplines a summary of the present state of political science and sociology in Germany and attempts to coordinate the future development of these two disciplines. Dr. Lepsius is the compiler and organizer of the material, which refers to institutional forms and divisions and to the extent of research and teaching in the two disciplines in German institutions of higher learning. Since sociology and political science are being reborn in Germany—after the decade or so of enforced silence during the Nazi regime—it seems doubly important that the fresh start utilize and coordinate all possible available information on the disciplines. An extended appendix describes the requirements and the forms the two disciplines take in a number of universities. Model departments for sociology and political science are proposed at the end of the respective chapters, with budgetary guides. This is a very informative guidebook.

DANIEL KUBAT
Clarkson College of Technology

Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece. By IRWIN T. SANDERS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962. xv, 363 pp. $7.50.

In this book Sanders has compiled a great deal of extremely useful information on rural life throughout mainland Greece. Major headings are "Survival," "Land," "Family," "Community," and "Change." Sanders' data for each topic are derived from his own observations, interviews with rural people and with Greek experts and officials, and from both Greek and English books and articles including some unpublished materials.

For any reader the volume is a source of vivid and sympathetic descriptions of Greek farmers' activities and attitudes, as well as some wise comments on technical and social change. For the student of Greece it is indispensable as a source of clues to the variations and dimensions of Greek rural life. However, the book seems to lack a systematic scheme of analysis: listings of regional variation are intermingled with occasional cultural-historical, ecological or functional discussions. Therefore, despite its real merits in other respects, the book is of limited value as a work of social science.

ERNESTINE FRIEDL
Queens College

Sociology: Introductory Readings. By READ BAIN. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1962. xv, 483 pp. $3.75, paper.

Bain has put together a very personal, almost idiosyncratic, collection of introductory readings. It is characterized by a considerable amount of moralizing, which reaches its climax in the section on "Religion," but remains at a highly expostulatory level throughout the last sections.

The editor, in addition to eight articles of his own, has contributed introductions that often are as long as or longer than the readings themselves. His style ranges from the very

"folksy" and colloquial to the rather obscurely academic, with perhaps too many examples from both ends of this continuum.

If this book is used with a text (it is keyed with, but not for, several), it is likely to prove either very repetitive or very contradictory; and if used as the text itself, it would be necessary to share the editor's personal and professional orientations, which are very definite and much in evidence.

However, the book does provide an interesting commentary on the events of our, and his, time by one of sociology's elder statesmen.

PETER A. JOHNSON

Linfield College

Aging: A Regional Appraisal. Edited by CARTER C. OSTERBIND. Institute of Gerontology Series, Vol. X. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1961. xi, 169 pp. $3.00.

This volume is the outcome of a conference on gerontology held at the University of Florida in 1961. The participants in the conference represented the major disciplines interested in problems of an aging population: sociology, social work, economics, psychology, and medicine.

The theme of the conference was an examination of aging in regional terms, primarily with regard to the South. The conference and the papers reflect a strong interest in administrative and applied problems such as Ida C. Merriam's paper, "The Impact of Social Security on the South after Twenty-Five Years."

Four papers in the volume are probably of greater interest to sociologists: Clark Tibbitt's overview of social gerontology; Edgar S. Dunn's interesting analysis of the dominant influence of amenity resources in stimulating economic changes in Florida; Irving L. Webber's description of a carefully designed survey on the relationship of socio-economic factors to the health status and health needs of an aging population; and H. W. Carter's analysis of how health needs were indexed in the above-mentioned study.

The work will be of interest not only to sociologists concerned with social gerontology but also to those specialists concerned with population problems, economic growth, regional sociology, and the sociological aspects of health.

GORDON F. STREIB

Cornell University

In Search of Criminology. By LEON RADZINOWICZ. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962. vii, 254 pp. $4.75.

Radzinowicz reports on the results of his recent search for criminology in Western Europe and the United States. He provides a review of historical developments in these areas as well as an assessment of the current situation. In general, he reports that he did not find much criminology except in this country, but he indicates that there are some promising developments occurring in some European nations. This book should be of considerable value to American criminologists, in that it provides an up-to-date survey and analysis of activities in Europe.

Radzinowicz has some critical comments as well as positive ones regarding American criminology. For example, he notes that criminology has had little impact upon legal training. He maintains that most of the yearly published output in the field is of questionable value. These comments should have a salutary effect, even though some will disagree with Radzinowicz at various points.

DON GIBBONS

San Francisco State College

Causes of Mental Disorders: A Review of Epidemiological Knowledge, 1959. By MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND. Foreword by ERNEST M. GRUENBERG and MATTHEW HUXLEY. Proceedings of a Round Table Held at Arden House, Harriman, N. Y., October 27–28, 1959. The Fund, 1961. 383 pp. $3.50.

The Milbank Memorial Fund presents here eight interrelated and unusually authoritative articles, together with a critical review and a summary of discussion for each article, on the causes of mental disorders. Each article provides an excellent bibliography—one, for example, containing 251 entries. The work grew out of a two-day meeting of sixteen recognized leaders representing medicine, psychiatry, public health, biometrics, anthropology, and sociology who were brought together by the Milbank Memorial Fund.

The purpose of the meeting was to summarize "the present state of knowledge about different kinds of causes which had been thought to lead to mental disorders," principally from the standpoint of examining the "epidemiological evidence about the causes of mental disorders." The spectrum of possible causes reviewed by the eight papers ranged sequentially from genetic to cultural factors, each paper taking a distinct segment of the range. While methodological problems were not the main concern, they did come to the fore at certain points in the discussion.

The conference eminently achieved its purpose by not only identifying, but in some instances formulating, important theoretical concepts, as well as pointing to certain methodo-

logical problems that persist in the study of mental disorders. The reasoned argument of the meeting has without doubt resulted in a volume of great usefulness to both researchers and practitioners in the psychiatric field.

JOHN JAMES
Portland State College

Research Needs in Executive Selection: A Symposium. Edited by RENATO TAGIURI. Foreword by BERTRAND FOX. Boston, Mass.: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1961. viii, 133 pp. $2.00, paper.

The nine essays in this volume resulted from a symposium held at the Harvard Business School in 1959 ". . . to examine the direction or directions in which research might profitably move on the topic of selection of executive personnel." Edwin Henry, O. A. Ohmann, L. B. Ward, and Renato Tagiuri agree that selecting executives by comparing them to a universal set of traits of the successful executive, the strategy suggested by Milton Mandell, is clearly inadequate. Recognizing the complexity of the executive function, they suggest delineation of the dimensions of executive roles, their organizational contexts, and their interaction with personality traits in producing "successful" executives.

Harold Guetzkow and Garlie Forehand offer a model to portray the executive function cogently, and Robert Thorndike discusses the methodological problems of executive selection in such a complex situation. The papers point to research needs in executive selection but give disappointingly few leads for research. We agree with Ward that ". . . the area of executive selection is still wide open and badly in need of whatever insight can be obtained from the best research that can be done."

RICHARD A. PETERSON
University of Wisconsin

Great Books and Small Groups. By JAMES A. DAVIS with the assistance of RUTH URSULA GEBHARD, HERBERT HAMILTON, CAROLYN HUSON, JOE L. SPAETH. New York, N. Y.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. xiii, 237 pp. $6.00.

The cryptic title conceals the major contribution this stimulating book makes to contemporary sociology. It explores the applicability of a simple probability model to the study of individual and group factors that influence a member's chance of staying with a group. On the other hand, the title reveals the sponsor of the research. This prepares the reader for the concluding section of the book with its recommendations for more successful operation of the Great Books program. On the whole, however, he will have learned more about natural small groups and their chances for survival than about "great books."

The data are drawn from a national probability sample of 172 Great Books Foundation discussion groups. One thousand nine hundred and nine members filled in self-administered questionnaires. A year later, their membership status was ascertained. The descriptive findings from the 32-page questionnaire are too many to be reported here. Suffice it to say that the chapters in which they are presented give a concise picture of the sociological, demographic, and role characteristics of the membership. Indeed they may challenge many stereotypes concerning the Great Books program.

K. PETER ETZKORN
University of California, Santa Barbara

Graphic Charts Handbook. By ANNA C. ROGERS. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961. iv, 189 pp. $6.00.

The author's lifetime experience in the preparation of graphic charts for reports and articles is reflected in this valuable reference work on graphic and pictorial presentations. Especially valuable are the discussions of the equipment necessary for preparing charts and graphs and of technical procedures such as the presentation of slides. The various topics are adequately covered.

TED T. JITODAI
University of Oregon

Rural Social Change: A Textbook in Rural Sociology. By DAVID EDGAR LINDSTROM. Introduction by JOSEPH ACKERMAN. Champaign, Ill.: Stipes Publishing Company, 1961. xv, 265 pp. $6.90, paper.

The author defines rural sociology as "the study of human association and human and group adjustments in rural areas." The assumptions which seem to guide the selection of material presented in the book are that "there are significant differences between rural and urban people" and that "farming remains a way of life." To some extent the entire book is an explanation of and justification for these assumptions.

The specific problem is to determine the common (i.e., distinctive) forms of association among rural people. To this end, the organization of specific material chapter by chapter is traditional. There are chapters on land use, demographic change, farming systems, agricultural socio-economic systems, the family, locality groups, interest groups, social movements, and rural "institutions": the church, school,

adult education, government, health, welfare, and the arts. If the book were not so expensive, the facts collected in these chapters could serve as resource material in a class on rural sociology.

The text has no index; the footnotes have been inaccessibly placed at the end of each chapter; and the binding is in the form of a spiral type work-book.

EUGENE C. ERICKSON
Washington State University

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WHEELER, GEOFFREY. *Racial Problems in Soviet Muslim Asia.* Second Edition. Issued under the Auspices of the Institute of Race Relations. New York; London; Bombay, India: Oxford University Press, 1962. xii, 67 pp. $1.75, paper.

WITTENBERG, RUDOLPH. *Common Sense About Psychoanalysis.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1962 214 pp. $3.95.

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THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

IN MEMORIAM

INA G. TELBERG (1908–1962)

Ina G. Telberg received her doctorate at Ohio State University in 1942 and was a fellow of the American Sociological Association. She died in New York on January 19, 1962. Dr. Telberg, though of Swedish ancestry, was born and received her elementary education in Russia, her secondary education in Shanghai, China in the French language, and her college degree from Wittenburg College, Springfield, Ohio. She also received a master's degree in social work from Western Reserve University. In the late nineteen thirties she was an instructor in Sociology at Ohio State University.

During World War II, she was a social science analyst for the Office of Strategic Services in Washington and Calcutta, India. She pioneered in simultaneous interpreting at the Nuremburg trials of Nazi war criminals and later did the same type of work at the United Nations, interpreting from Russian into English. She remained with the United Nations until about six years ago when ill health forced her retirement.

While at the United Nations, Dr. Telberg was also consultant at the Columbia University "Research in Contemporary Culture" studies directed by the late Ruth Benedict. During this time she began her series of translations, concentrating on monographs to be used as reference works in libraries. These include "Who's Who in Soviet Science and Technology," a "Russian-English Geographical Encyclopedia," and a "Who's Who in Soviet Science, Humanities, Art, and Government." At her death she was at work on a Russian-English dictionary of psychiatric terms.

CARL A. NISSEN
The Ohio State University

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

Auditor's Report at November 30, 1961

March 16, 1962

Council
The American Sociological Association
New York University, Washington Square
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of The American Sociological Association for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1961. We submit herewith the following Exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Fiscal Year Ended November 30, 1961 — Exhibit A

Statement of Securities Transactions for the Fiscal Year Ended November 30, 1961 — Exhibit B

The accounting system of the Association is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions.

The Cash Balances as of November 30, 1961, were confirmed directly to us by the depositories. We made a physical count on December 27, 1961, of the stocks and bonds listed in Exhibit B. Verifications in connection with other assets and any liabilities of the Association as of November 30, 1961, have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to outside sources were dividends on stocks and bank interest income. We examined correspondence on file rela-

tive to grants received and made tests to ascertain that membership dues, *Review* subscriptions and sales, *Review* advertising, and other types of receipts were properly entered in the cash receipts journal, and that all such receipts were properly deposited in the banks. In addition, we made an examination of the paid invoices and payroll and compared them with entries in the cash disbursements journal.

The book values shown for the securities on hand at November 30, 1961, which were purchased subsequent to November 30, 1948, are stated at cost, whereas the values shown for securities acquired prior to that date are stated at values obtained from previous Auditors' reports; adjustments being made thereto to reflect capital changes. The November 30, 1961, market values represent the published redemption values for the bonds and the last closing Stock Exchange price prior to December 1, 1961, for the stock.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the accompanying Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit A) and Statement of Security Transactions (Exhibit B) present fairly the cash transactions of The American Sociological Association for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1961.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Officers and assistants during the course of our examination.

Respectfully submitted,

KING AND COMPANY

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Membership Dues:			
Fellow	$ 33,576.57		
Active	15,190.78		
Associate	22,808.01		
Student	11,018.97		
Joint	367.00		
Asian (Under Grant)	62.95		
	$ 83,024.28(A)	$ 653.97	$82,370.31
American Sociological Review:			
Subscriptions	$ 19,522.01	$ 104.61	
Asia Foundation Funds Allocated	1,049.58(D)		
Sale of Back Issues	3,772.03	7.60	
Reprint Permissions	1,413.00		
Advertising Income	8,298.47		
Printing and Mailing Costs		47,778.68	
Clerical Salaries—			
Editor		764.00(B)	
Editorial Assistant		4,292.15	
Office		3,030.00(B)	
Editor's Expense		1,300.00(C)	
Miscellaneous Expense and Income	56.49	1,850.00(C)	
	$ 34,111.58	$ 59,127.04	(25,015.46)
Sociometry:			
Subscriptions	$ 10,820.26	$ 92.64	
Asia Foundation Funds Allocated	696.66(D)		
Sale of Back Issues	756.18	7.20	
Reprint Permissions	96.00		
Printing and Mailing Costs		5,625.52	
Clerical Salaries—Editor		693.00	
—Office		2,020.00(B)	
Editor's Expense		500.00(C)	
Miscellaneous		1,000.00(C)	
	$ 12,369.10	$ 9,938.36	2,430.74
Sociological Abstracts *(Administration of Grant):*			
National Science Foundation Grant	$ 21,600.00		
Salaries		$ 6,968.04	
Payroll Taxes		209.10	
Travel		318.91	
Purchase of Typewriter		368.34	
Withdrawn from Savings	(7,864.39)	(7,864.39)	
Transferred to Savings	14,104.18	14,104.18	
	$ 27,839.79	$ 14,104.18	13,735.61
Carried Forward	$157,344.75	$ 83,823.55	$73,521.20

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—(*Continued*)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*)

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$157,344.75	$ 83,823.55	$73,521.20
Employment Bulletin:			
Payments for Listings	$ 270.50	$ 5.00	
Printing and Mailing		2,257.72	
Clerical Salaries		2,025 00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		400.00(C)	
	$ 270.50	$ 4,687.72	(4,417.22)
Index:			
Sales	$ 6,634.40	$ 1.75	
Printing and Mailing		7,239.16	
Back Issues		33.84	
Editor's Expense		500.00(C)	
Clerical Salaries		108.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		50.00(C)	
	$ 6,634.40	$ 7,932.75	(1,298.35)
1959 Directory:			
Sales	$ 187.50		
Printing and Mailing		$ 2,289.00(C)	
Clerical Salaries		1,100.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		1,100.00(C)	
	$ 187.50	$ 4,489.00	(4,301.50)
Research Listings:			
Report Sales	$ 918.80		
Mailing Questionnaires		$ 549.63	
Report Expenses		966.50	
Clerical Salaries		570.00(B)	
	$ 918.80	$ 2,086.13	(1,167.33)
Program Abstracts:			
Sales	$ 283.00	—	283.00
Russell Sage Bulletins:			
Sales	$ 293.91		
Grant Available from Previous Years	2,950.00	$ 2,950.00	
Payments to Publisher		323.08	
Clerical Salaries		100.00(B)	
	$ 3,243.91	$ 3,373.08	(129.17)
Carried Forward	$168,882.86	$106,392.23	$62,490.63

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—(*Continued*)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$168,882.86	$106,392.23	$62,490.63
Sociology Today:			
Royalties	$ 3,972.81		
Sales	480.70		
Payments to Publisher		$ 409.35	
Transferred to Savings	3,219.82	3,219.82	
Interest on Savings	230.53		
	$ 7,903.86	$ 3,629.17	4,274.69
Other Journals:			
Subscriptions	$ 12,885.40	$ 192.75	
Payments to Publishers		14,938.34	
Clerical Salaries		1,570.00(B)	
Miscellaneous		250.00(C)	
	$ 12,885.40	$ 16,951.09	(4,065.69)
Annual Meeting:			
Official Meals and Receptions		$ 691.21	
Abstracts—Clerical Salaries		852.87	
—Printing and Mailing		1,650.92	
Registration Fees	$ 3,111.00		
Program—Printing and Mailing		4,224.91	
—Advertising	3,041.35		
Book Exhibits	2,436.60		
Travel and Room Expense, Officers and Staff		1,069.03	
Clerical Assistance		500.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		1,005.09	
	$ 8,588.95	$ 9,994.03	(1,405.08)
Carried Forward	$198,261.07	$136,966.52	$61,294.55

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—(*Continued*)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*)

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$198,261.07	$136,966.52	$61,294.55
Sections and Affiliates:			
Travel of Officers and Staff to Regional Meetings		$ 58.00	
Social Psychology			
Fees	$ 625.00	5.00	
Clerical Salaries		500.00(B)	
Mailing Expense		250.00(C)	
Medical Sociology:			
Fees	642.00		
Clerical Salaries		550.00(B)	
Mailing Expenses		300.00(C)	
Methodology:			
Fees	242.00		
Clerical Salaries		300.00(B)	
Mailing Expenses		150.00(C)	
Criminology:			
Fees	188.00		
Clerical Salaries		300.00(B)	
Mailing Expenses and Miscellaneous		125.50(C)	
Sociology of Education:			
Fees	331.00		
Clerical Salaries		300.00(B)	
Mailing Expenses and Miscellaneous		125.50(C)	
Sections in Formations:			
Fees	—		
Clerical Salaries		100.00(B)	
Mailing Expenses and Miscellaneous	25.77	50.00(C)	
	$ 2,053.77	$ 3,114.00	(1,060.23)
MacIver Award:			
Royalties	$ 50.26		
Interest on Savings	62.98		
	$ 113.24		113.24
Carried Forward	$200,428.08	$140,080.52	$60,347.56

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—(*Continued*)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*)

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 196

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$200,428.08	$140,080.52	$60,347.56
Committees:			
Executive Committee and Council:			
Travel		$ 2,178.06	
Clerical Salaries		1,230.00(B)	
Miscellaneous	$ 15.00	400.00(C)	
Nominations and Elections:			
Election Mailing		510.00	
Statistical and Clerical Salaries		310.00(B)	
Program Committee:			
Travel		376.00	
Clerical Salaries		2,080.00(B)	
Miscellaneous		300.00(C)	
Organization and Plans:			
Travel		421.03	
Clerical Salaries		515.00(B)	
Miscellaneous		300.00(C)	
State Legislation and Certification:			
Travel		329.14	
Clerical Salaries		300.00(B)	
Miscellaneous		400.00(C)	
Asia Foundation Committee:			
Clerical Salaries	375.00(D)	375.00(B)	
Carnegie Travel Grant Committee:			
Clerical Salaries		200.00(B)	
Other Committees and Representatives:			
Travel		373.55	
Clerical Salaries		3,050 00(B)	
Miscellaneous		538.82(C)	
	$ 390.00	$ 14,186.60	(13,796.60)
Carnegie Travel Grant:			
Travel of Delegates		$ 2,412.60	
Withdrawn from Savings	$ (1,859.20)	(1,859.20)	
Interest on Savings	115.27		
	$ (1,743.93)	$ 553.40	(2,297.33)
Fifth World Congress of Sociology:			
National Science Foundation Grant	$ 10,000.00		
International Sociological Association Grant	10,000.00		
Miscellaneous Committee Expenses		$ 257.99	
Withdrawn from Savings	(240.99)	(240.99)	
Interest on Savings	246.26		
	$ 20,005.27	$ 17.00	19,988.27
Carried Forward	$219,079.42	$154,837.52	$64,241.90

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—(*Continued*)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*)

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$219,079.42	$154,837.52	$64,241.90
Office:			
Administrative Officer's Salary		$ 7,000.00	
Clerical Salaries:			
Member Mailings and Dues Collections		7,540.12(B)	
Correspondence	$ 22 46	6,588.12(B)	
Filing, Bookkeeping, and Miscellaneous		5,931.12(B)	
Printing, Mailing, and Other Expenses—Member Notices, Files, etc.		1,678.60(C)	
Office Maintenance Expense		469.00	
Purchase of Office Equipment:			
Remington Adder		225.00	
Dictaphone	65.00	408.10	
Book, "The World of Learning"		23.50	
Sale of Used File and Bookcase	45.00		
Office Insurance		84.58	
Rent		800.00	
	$ 132.46	$ 30,748.14	(30,615.68)
Miscellaneous:			
Travel under Asia Foundation Grant	$ 645.00(D)	$ 645.00	
Grant from Asia Foundation:			
Allocable to Expenses of Future Years	1,393.54(D)		
Portion of Prior Years' Grants Allocated to Expenses of Current Year	(1,659.78)(D)		
Dues to I.S.A.		301.65	
Dues to A.C.L.S.		100.00	
Certificates to Fellows		155.80	
Insurance on Journals		58.00	
Mailing List Rentals	3,381.90	1,166.30	
Dividends	168.75		
Interest on Savings Accounts (General)	513.18		
Interest on U. S. Government Securities	160.00		
Audit Fee		300.00	
Legal Fees		191.87	
Social Security Taxes (Net)	209.10	1,760.96	
N. Y. State Disability Insurance		186.98	
Miscellaneous Income and Expense	320.62	68.09	
	$ 5,132.31	$ 4,934.65	197.66
TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS	$224,344.19	$190,520.31	
EXCESS OF CASH RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS (Carried Forward)			$33,823.88

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—(*Continued*)

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
EXCESS OF CASH RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS (Brought Forward)			$33,823.88
CASH BALANCE—NOVEMBER 30, 1960			61,006.47
CASH BALANCE—NOVEMBER 30, 1961			$94,830.35
Consisting of:			
General Funds:			
Checking Accounts—			
Chemical Bank New York Trust Company:			
Payroll		$ 780.16	
Regular		41,052.33	
		$ 41,832.49	
Disbursed for Carnegie Travel Grant Fund and Committee		1,593.07	
Disbursed for Fifth World Congress Fund		17.00	
		$ 43,442.56	
Retained Royalties from "Sociology Today"	$ 752.99		
Retained from Grant for "Sociological Abstracts"	7,495.82	8,248.81	$35,193.75
Savings Accounts—			
American Irving Savings Bank			11,207.33
Carnegie Travel Grant:			
Savings Account—First National City Bank		$ 2,709.66	
Due to General Fund		1,593.07	1,116.59
Robert MacIver Award Fund:			
Savings Account—First National City Bank			2,172.76
Sociology Today Fund:			
Savings Account—Manhattan Savings Bank		$10,663.05	
Due from General Fund		752.99	11,416.04
Fifth World Congress of Sociology Fund:			
Savings Account—Chase Manhattan Bank		$ 20,005.27	
Due to General Fund		17.00	19,988.27
Sociological Abstracts Fund:			
Savings Account—Chase Manhattan Bank		$ 6,239.79	
Due from General Fund		7,495.82	13,735.61
			$94,830.35

Notes:
(A) Includes membership dues for the calendar year 1962, of $27,248.07.
(B) Allocated portion of office salaries paid.
(C) Includes allocated portion of office printing and mailing expenses.
(D) Allocation of funds granted by Asia Foundation.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT B

STATEMENT OF SECURITIES TRANSACTIONS

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1961

		Date Acquired	Balance November 30, 1960: Face Amount or Number of Shares	Balance November 30, 1960: Book Value	Transactions During the Year: Purchases	Transactions During the Year: Sales Proceeds	Transactions During the Year: Profit	Balance November 30, 1961: Face Amount or Number of Shares	Balance November 30, 1961: Book Value	Balance November 30, 1961: Redemption or Market Value	Interest and Dividends Received During the Year
Bonds:											
U. S. Savings	Series F due 8/1/62	1950	$ 8,000 00	$ 5,920.00	$........	$	$........	$ 8,000.00	$ 5,920 00	$ 7,560.00	$........
U. S. Savings	Series J due 3/1/66	1954	11,000.00	7,920.00	....	....	....	11,000.00	7,920.00	9,504.00	....
U. S. Savings	Series J due 3/1/67	1955	11,100 00	7,992.00	....	....	.	11,100.00	7,992.00	9,290.70	....
U. S. Savings	Series J due 5/1/68	1956	4,175.00	3,006.00	....	.....	...	4,175.00	3,006.00	3,390.10	....
U. S. Treasury Notes	Series B—4% due 5/15/63	2/26/60	2,000.00	1,961.88	....	..	.....	2,000 00	1,961.88	2,021.25	160.00(A)
Stocks:											
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey	Capital	1940–57	75	669.75	....	....	....	75	669.75	3,628.12	168.75
				$27,469.63	....	....	....		$27,469.63	$35,394.17	$328.75

Note: (A) Interest collected in the current year covered the two-year period ended November 15, 1961.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Sociologists from Abroad. Hao-Jan Chu, Professor at Chun-hsing University, Taiwan, Republic of China will attend the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, Washington D. C., September 2–8, 1962. After the meeting, he will be available for lecture and discussion engagements on Sociology of Knowledge, his field of specialization, during his visits to Pittsburgh, Chicago, Seattle and New York. Other cities could also be considered if arrangements were made far enough ahead in time. He will return to London before the end of September and his present address is 25 Woburn Square, London, W.C. 1, England. Hao-Jan Chu is Secretary of the Chinese Sociological Society and was chief delegate of the Chinese delegation to the Fourth World Congress of Sociology held in Italy in 1959. He is a member of the Council of the International Sociological Association.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science offers annually a Socio-Psychological Prize of 1,000 dollars for an essay which inquires into some aspect of the "psychological-social-cultural behavior of human beings" and which presents "a completed analysis of a problem, the relevant data, and an interpretation of the data in terms of the postulates with which the study began." Recent winners of this prize and the titles of their essays are: Irving A. Taylor, "Similarities in the Structure of Extreme Social Attitudes;" Stanley Schacter, "The Psychology of Affiliation;" Robert Rosenthal, "Three Experiments in Experimenter Bias;" and Morton Deutsch and Robert M. Krauss, "Experimental Studies of Interpersonal Bargaining." Entries for the 1962 prize are invited and must be submitted not later than September 1, 1962. Unpublished manuscripts or manuscripts published since January 1, 1961 are eligible. For further information, write to Dael Wolfle, Executive Officer, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1515 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

Section K (Social and Economic Sciences) of the AAAS announces that sessions are being planned for contributed papers at the next annual meeting to be held in Philadelphia, December 26 to 31, 1962. Members of the American Sociological Association interested in presenting a paper based on current or recently completed research are invited to submit titles and abstracts not later than September 10 to the Secretary of AAAS, Section K, Donald P. Ray, National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science, 863 Benjamin Franklin Station, Washington 4, D.C.

Estudios de Sociologia (Studies in Sociology). The first bilingual Latin American review of sociology began publication last winter with an issue devoted to industrial and urban sociology. Forthcoming issues will focus on specific areas of specialization within the contemporary social scene of the Americas. Articles will be either in Spanish or English accompanied by detailed summaries in the alternate language. The several Boards of Editors include sociologists from Latin America and the United States and the review is backed by the Argentine Sociological Society. For further information address the Editorial Bibliografica Argentina S.R.L., Lavalle 1328, T.E. 40–6126, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The Institute on Religion in an Age of Science will hold its ninth annual summer conference from July 21 to 28 at Star Island off Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Co-Chairmen of the program, Kirtley F. Mather, Emeritus Professor of Geology at Harvard, and Erwin R. Goodenough, Professor of Religion at Yale, have announced that the subject this year will be: *The Purpose of Life: its nature and validity as seen from the viewpoints of science and religion.* Principal speakers will be: Edwin Prince Booth, Professor of Historical Theology, Boston University; Erik H. Erikson, Professor of Human Development, Harvard; Erwin R. Goodenough, Professor of Religion, Yale; Dana McLean Greeley, President, Unitarian Universalist Association; Hudson Hoagland, Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology; Kirtley F. Mather, Emeritus Professor of Geology, Harvard; Harlow Shapley, Emeritus Professor of Astronomy, Harvard; and Howard Thurman, Dean of the Marsh Chapel, Boston University. There will also be informal colloquia as well as the opportunity for varied vacation activities on a secluded island. A few scholarships will be available for students of science and of religion. For further information, write to the Institute at 280 Newton Street, Brookline 46, Massachusetts.

Interamerican Society of Psychology. The Seventh Congress held in Mexico City last December was attended by over six hundred delegates representing eleven countries. Major themes of the meeting were Culture and Personality, Experimental Psychology, Applied Psychology (Educational and Industrial), and Psychology and Mental Health. Participants included Gustave Gilbert, Erich Fromm, Carlos Alberto Seguin, Abraham Maslow, Robert B. Malmo, Wayne H. Holtzman, Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, George Bach, and Jerome Ely. Officers for 1962–1963 are Jose Bustamante, President; Gustave M. Gilbert, Past-President; Harold H. Anderson, President-Elect; Victor D. Sanua, Executive Secretary for North America; Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, Executive Secretary for Mexico and the Caribbean Islands; Fernanda Monasterio, Executive Secretary for South America; Rafael Nunez, Treasurer; Wayne H. Holtzman, Vice-President for North America; and Carlos Alberto Seguin, Vice-President for South America.

The Eighth Congress of the Society will be held April 2 to 6, 1963 at Mar La Plata, Argentina, under the sponsorship of La Plata University. For further information address Dr. Sanua, Yeshiva University, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

The International Journal of Social Psychiatry announces that, beginning with January

1962, the Journal's business address for the Americas (United States and Canada) is Quadrangle Books, Inc., 119 West Lake Street, Chicago 1, Illinois. Manuscripts and reviews from the Americas should continue to be addressed to Marvin K. Opler, Department of Psychiatry, University of Buffalo School of Medicine, Buffalo 14, New York (chief American Editor). Any other foreign contributions should be addressed to Joshua Bierer, 7 Hollycroft Avenue, London, England. Other members of the American Editorial Board include: Frances J. Braceland, Co-Editor; Morris S. Schwartz, Georgene H. Seward, E. D. Wittkower, and A. Irving Hallowell.

Edward R. Johnstone Training and Research Center of the State of New Jersey. John A. Becker has been appointed Research Assistant to the newly established Attendant Training Course Project in the field of mental retardation. The Project is sponsored and financed by an Institute of Mental Health grant.

The National Science Foundation has appointed Robert L. Hall Program Director for Sociology and Social Psychology. Hall was formerly Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota.

Social Science Research Council and ***American Council of Learned Societies.*** Announcement of grants awarded by joint committees of the two Councils include the following sociologists and project topics: Joseph W. Eaton, University of Pittsburgh, on a comparative study of the reorganization of prison systems in England and Israel; Raymond W. Mack, Northwestern University, on race and nationalism in England and Norway: techniques of conflict resolution; Richard D. Mann, Jr., Harvard University, on dependency relations in small groups; W. Frederick Cottrell, Miami University, on the unified rules movement and the railroads; Herbert J. Gans, University of Pennsylvania, on the role of aspiration and effects in the origin and development of a new suburban community; Thomas F. Pettigrew, Harvard University, on the influence of regional origin on Negro adult personality; Harry Alpert, University of Oregon, on the interrelations of science and government, with special emphasis on the role of federal agencies in the utilization and development of social sciences; Edward Green, Beaver College, on the perception of legal liability for conduct involving risk; Jerome H. Skolnick, Yale University, on informal social processes in criminal procedure, with special reference to the plea of guilty; Mozell C. Hill, Teachers College, Columbia University, on the thought patterns of freshman students in Nigerian universities; Robert M. Marsh, Cornell University, on social stratification and deviant behavior in Communist China; C. K. Yang, University of Pittsburgh, on a community analysis in Hong Kong of a traditional town, emphasizing it ecological structure and institutional system; William V. D'Antonio, University of Notre Dame, on community structure and municipal elections in Mexico.

International Conference travel grants were awarded to Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan; Charles Y. Glock, University of California, Berkeley; Morris Janowitz, University of Chicago; Seymour M. Lipset, University of California, Berkeley; Alvin L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University; S. M. Miller, Syracuse University.

Sociological Society of Greater Kansas City. Officers for the current year are Leon H. Warshay, President; Ernest Manheim, Thomas S. McPartland, Anthony Ostric, Warren A. Peterson, and Wayne Wheeler, Members of the Advisory Committee. Beginning its second year, the Society has scheduled meetings on topics including theory, urban kinship and research, the culture of Iran, and integration of human study.

Central Michigan University. **Appointed to the Staff**—*Denez Gulyas,* formerly of Wayne State University;—*Stuart Hills,* formerly of Indiana University,—*Ernest Works,* formerly of Columbus College of Art and Design. **Awarded**—to *Carl Couch,* a grant from the Teacher Education Project to study various facets of the teacher's role. **Other**—*Charles M. Westie* joined the University's Teacher Education Project which is sponsored by the Ford Foundation. **Others in the Department**—*Bernard N. Meltzer,* Head; *Harry R. Doby, Sherman L. Ricards, Jr.,* and *Robert L. Stewart* who continues to serve on the Teacher Education Project.

Duke University. **Appointed**—*Hal H. Winsborough,* Assistant Professor, formerly of Ohio State University. **On Leave**—*Weston La Barre,* to spend his sabbatical in Europe in affiliation with the British Museum, London, the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, and the Museo Preistorico Etnografico, Rome. He also received a National Science Foundation grant as Senior Fellow,—*George M. Maddox,* to serve as Visiting Lecturer at Rutgers' Summer School of Alcohol Studies **Awarded**—to *Kurt W. Back,* a National Institutes of Health grant to study conformity and mobilization and also, the Television Bureau of Advertisers, Inc. award in a competition on plans for television research. **Elected**—*Howard E. Jensen,* Honorary Life President of the Durham Community Planning Council.

University of Florida. **Appointed**—*T. Lynn Smith,* Head of the Department,—*Joseph S. Vandiver,* Professor of Sociology, formerly of Oklahoma State University;—*J. V. Freitas Marcondes,* Visiting Professor of Sociology (Spring Semester) from the Escola de Sociologia e Politica, Sao Paulo, Brazil;—*J. V. D. Saunders,* Associate Professor and Director of the Latin American Language and Area Center, formerly of Louisiana State University. The Center is newly established under a National Defense Education Act grant.

Hood College. **Established**—the Andrew G. Truxal Professorship in Sociology in honor of Andrew G. Truxal, President Emeritus of the College and, previous to his presidency, Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth College. **Appointed**—*Wayne C. Neely,* to the new Professorship

University of Illinois. **Appointed**—*Richard F. Tomasson,* Assistant Professor, formerly of Scripps-Howard Foundation for Population Research;—*Herbert Hamilton,* Assistant Professor of Sociology and Communications, formerly of the University of Chicago and the National Opinion Research Center;—*Herbert Gamberg,* formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, and *Nason Hall,* formerly of the University of California, Los Angeles, Assistant Professors of Sociology in the Office of Community Development;—*Robert L. Herrick,* Instructor. **Transferred**—*Margaret K. Chandler,* from the Urbana to the Chicago Campus of the University. **Returned to the Department**—*Bernard Karsh,* from Keio University, Tokyo, where he was Fulbright Lecturer in Sociology.

Awarded—to *Bennett Berger,* a grant from the University of Illinois Research Board to develop measures of "youthfulness;"—to *John P. Clark,* a Ford Foundation grant to study aspects of deviant behavior among juveniles;—to *Mark Field,* a National Institutes of Health research grant to continue his work on Soviet medicine and medical organization;—to *Norval Glenn,* a University Faculty Fellowship for Summer, 1962;—to *Joseph R. Gusfield,* a Fulbright grant as Lecturer in Sociology at Patna University, India during 1962-1963;—to *Richard Tomasson,* a Population Council grant to study fertility rates among the University faculty. **Other**—*Daniel Glaser* is completing a four-year study supported by the Ford Foundation on recidivism among Federal penal releasees;—*Bernard Laserwitz* is serving as chairman of a University committee which is directing the establishment of census tracts in the Champaign-Urbana community.

Korea University. **Established**—The Public Administration Center to promote research on Korean public administration. Members of the Executive Committee are *Hang Yung Lee,* Director; *Se Chang Yoon, Chon Ju Yoon, Moon Yung Lee* and *Sung Chick Hong.* **Other**—*Sung Chick Hong,* Associate Professor and only professor of sociology at the University will welcome assistance from American sociologists in building up a sociology library as a first step towards the goal of forming an independent department of sociology. Hong received a grant in 1960 from the United States Information Services in Korea to study the effect of United States sponsored mass medium, a grant in 1961 from the University to study job satisfaction of government officials under the military rule, and he is presently studying the values of Korean college students under a Harvard Yenchin Institute grant. He is Editor of the *Journal of Asiatic Studies* published by the University's Asiatic Research Center and Vice-President of the Korean Social Research Association. He serves on the Advisory Committee of the Social Research Bureau under the Korean Government's Ministry of Public Information and is research advisor for the Seoul Central Educational Institute.

University of Massachusetts. **Appointed** (Spring Semester)—*Jerome Laulicht* of the Berkshire Farm for Boys, and *Harris Chaiklin* of Smith College, Visiting Lecturers in Sociology;—*Absolom L. Vilakazi* of the Hartford Seminary Foundation and *Richard Slobodin* of Smith College, Visiting Lecturers in Anthropology.

North Dakota State University, Fargo. **Appointed**—*Courtney B. Cleland,* Chairman of the Social Sciences Division (which combines sociology with economics, history, and political science) for a three year term.

Roosevelt University. ***Appointed***—*Ferdinand Kolegar,* Assistant Professor and assistant to the Dean, College of Arts and Sciences. **Returned to the Department**—*S. Kirson Weinberg,* after a semester of teaching and research in juvenile delinquency and mental health at the University College, Ghana. **On leave**—*Rose Hum Lee,* to do research in Arizona;—*St. Clair Drake,* to assist again this summer, in the second training program of Peace Corps teachers for Ghana. **Others in the Department**—*Arthur Hillman,* who is also Director of the National Training Center at Hull House; *Robert E. T. Roberts; Helena Z Lopata, Bernard H. Baum, Alva B. Maxey, Wolf V. Heydebrand, Elizabeth Johns Drake.*

Back Issues Exchange

American Sociological Review issues wanted: 1939, *No.* 5; 1940, *Nos.* 3, 5, and 6; 1946, *No.* 4. The following *Reviews* are available for exchange: 1941, *No.* 6; 1945, *No.* 3; 1946, *No.* 3; 1948, *No.* 3. Also available are back issues of the *American Journal of Sociology* and *Social Forces.* Please write to the Department of Sociology, University of California, Davis, California.